THE

UNIVERSAL TRAVELLER:

OR, A

COMPLETE ACCOUNT

Of the moſt REMARKABLE

VOYAGES and TRAVELS

OF

Eminent Men of our own, and other Nations, to the preſent Time.

CONTAINING

A RELATION of the SUCCESSES or MISFORTUNES that attended them in their various Attempts;

Intermixed with

Many entertaining DESCRIPTIONS of the CURIOSITIES in ART and NATURE;

Together with the

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, *&c.* obſervable in the COUNTRIES they viſited.

Collected from the beſt Authorities, Printed or Manuſcript.

By *PATRICK BARCLAY*, D. D.

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MDCCXXXV.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

56k

TO THE

WORTHY MERCHANTS

OF THE

City of LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

THE *following Sheets treating of a Subject, in which* YOU *have ſo conſiderable an Intereſt, (as they give a Detail of the* Beginning, Progreſs, *and* Settlement *of the* TRADE *to both the* INDIES, *which your Predeceſſors,* MERCHANTS *of the* CITY *of LONDON, ſo glorioufly carried on, at the Expence of their* Blood *and* Treaſure) *I could not chuſe fitter* PATRONS *for my* TRAVELLER *than* YOU, *who not only follow the noble Pattern ſet you by them, in venturing your Fortunes, and, many of you, your Lives, to promote that* TRADE, *and, conſequently, the* Riches *of the Nation; but, with a Courage, becoming a Society of* GENTLEMEN, *and* FREE-BORN *Subjects, dare make a* BRAVE STAND *for* LIBERTY, *and for the* FREEDOM *of* COMMERCE, *whenever you apprehend*

prehend any Encroachment like to be made upon them; of which, without Doubt, You are the best Judges.

To YOU, *therefore,* GENTLEMEN, *I dedicate this* first Volume *of my* TRAVELLER; *which, however defective it may be, was design'd for* instructing, *as well as for* entertaining *the Publick. And I shall think myself sufficiently honour'd, if such a Body of* WORTHY PATRIOTS *vouchsafe to patronize this* Collection of Travels: *It will encourage me chearfully to pursue my intended Course thro'* Africa *and* Europe, *if I may be allowed to boast, that the* RENOWNED CITY *of* LONDON *did not disdain to take my* America *and* Asia *into* HER PROTECTION.

That YOU *may always prosper in your honest Endeavours for the* TRUE INTEREST *of* GREAT BRITAIN; *and that the* TRADE *and* COMMERCE *of the* CITY *of* LONDON *may ever flourish, in Spite of all Attempts,* FOREIGN *or* DOMESTICK, *to cramp or obstruct it, is the sincere and hearty Prayer of,*

GENTLEMEN,

Your most devoted

and most obedient Servant,

London, Feb. 3, 1734-5.

P. BARCLAY.

THE

THE PREFACE.

WHEN I first undertook this work, I was much a stranger to the subject. And had I sufficiently known the difficulty of the task, before I engag'd in it, perhaps, I should not have appear'd in print under the character of a TRAVELLER.

The small encouragement, now given, for publishing books upon any divine subject, (except it be to expose *religion*) together with some private reasons, (not necessary to be mention'd, at present) hinder'd me from prosecuting my design of publishing a second *Letter to the people of* Scotland, *endeavouring to remove their prejudices to the* Book *of* Common Prayer, as I promised in the first letter, which bore that title, as I had it printed by Mr. *William Bowyer*, in 1713. I was not apprized of the *second impression*; nor was I in the kingdom when it came out; for, if I had, I should have made some amendments in several passages in it, as it now stands, under the title of *A* Perswasive *to the people of* Scotland, &c. And, altho' I do not complain of any unfair dealing in Mr. *Jonah Bowyer*, to whom I transfer'd my right to the copy, yet I am sorry I had not an opportunity of making such alteration in it, as I had still a right to have made in a piece which bore my name in both impressions.

Several incidents happen'd, in my life, (from the time of publishing the first edition of that *Letter*) which hinder'd me from prosecuting that subject, as I then intended, and as I may yet, by the blessing of GOD, perform, when I shall be at leisure to put the materials together, which I have by me for that purpose. In the mean time, I hope the candid readers, either of that *Letter*, or of the present book, will believe me, when I assure them, that I had substantial reasons for deferring the sequel of the first, and for engaging in the latter, altho' less agreeable to my own inclination, and to the course of my studies.

I beg pardon for this digression. But this being the only opportunity I have had to do justice to myself, with regard to the *Letter*, I hope I shall be indulg'd in it.

As to the TRAVELLER, I am very sensible that there are many defects in it. All that I can say for them is, that it had been better, if I had been allow'd more time: And however easy for readers, and the less rich purchasers of books, the modern way of publishing (at so many sheets a week or month) may be, I cannot but observe, that it is a great hardship upon an author, or compiler, to be hurried, to keep the press going.

I shall not take upon me to explode this way of writing: I know I have a great number of *fellow-labourers*, who, perhaps, for reasons little different from mine, are concern'd in this way of publishing books of different kinds. I wish both them and myself good success, and that we may be employ'd in the different ways which our genius and education have fitted us for, and be useful to our country, according to the different talents which are entrusted with us. But to return to the TRAVELLER.

As I have brought no lies of my own into it, so I have taken care to keep those of others out of it, as much as I could: And where I found things related, which seem to shock probability, and yet are told by authors of credit, I have taken the liberty to make such remarks upon them, as I thought necessary. If any reader shall take amiss

amiſs the liberties of this kind, which I have taken, or any other obſervations I have made in the following books, all the apology I ſhall make is, to deſire him to conſider, that, *as a clergy man*, I have a right to *defend truth*, and to give my teſtimony againſt *falſe doctrine*; *as a gentleman*, I ought to declare againſt *ill manners*; and, *as a Briton*, I am oblig'd to oppoſe, to the utmoſt of my power, what I think is contrary to the *intereſt* of my *country*; which, next to a good conſcience, ſhall always be my *primum mobile*, if we can ſuppoſe that theſe two can be ſeparated. And, among thoſe unhappy ſenſeleſs diſtinctions of parties, which have ſo long troubled this iſland, he who promotes the *true intereſt* of BRITAIN, ſhall be my friend, whatever *ugly name* his enemies may brand him with, for doing ſo. And I am convinced, that if we were all TRUE BRITONS, this iſland would ſoon, *by the bleſſing of* GOD, have all we wiſh and all we want.

As to the method of the following ſheets, it was not practicable to make it of a piece, in ſuch variety of authors, and with ſuch ſcarcity of time. I have endeavour'd to make it as perſpicuous and intelligible as I could, but was often tied down to the method of my authors, which were as different as the countries they treated of. And as to the ſtile, I had not time to be ſolicitous about it, any farther than to make myſelf underſtood, which, if I have done, as I hope I have, the candid *Engliſh* reader will allow one who was born and bred in *Scotland*, now and then, to ſhew the *Sibboleth*, in writing, as well as in ſpeaking.

As to the errors of the preſs, many of them crept in, before I was aware, eſpecially in the beginning of the firſt book; I took care to get the moſt material advertis'd in the laſt page of the *appendix* to that book, and they are now more fully taken notice of and corrected in the beginning.

But there are more material faults, for which I am accountable, and have no other excuſe to make for them, but my being a freſh water ſeaman; who having never turn'd my thoughts to navigation, had not ſtudied the philoſophy of what belong'd to that art; but took things upon truſt, and had not occaſion to find out my miſtake, 'till it was too late to prevent it.

The moſt flagrant error of this kind is in p. 6, where, truſting to Mr. *Purchas*, and the introduction to Mr. *Churchill*'s collection, (which laſt being a modern book, I ſuſpected the leſs of a blunder of that kind) I have aſſerted, that *the variation of the compaſs is always the ſame in the ſame place*: Nor did I know my miſtake, (having had no intention to meddle with the philoſophy of the *loadſtone*, which I do not pretend to underſtand) 'till I found it in *Varenius*, whom I conſulted upon another occaſion, and afterwards in Mr. *Harris*'s introduction to his *Bibliotheca*, neither of which I had read, when I printed that ſheet.

I take this opportunity publickly to acknowledge my ignorance, and to retract my error; and as the beſt ſatisfaction I can make to the readers of the TRAVELLER, for having led ſuch of them into this miſtake as knew no better than myſelf the properties of the ſeaman's compaſs, I ſhall, as plainly and ſuccinctly as I can, ſhew them the meaning of the *variation*, and then Dr. *Halley*'s opinion about the reaſon of it.

I ſhall take it for granted, that all my readers know, that the *ſeaman's compaſs* has a needle touch'd with the *loadſtone*, which is commonly ſaid, and was (for ſome time after the diſcovery of that quality in it) believ'd to point due north; and, in ſome places of the globe, certainly does ſo.

But it was found, by obſervation, almoſt as ſoon as this uſeful inſtrument was applied to navigation, that, in ſeveral places of the globe, both by ſea and land, the needle, which was at firſt ſuppos'd to point ſouth and north, declines ſeveral points or degrees towards eaſt or weſt. This is what is call'd *the variation of the compaſs*; and which I imagin'd to have been ſtill the ſame in the ſame place.

But, in the beginning of the laſt century, it was found, by comparing new obſervations with old, that the needle, which, at one time, varied 10 or 11 degrees from due north, in certain places, at other times varied only 6, 4, 3, or 2, in the ſame places. Thus, for inſtance, at *London*, in the year 1580, the magnetick needle was obſerv'd to vary from the true meridian 11 deg. 15 min. towards the eaſt. In the year 1622, the variation was only 6 deg. In the year 1634, it was but 4 deg. 5 min. but ſtill eaſt: Whereas, in the year 1672, the variation from the meridian was 2 deg. 30 min. weſterly. Like variations have been obſerv'd, in other places; as at *Paris*, between 1583 and 1681, the variation was twice weſterly, once eaſterly, and, at one time, *viz.* in 1666, the needle pointed due north. *

Not to trouble the readers with the reaſons offer'd by different philoſophers, which Dr. *Halley* ſhews, not to be ſufficient, ſome of them being contrary to plain obſervation, and others founded upon wrong principles, I ſhall here give the doctor's own opinion, which he does not give as certain, but as a conjecture liable to fewer objections than the others, and anſwering better to the obſervations made of the variations

* *See* Dr. *Halley*'s table of variations in the phil. tranſact. No. 148 or Dr. *Harris*'s introd. p. lxiv.

tions in different parts of the world. But, before he gives his conjecture, he lays down the following propoſitions, as certain by obſervation.

1. That in 1683, the variation was weſterly thro' all *Europe*, but more in the eaſtern parts than in the weſtern.

2. That the ſame variation (tho' different in degrees) holds upon the coaſt of *America*, from *Virginia* northward, ſtill encreaſing to *Hudſon's* ſtreights, and *Baffin's* bay, where it is 57 deg. But eaſt from *Virginia*, the weſterly variation diminiſhes; ſo that about the *Tercera* iſlands, there is no variation at all.

3. That at *Brazil* in ſouth *America*, the variation is eaſterly, which encreaſes, the farther ſouth one goes to that; at *Cape Frio* it is 12 deg. at *Rio della Plata*, 20 deg. and declining ſouthweſt to *Magellan's* ſtreights, it falls to 17. And at the entrance into the *South Sea*, it is not above 14.

4. The eaſterly variation decreaſes in ſailing from *Brazil* towards the cape of *Good Hope*; ſo that, at St. *Helena* and *Aſcenſion* iſlands, it is ſcarce perceptible: And at 18 deg. or 360 leagues, weſt of the cape, the needle points to the north.

5. After you paſs this longitude, the variation turns to the weſt, and ſo continues weſterly, thro' the whole *Indian Ocean*; being 18 degrees in the meridian of *Madagaſcar*, where the line cuts it. And directly ſouth from that, in the ſame meridian, (in 39 deg. ſ. lat.) the variation is 27 deg. and an half. From whence to *Cape Comorin*, it falls to 8 deg. and to 3, near *Java*, and then, at the *Molucca's*, the needle points north again.

6. That eaſt from the *Molucca's*, begins the eaſterly variation, but leſs than the former in extent and degree, being ſenſibly leſs at *Rotterdam Iſland* than at *New Guinea*: And from the proportionable decreaſe of it there, he ſuppoſes the weſterly variation to begin again, about 20 degrees farther eaſt, (or 225 deg. from the meridian of *London*) at which place he computes the needle to point to the pole of the world.

7. The variation at *Baldivia* in the *South Sea*, and at the ſtreights of *Magellan*, ſhew, that the eaſt variation, mention'd No. 3, decreaſes apace, and muſt vaniſh a few degrees weſt of the coaſt of *Chili* and *Peru*, and that a new weſt variation takes place between *Chili* and *New Zealand*.

8. That in ſailing northward from St. *Helena*, by *Aſcenſion* iſland, the variation is very ſmall to the line, and ſtill much the ſame. So that in this part of the world, the variation does not keep in any certain meridian, but rather inclines northweſt.

9. That, altho' the entry to *Hudſon's Bay*, in north *America*, and the mouth of the *River of Plate*, in ſouth *America*, are nearly under the ſame meridian; yet, in the one, there is a weſterly variation of 29 deg. and an half, and, in the other 20 and an half eaſterly.

Having laid down theſe propoſitions, and ſhew'd the inconſiſtency of other hypotheſes, he propoſes his own conjecture, *viz.*

That the earth is one great loadſtone, having four poles, two of which are near the north pole of the world, and the other two near the ſouth pole; and that the needle is attracted by one or other of theſe four poles, to which it happens to be the neareſt; the vertue of the neareſt being likely to predominate over the more remote. But, as this is only conjecture, as I obſerv'd before, ſo he places his poles by ſuppoſition.

The 1ſt northern magnetic pole, he ſuppoſes to be 7 degrees from the north pole of the world, eaſterly, and near the meridian of the *Land's End* of *England*. By this magnetic pole, he thinks, the variations in *Europe*, *Tartary*, and the *North Sea*, to be govern'd.

The 2d northern magnetic pole he places at 15 degrees from the north pole of the world, weſterly, ſo that it runs thro' the middle of *Caliphornia*. By this pole the needle is govern'd in all *North America*, and in the ſea on both ſides of it, as far as the *Azores*, on one ſide, and the meridian of *Japan* on the other.

The 3d magnetic pole is, by the doctor's ſuppoſition, 16 degrees from the ſouth pole of the world, towards the weſt, and falls in a meridian 20 deg. weſt of *Magellan's* ſtreights, 95 degrees weſt of the meridian of *London*. By this pole is regulated the variation in all the ſouth of *America*, both on the eaſt and weſt of it, that is in the *Ethiopic* and *Pacific* oceans.

The 4th pole, which, he ſays, ſeems to be the moſt powerful, is, in his ſcheme, 20 degrees from the ſouth pole of the world, in a meridian which paſſes thro' *New Holland*, and the *Celebes*, 120 deg. eaſt of the meridian of *London*. This pole the doctor ſuppoſes to predominate in the ſouth of *Africa*, in *Arabia*, the *Red Sea*, *Perſia*, *India*, and over all the *Indian Ocean*, from the cape of *Good Hope*, eaſtward, to the middle of the great *South Sea* between *Aſia* and *America*.

From theſe ſuppos'd poles, he ſhews the variations, as they were firſt obſerv'd. For, if there is a magnetic pole in the north part of the earth, anſwering to a line to be drawn thro' the meridian of the *Land's End* in *England*, it follows, that all the places in the ocean, or upon the continent of *Europe*, which lie eaſt from that meridian, muſt have that line to the weſt of them, and conſequently the needle attracted by that pole, muſt decline from the pole of the world towards the weſt, according to their eaſterly diſtance from that pole, ſuppos'd to be in this meridian, which the doctor thinks will go as far as ſome part of *Ruſſia*, and there decreaſe.

Thus *Breſt* in *France*, which, by our maps, is not one degree and an half farther eaſt than the *Land's End*, is obſerv'd to have a variation from due north of 1 deg. 45 min. *London*, which is, from the meridian of the *Land's End*, 5 deg. 45 min. varies 4 deg. 30 min. But *Dantzick*, which is 24 degrees eaſt of the meridian of *Land's End*, has 7 degrees of variation.

By the ſame reaſon, all parts to the weſtward of this meridian laſt mention'd (that is, all that are within the power of this firſt magnetic pole) ought to have eaſterly variation, as having the needle attracted the contrary way. But (as the doctor ſuppoſes) the 2d magnetic pole (which he makes to govern *North America*) being more powerful than the firſt, as being farther remov'd from the pole of the world, ballances the force of the *European* pole, and keeps the variation ſtill eaſterly, altho' not much, in the eaſtern parts of the *Atlantic Sea*, near the coaſts of *Ireland France*, *Spain*, and *Barbary*.

But to the weſtward of the *Azores*, or *Tercera Iſlands*, (which lie between 17 and 26 degrees farther weſt than the meridian of *Land's End*) the power of the *American* pole overcoming the influence of the *European*, the needle is entirely guided by it; and the farther weſt one goes, it is ſtill the ſtronger. So that the variation is weſtward upon all the coaſt of *North America*; but leſs at *Virginia*, and the places thereabouts, than in *New-found-land*, and *Hudſon's Streights*, the latter being ſuppos'd to be nearer this 2d pole, and conſequently more influenc'd by it.

Croſſing *America*, the weſterly variation decreaſes, and about the middle of *California*, the needle points to the pole of the world. And from thence weſtward, towards *Yedſo* and *Japan*, the variation muſt be eaſterly, 'till you come to ſome meridian croſſing a part of *China*, where the firſt magnetic *European* pole gets the better of the 2d, or *American*.

The doctor's 3d magnetic pole, or 1ſt ſouth one, being, as we have ſaid, to be ſituated 20 degrees weſt of the ſtreights of *Magellan*, makes the variation, about *Brazil*, and the ſouth coaſt of *America*, to be eaſterly, with reſpect to the north point of the needle; for it muſt be obſerv'd, that, in ſouth latitude, it is the ſouth point of the needle that is attracted, as the north point is on our ſide the line. And this eaſterly variation (with reſpect to the north point of the needle) obtains in the greater part of the *Ethiopic* ſea, or between *America* and *Africa* beyond the line, reaching to mid way between the cape of *Good Hope*, and the iſles of *Triſtan d'Acunha*, where it is encounter'd by

The 4th pole, or the 2d ſouth magnetic pole, which the doctor calls the *Aſiatic* ſouth pole: Which, attracting the ſouth point of the needle to the eaſt, makes the variation weſterly in the *Indian Ocean*. (with reſpect to the north point of the needle, by which all the variations are computed) And this pole has the greateſt force of any of the 4, by reaſon of its diſtance from the pole of the world. About the meridian of the iſland of *Celebes*, where, as we ſaid before, this pole is ſuppoſed to be ſituated, the variation ceaſes, and, eaſt of that meridian, the eaſterly variation begins, by the ſouth point of the needle's being attracted towards the weſt; and this eaſterly variation reaches to the middle of the *South Sea*.

But there is a difference to be made between the places without the *Tropicks*, and thoſe within the *Torrid Zone*, eſpecially near the Line. For, beyond the 23d degree of latitude, either north or ſouth, the compaſs is only influenced by the two magnetic poles, on the ſide where it is. But in the torrid zone, and eſpecially near the line, regard muſt be had to all the four poles at once, and their poſitions conſidered. For, altho' the neareſt pole is the ſtrongeſt, yet its force is ballanced by the united force of the two more remote: As appears from the 8th obſervation, mention'd above; where, altho' the variation is principally govern'd (from St. *Helena* to the line northward) by the ſouth *American* pole, which is neareſt to that courſe, yet it is temper'd by the contrary attraction of the north *American* and and the ſouth *Aſiatic* poles, each of which, ſingly, is weaker than the ſouth *American* pole in that courſe; but both together ſufficient to render the variation leſs than it is in places farther remov'd from their influence. And the ſame may be ſaid of other places of the globe between the *Tropicks*.

By

By this ſuppoſition, this great man has given a moſt probable, and, perhaps, very true reaſon for the variation of the ſeaman's compaſs. But, as he himſelf obſerves, this hypotheſis does not anſwer the variation's being different, in the ſame place, at different times. For, if theſe 4 poles (as he ſuppoſes) are fix'd in the earth, and move as the globe does, the variation muſt be perpetually the ſame, in the ſame place, however different from that of other places. And this, the doctor owns, was ſo great a difficulty to him, that he, for ſome time, gave over the purſuit of it, as impoſſible to be accounted for, for two reaſons. 1. That no magnet, or loadſtone, was ever known to have more than two poles; and 2. That the fixing thoſe four poles in the earth muſt make the variation conſtant at all times, in the ſame place. But, as he ſays, he accidentally fell upon a hypotheſis, which ſolves both theſe difficulties, and which, for that reaſon, he propos'd to the *Royal Society*. The ſubſtance of which is as follows.

By comparing the obſervations made, (upon the variation of the variation) he found that, whatever is the cauſe of them, they move. 1. From eaſt to weſt. 2. That the motion is not looſe and deſultory, but gradual and regular, as he demonſtrates, from the different variations at ſeveral places. 3. That it muſt be ſomething of great force, that can influence ſo many diſtant regions of the earth. 4. That it is not conceivable to be a fluid, lodg'd in the cavities of the earth, becauſe none ſuch is known to have attraction. 5. A conſiderable part of the terraqueous globe cannot be conceived to move within, round the centre of the earth, without changing the centre of gravity of the globe itſelf, ſhifting the axis of it's diurnal motion, and making great alterations upon its ſurface, by inundations, &c.

Theſe things being premis'd, he ſuppoſes the earth, upon which we live, to be a a ſort of *ſhell* or *cruſt*, within which is a *kernel*, detach'd from the globe, having a fluid medium between them, in which this *nucleus* or kernel moves. But, being ſeparated from the outward ſhell, may have its motion diſtinct from the daily motion of the earth, and may be either ſwifter or ſlower than that is. This difference of celerity, muſt neceſſarily occaſion the different poſition of the internal parts, with reſpect to the external; according as they accede to, or recede from one another.

Now ſuppoſing the outward ſhell, or the earth we live upon, to be one magnet, whoſe two poles are different from the poles of the world; and that the kernel, here ſuppos'd, is another magnet, whoſe two poles are different, both from the poles of the world and from thoſe of the outward ſhell; and that theſe four poles change their poſition, with regard to one another, according to their different motions. This will fairly account for the difference of variation, at the ſame place at different times. And as that motion of the *Nucleus*, (be what it will) muſt be ſtated and regular; without doubt the variation of the variation, (which depends upon it) muſt be fix'd and regular; altho' the ſhortneſs of the time ſince the thing was firſt obſerv'd, has hindred the learned from being ſufficiently inſtructed in it; Dr. *Halley* being of opinion that leſs than 700 years cannot finiſh the revolutions of theſe two ſpheres, ſo as to bring them exactly to the ſame poſition.

Whether this ingenious ſpeculation be true or not, I ſhall not take upon me to gueſs. But as the *Italians* ſay, *Se non è vero, ben trovato. If it is not true, 'tis pity.*

I ſhould not have copied ſo much of this ingenious Gentleman's ſcheme, but for the ſake of ſuch of our ſubſcribers as perhaps, have not the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*; nor *Harris* or *Varenius* by them. This much will be ſufficient to give the Reader a notion of the variation of the compaſs, and apologize, I hope, for the blunder p. 6. of the following ſheets.

Another thing which may, perhaps, be objected to the TRAVELLER, is the little notice taken of the *Longitude* thro' the whole Book. As to this, I freely own, that the reaſon was, the confounding the longitude, by an affectation in ſome of our modern authors, of beginning from the meridian of different places, and as our maps are not over exact, it muſt have required a continued calculation, and repetition of cautions, about underſtanding the different authors I had to collect from, moſt of whom take their Longitude from ſuch places, as the firſt meridian, as they lik'd beſt. Thus the modern *Engliſh* call *London* the *firſt Meridian*, and both in their maps, and voyages, reckon the longitude from the diſtance of any place, from the meridian of *London*. The *French*, eſpecially in the laſt century, make *Ferro*, one of the *Canary* iſles, the firſt meridian. The *Dutch* chuſe *Teneriff*; and other nations, other places.

It is very true, that there is really in nature no ſuch thing as a *firſt Meridian*; but one would think that the readieſt way to find the longitude of places in the voyages of different nations, and in the geographical works of the ſeveral authors, would have been, to have had *one certain, fix'd Place*, agreed upon, *as the*

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the following collection; eſpecially ſince we had not determined what maps were to be given with our TRAVELLER: For I thought it very prepoſterous to aſſign the longitude from *one Meredian*, in deſcribing any place, and that the reader, who perhaps may not underſtand the different practice, ſhould be ſent a *Wild Gooſe Chaſe* after that place, in the map, where it might happen to be taken from *another Meridian*.

What other defects may be found in the following ſheets, I am not a judge of, they depend upon the different *Taſte* and *Humour* of the reader: And as I never had the vanity to imagine that I ſhould be able to pleaſe all readers, ſo I likewiſe thought it beneath my character, as it has always been below my ſpirit, to diſguiſe my ſentiments in matters of truth and juſtice, eſpecially where the intereſt of *Britain* is any way concern'd. And therefore, I would not have the reader believe me an *ill natur'd, revengeful perſon*, becauſe I have made ſome ſharp (but juſt) remarks, upon the behaviour of ſome of our neighbours; and becauſe I cannot bring my ſelf to think, that any thing they ever did for *Britain*, (if it be true that they ever did us any ſervice with a view to any thing but their own intereſt more than to ours) can ballance the many miſchiefs they have done, in exchange for repeated ſervices they have receiv'd from *England*. I thank GOD I forgive all my own enemies of all ſorts and ſizes, nor would I revenge the injuries they have done me, if it were in my power: But I have no authority to give abſolution to the enemies of my country, and ſhould be ſorry other people ſhould forgive them, without reparation. But as I am not like to be concern'd in the adminiſtration, I ſhall leave that to wiſer heads.

If I knew any other material faults in the TRAVELLER, I ſhould, with the ſame frankneſs own them, as I have retracted the error abovemention'd. And as to defects of little Conſequence, I hope, the candid reader will paſs them by as ſlips of the pen, or preſs. And I promiſe all the ſubſcribers to this book, that if GOD ſhall ſpare me life and health, I ſhall take all the care I can to make *Africa* and *Europe* as compleat as poſſible. I ſhall not detain the reader any longer, but to wiſh him profit and pleaſure in the reading the following ſheets, proportionable to the trouble I have had in collecting them.

Errata in the Firſt Book.

PAGE 5. col. 2. line 63. for Givia, read Gioia. p. 6. c. 1. l. 5. for Magnetio, r. Magnetis. p. c. ib. l. 23. for of Good Hope, r. Verde. p. c. ib. l. 39. for Chart, r. Part. p. c. ib. l. 50. for give a, r. but. p. 9. c. 1. l. 54. after (from thence) add (went by land) p. c. ib. l. 55. dele and went. p. 11. c. 2. l. 6. for Aſtracan, r. Aracan. p. 24. c. l. 59. for to Hiſpaniola, r. in Hiſpaniola. p. 25. c. 2. l. 48. for Kingdoms, r. Kings. p. 30. c. 2. l. 55. for have, r. having. p. 32. c. 1. l. ult. for was, r. were. p. 53. c. 1. l. 43. after (kept) add ſuch. p. 75. c. 2. l. 1. for where, r. were. p. 128. c. 1. l. 64. for impenſat, r. compenſate. p. 153. c. 1. l. 16. for Aderuſado, r. Adelantado. p. 154. c. 1. l. 54. for to and from, r. to and fro. p. 193. c. 1. l. 40. for bare, r. bear. p. 198. c. 1. l. 62. for Deſcado, r. Deſeado. p. 225. c. 1. l. 60. for 10, r. tin. p. 246. c. 1. l. 4. for Towns and, r. Towns. p. 267. c. 2. l. 58. for, for Fatigue, r. with Fatigue. p. 321. c. 1. l. 38. for Cream, r. Chriſm.

THE

THE

CONTENTS.

THE *Introduction.* 1

BOOK I. *Of* America. *The progress of navigation,* 3

CHAP. I.

Chr. Columbus's *discoveries in the* West-Indies, 15

Sect. I.

His first voyage, ibid

Sect. II.

His second voyage, 17

Sect. III.

His third voyage, 26

Sect. IV.

His last voyage, 30

CHAP. II.

Farther discoveries in the West-Indies, *by* Cabot, *&c.* 31

CHAP. III.

Cortez's *expedition to, and conquest of,* Mexico, 41

CHAP. IV.

The conquest of Peru, *by* Pizarro, 99

CHAP. V.

Other Spanish *discoveries in* America, 153

Sect. I.

The discovery of Florida, ibid.

Sect. II.

Other discoveries, and colonies planted, in North America, 169

Sect. III.

Spanish *discoveries in South* America, 188

CHAP. VI.

English *voyages and plantations in* America, 209

Sect. I.

Sir Francis Drake's *expedition,* ibid.

Sect. II.

Expedition of Tho. Candish, *Esq.* 213

Sect. III.

Earl of Cumberland's *voyages,* 216

Sect. IV.

Candish's *last voyage,* 220

Sect. V. (*by mistake call'd* IV)

Discovery and planting of Virginia, 224

Sect. VI. (*by mistake call'd* V)

Discovery and planting of New England, 242

Sect. VII. (*by mistake* VI)

New York, Jersey, *&c.* 246

Sect. VIII. (*call'd* VII)

Carolina, 249

Sect. IX. (*call'd* VIII.)

Discoveries north of New England, 254

Sect. X. (*call'd* IX)

English *islands in* America. 265

CHAP. VII.

French *and* Dutch *discoveries in* America,

Sect. I.

French *discoveries,* 282

Sect. II.

Dutch *discoveries,* 300

CHAP. VIII.

The natural and moral history of America,

Sect. I.

The natural history, 304

Sect. II.

The moral history, 324

Appendix to Book I.

Report of the governor of —— *concerning the* English *interest in N.* America, 348

An account of the jesuites settlement in the Spanish West-Indies, 353

BOOK II. *Asia.*

Introduction, 359

CHAP. I.

English *voyages to the* East-Indies, 360

Sect. I.

The unlucky voyage of Mr. Benj. Wood, *ibid.*

Sect. II.

Capt. John Davis's *first voyage to the* East Indies, 361

Sect. III.

Mildenhall's *travels to the* East-Indies, *&c.* 365

Sect. IV.

Adams's *voyage to* Japan, 367

Sect. V.

The CONTENTS.

Sect. V.

Davis's *2d voyage with* Michelburn, 369

Chap. II.

The forming the East-India *company*, 372

Sect. I.

Lancaster's *voyage, being the first upon the account of the company*, 373

Sect. II.

Scot's *description of* Java Major, 380

Sect. III.

Company's 2d voyage, by General Middleton, 386

Sect. IV.

Third voyage by Keeling, 389

Sect. V.

Fourth voyage by Sharpey, 395

Sect. VI.

Fifth voyage. Capt. David Middleton, 397

Sect. VII.

Sixth voyage. Sir Henry Middleton, 400

Sect. VIII.

Seventh voyage. Hippon, 407

Sect. IX.

Eighth voyage. Sarris, 410

Sect. X.

Ninth and tenth voyages, 422

Sect. XI.

Twelfth voyage. Peyton, 425

Sect. XII.

Thirteenth, or Downton's *voyage*, 428

Sect. XIII.

Peyton's *second voyage*, 432

Sect. XIV.

Pring's *voyage*, 435

Sect. XV.

Disputes between the English *and* Dutch, *about* Banda, 440

Sect. XVI.

Mr. Hore's *voyages*, 444

Sect. XVII.

Shilling's *voyage to* Surat, *&c.* 447

Chap. III.

Dutch *voyages to the* East-Indies,

Sect. I.

Hejinck's *voyage*, 448

Sect. II.

Second Dutch *voyage*, 450

Sect. III.

Farther progress of Dutch *trade*, 451

Sect. IV.

Abstract of the Dutch *declaration about* Banda, *with the answer to it*, 456

Sect. V. (*by mistake* IV.)

Account of the Dutch *treatment of the* English *at* Amboyna, *&c.* 459

Chap. IV.

French *voyages to the* East-Indies,

Sect. I.

The voyage of Pirard de la Val. 467

Sect. II.

Admiral Beaulieu's *voyage*, 475

Chap. V.

Sir Tho. Roe's *embassy to the Great Mogul*,

Sect. I.

Sir Tho. Roe's *journal*, 485

Sect. II.

Description of Indostan, 494

Chap. VI.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *travels in* Asia,

Sect. I.

His account of Indostan, 507

Sect. II.

His account of Persia, 517

Chap. VII.

Account of the embassy from the D. of Holstein *to the court of* Persia, 549

Chap. VIII.

A description of China,

Sect. I.

Origine, situation, and division of it, 596

Sect. II.

Nature and product of the country, 607

Sect. III.

People, and their manner of living, 610

Sect. IV.

Trade and manufactures, 612

Sect. V.

Language, arts, and sciences, 614

Sect. VI.

Policy and government, 617

Sect. VII.

Religion of the Chinese, 623

Chap. IX.

The tributary kingdoms to China, 636

Sect. I.

Kingdom of Tonquin, 637

Sect. II.

Kingdom of Siam, 645

Chap. X.

Description of Japan, 662

Chap. XI.

Of the Oriental Islands,

Sect. I.

The Ladrones, 687

Sect. II.

The Philippine *Islands*, 689

Sect. III.

New Guinea, New Holland, 696

Sect. IV.

The Spice Islands, 699

Sect. V.

Sunda *Islands*, 708

Sect. VI.

Ceylon *and* Maldivias, 723

Chap. XII.

Turky *in* Asia, 745

Sect. I.

Natolia, 746

Sect. II.

Mingrelia *and* Georgia, 754

Sect. III.

Armenia major, *and* Turcomania, 761

Sect. IV.

Curdistan, Diarbeck, *and* Eyraca Arabic, 763

Sect. V.

Arabia, 768

Sect. VI.

Syria *and* Palestine, 774

Sect. VII.

The Asiatic *Isles*, 788

THE

INTRODUCTION.

TRAVELING is not only the moſt agreeable, but may be made the moſt uſeful, and improving buſineſs of a man's life: For, as it is with great pleaſure that one in a good ſtate of health, and with a competent fortune, ſees foreign countries, and converſes with People of different cuſtoms, and languages; ſo a man of judgment may render a progreſs, thro' the ſeveral parts of the world, very uſeful to himſelf and others, if he is careful, and accurate in obſerving wherein other countries differ from his own, and on which ſide the balance lies; without being partial, to his native country, through national pride, or to a foreign nation from a natural levity, or affected novelty; either of which equally retard improvement. For,

THO' the love of one's own country is not only a natural, but commendable paſſion, yet to have ſuch a blind affection for our native ſoil as to allow nothing valuable in any other; to be ſo wedded to our own cuſtoms and manners, as to ridicule all that differ from us; when, perhaps, their doing ſo is founded on good reaſon; ſuch a love of our country is a falſe one: and to travel through foreign parts with this prepoſſeſſion, is to loſe all the advantage it would otherwiſe produce.

ON the other hand; tho' civility and complaiſance are neceſſary qualifications in a traveller, and it is good manners to ſeem pleaſed, and even to applaud the beauties of other countries, when we can do it without inſincerity; yet to be ſo fond of every thing we find abroad, as to deſpiſe all that we ſee at home; to be ſo much FRENCH, ITALIAN, or GERMAN, after having ſpent ſome ſhort time in thoſe countries, as to think nothing at home worth our notice; and not only to mimick their dreſs, in the worſt parts of it, but their geſtures, phraſes, and even humours, (which, tho' they may become thoſe they are natural to, ſit but very awkwardly on an ENGLISHMAN) is ſuch an affectation, as muſt expoſe a traveller to contempt, and make judicious people conclude there is no truſting to the repreſentation ſuch gentlemen give of the places they have ſeen; ſince they appear to have been ſo ill judges of the end of travelling, as to bring home nothing but the trifles of foreign nations; and ſeem to have been induſtrious for no other advantage than that of making themſelves ridiculous.

BUT as it is not our preſent buſineſs to give rules for travellers, nor to preſcribe to thoſe who have the direction of our young Nobility and Gentry, who go abroad, (for which province we know ſome well qualify'd, and 'tis pity they are not all ſo;) and as reflections of this nature principally regard EUROPE, which will be the ſubject of the laſt part of the following work, we ſhall here inſiſt no farther on this topick, but proceed to our deſign in general.

NOTHING we are capable of ſaying can ſo well recommend and ſhew the uſe of travelling, as the practice, and example of almoſt every great and eminent man that the world ever produc'd, either in the field, cabinet, or ſciences; it being the beſt method to eradicate natural prejudices, enlarge our ideas, enrich our minds, and make us capable of judging rightly of men and things.

AND as every gentleman does not travel, either for want of health, which ſowrs the pleaſure of travelling; or for want of a ſufficient fortune to render it agree-

able and uſeful; or for being hinder'd by affairs that require his attendance at home; or, finally, from want of inclination, which is the worſt reaſon of any; the only way to ſupply that want, is to improve our taſte and underſtanding by the written Travels of others, and to learn from them the nature, manners, and curioſities of thoſe countries which we have no hopes of ſeeing ourſelves. And tho' it is impoſſible to form ſo clear and diſtinct an idea by the beſt written deſcription of any place, as a man of obſervation can have by ſeeing it; yet if the account of a voyage or journey be written with accuracy and judgment, it cannot fail being of real uſe, as well as entertainment, to the reader: And ſuch relations are not only uſeful to ſuch as have never been abroad, and have no intention to travel; but to thoſe likewiſe who have travell'd, or ſuch as deſign it; becauſe they refreſh the memories of the one, by repreſenting to them what they have already ſeen; and prepare the minds of the other, by giving them a taſte of the beauties, and cautioning them of the defects of what they intend to ſee.

BUT as the great number and inaccuracy of books on this ſubject, render the ſtudying of it tedious and diſguſting to moſt readers, we judg'd it might be an acceptable ſervice to the publick, to chuſe out the beſt printed authors on this head, and from thence, with ſome manuſcript helps, to compoſe ſuch a work as may, in one view, repreſent to the reader the whole ſubſtance of what is diffus'd thro' many volumes, ſtripp'd of all that ſhall appear not worth collecting; and likewiſe of the miſtakes in the older authors which have been rectified by more modern Writers.----How we have ſucceeded in this attempt, muſt be left to the judgment of the publick; we can only ſay, that no endeavours have been wanting to render the Work deſerving of the notice which the world has already taken of the Deſign.

WE ſhall now only detain the reader to give him a ſhort ſketch of our plan, which he will find purſu'd in the following work.

WE ſhall begin with the diſcovery of, and moſt remarkable voyages to, AMERICA, as being the moſt ſurpriſing, and, to ENGLAND, the moſt important, of any that were ever made: under which head we ſhall include the Circum-navigators, or voyages round the world, their chief adventures happening in this part of the globe; and ſhall alſo give the diſcovery of ſuch iſlands or parts of AFRICA as were the gradual ſteps to it; intending to be much more particular in the firſt diſcovery of any part, than in the voyages to a place after it is known. In collecting the many famous voyages to this large diviſion of the globe, we ſhall endeavour to keep the regular ſeries of the diſcovery of its ſeveral parts as entire as the nature of the work will poſſibly admit; and conſtantly give ſo much of the hiſtory, geography, natural-hiſtory, and preſent ſtate of each part, as the diſcoveries made at this day enable us.

IN treating of the other three parts of the globe, *viz.* AFRICA, ASIA, and EUROPE, we ſhall generally diſtinguiſh them into their different Empires and Kingdoms, and ſhew their various governments, laws, hiſtory, manners, products, *&c.* from the beſt authors, by way of introduction to the voyages or travels to each country; by which we propoſe to furniſh our readers with a general view of every part we treat of, and make him the better underſtand the particular relations of thoſe travellers who viſited them, who are ſeldom ſo ſatisfactory in thoſe particulars as could be wiſh'd: In all which we ſhall carefully avoid trifles, and never caſtrate a curious or remarkable deſcription or adventure, when we meet with it in an author of judgment and veracity.

THE

THE UNIVERSAL TRAVELLER.

BOOK I.

AMERICA.

HAVING propos'd to begin our work with AMERICA, it may be expectedwe ſhould give ſome account how this vaſt tract of earth, which is probably as large as all the other three parts of the World put together, came to be firſt peopled: But as there is nothing of certainty in the conjectures made by the ſeveral authors who have treated this ſubject; and as objections not eaſily anſwer'd, may be made to every one of them; we ſhall leave the reader to his choice, whether he will believe with ſome, that there is a communication, tho' not yet diſcover'd, between *America* and ſome part of *Aſia*, on the one hand; or of *Europe*, on the other: or, at leaſt, that there are iſlands ſo near the one or other, which may have been ſteps towards peopling this new world, when the poſterity of *Noah* diſpers'd; and that a colony of them ſettled there, and diffuſed themſelves over *America*, as they did over the other parts of the globe. Or, if any one diſlikes this account of it, let him ſuppoſe, that long after the reſt of the world was peopled, and when ſhips were in uſe; ſome ſhip's crew, given over for loſt in a ſtorm, was accidentally driven to *America*, and not knowing how to get back, were forced to ſtay there; and having had ſome women in their company, multiplied to the degrée the *Europeans* found them in, about two Ages ago.

Whether of theſe is the true account; or if that Country was peopled in a way different from both, we ſhall leave to be diſcuſs'd by others.

Why this part of the earth was ſo long unknown to *Europe*, ſeems eaſy to be accounted for, by the great tract of ſea that lies between them; where it had been the greateſt madneſs to have ventur'd, before navigation was brought upon a better footing, than to truſt entirely to the ſun and ſtars, without the help of that noble invention of the Compaſs, ſo lately found out. It ſeems therefore to be a greater wonder that *America* was ever diſcover'd, than that it was ſo lately known; and they who made the diſcovery at the peril of their lives, and with ſo much labour, ought to be remember'd with honour by all the world, but eſpecially by thoſe nations, who have reap'd ſo many advantages by their toil.

That navigation has been long in uſe in the world, eſpecially in the eaſtern parts of it, cannot be diſputed by any who gives credit to hiſtory, either ſacred or profane. The holy Scripture gives us the account of the firſt ſhip that we have any reaſon to believe was ever made; I mean,

able and useful; or for being hinder'd by affairs that require his attendance at home; or, finally, from want of inclination, which is the worst reason of any; the only way to supply that want, is to improve our taste and understanding by the written Travels of others, and to learn from them the nature, manners, and curiosities of those countries which we have no hopes of seeing ourselves. And tho' it is impossible to form so clear and distinct an idea by the best written description of any place, as a man of observation can have by seeing it; yet if the account of a voyage or journey be written with accuracy and judgment, it cannot fail being of real use, as well as entertainment, to the reader: And such relations are not only useful to such as have never been abroad, and have no intention to travel; but to those likewise who have travell'd, or such as design it; because they refresh the memories of the one, by representing to them what they have already seen; and prepare the minds of the other, by giving them a taste of the beauties, and cautioning them of the defects of what they intend to see.

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HAVING propos'd to begin our work with AMERICA, it may be expectedwe ſhould give ſome account how this vaſt tract of earth, which is probably as large as all the other three parts of the World put together, came to be firſt peopled: But as there is nothing of certainty in the conjectures made by the ſeveral authors who have treated this ſubject; and as objections not eaſily anſwer'd, may be made to every one of them; we ſhall leave the reader to his choice, whether he will believe with ſome, that there is a communication, tho' not yet diſcover'd, between *America* and ſome part of *Aſia*, on the one hand; or of *Europe*, on the other: or, at leaſt, that there are iſlands ſo near the one or other, which may have been ſteps towards peopling this new world, when the poſterity of *Noah* diſpers'd; and that a colony of them ſettled there, and diffuſed themſelves over *America*, as they did over the other parts of the globe. Or, if any one diſlikes this account of it, let him ſuppoſe, that long after the reſt of the world was peopled, and when ſhips were in uſe; ſome ſhip's crew, given over for loſt in a ſtorm, was accidentally driven to *America*, and not knowing how to get back, were forced to ſtay there; and having had ſome women in their company, multiplied to the degree the *Europeans* found them in, about two Ages ago.

Whether of theſe is the true account; or if that Country was peopled in a way different from both, we ſhall leave to be diſcuſs'd by others.

Why this part of the earth was ſo long unknown to *Europe*, ſeems eaſy to be accounted for, by the great tract of ſea that lies between them; where it had been the greateſt madneſs to have ventur'd, before navigation was brought upon a better footing, than to truſt entirely to the ſun and ſtars, without the help of that noble invention of the Compaſs, ſo lately found out. It ſeems therefore to be a greater wonder that *America* was ever diſcover'd, than that it was ſo lately known; and they who made the diſcovery at the peril of their lives, and with ſo much labour, ought to be remember'd with honour by all the world, but eſpecially by thoſe nations, who have reap'd ſo many advantages by their toil.

That navigation has been long in uſe in the world, eſpecially in the eaſtern parts of it, cannot be diſputed by any who gives credit to hiſtory, either ſacred or profane. The holy Scripture gives us the account of the firſt ſhip that we have any reaſon to believe was ever made; I mean,

mean, *Noah*'s Ark, which was built by divine command. The ſame inſpir'd writings tell us of *Solomon*'s trafficking from *Ezion-Gebar*, a port in the *Red Sea*, to *Ophir*, by the united fleets of that great Monarch, and of *Hiram* king of *Tyre*; which *Ophir* was certainly ſome port of the *Eaſt-Indies*; but not exactly known, by the changes of names in that country ſince that time.

But if the Bible is of ſmall authority, in this our refin'd age, where people *profeſſing themſelves wiſe, are become fools*, I hope they will not reject the authority of heathen writers; who, though they ſometimes mix'd a good deal of fable in their relations, yet put the art of navigation beyond diſpute.

Not to inſiſt upon the poetical deſcription of the *Argonauts*, rejected by ſome as a fiction, nor of the fleet ſaid to have been ſet out by *Semiramis*, long before that time, of no leſs than 2000 ſail (if they made uſe of ſails ſo early) with which her general defeated 4000 boats made of cane, belonging to *Staurobates* king of *India*; altho' thoſe *Babylonian* ſhips were of no great bulk as we may eaſily imagine, from their being carried on camels backs to the river *Indus*; if any credit is to be given to the ſtory. Yet

HOMER's accounts of the *Grecian* fleet which came to beſiege *Troy*; and of the wandering of *Ulyſſes* thro' the ſea, tho' they are full of poetical invention, are a plain demonſtration of the progreſs of navigation before his time.

But the *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians* were the firſt great improvers of NAVIGATION, and conſequently of TRADE and COMMERCE: They were the firſt who ventur'd out of their own ſeas, and ſettled colonies in *Africk* and *Europe*: for I reckon the *Carthaginians*, who ſettled in *Spain*, to have been *Tyrians*, as they always allow'd themſelves to be, and ſent the tythes of the ſpoils taken in a ſucceſsful war, to their Mother-City. As the *Carthaginians* improv'd in navigation, ſo their deſire of wealth encreas'd; and the *Mediterranean* grew too narrow for their attempts; ſo that they ventur'd out of the ſtreights, now called *Gibraltar*, and carried on a trade in *Gaul*; from whence they came over to *Britain*, as our own hiſtories tell us, and for many years drove a commerce in the ſouth-weſt parts of *England* for Tin. But if we may credit *Pliny*, they ventut'd out of the ſtreights, and, ſailing round *Africk*, came to the *Red Sea*, under the conduct of *Hanno*, and made a conſiderable progreſs towards the North, under *Kimulco*. Altho' this may not be exactly true, as to the extent of thoſe voyages, either North or South; yet it is not to be doubted but they made a conſiderable progreſs both ways.

See Church. *Introd. p.* x. *Ed.* Lond. 1704.

See *Hiſt. of* Egypt *and* Carthage.

Church. *Introd. p.* xi. Purch. Pilg. *B. 1. ch.* 17.

From the *Phœnicians*, the *Greeks* learn'd the art of navigation; which, by their skill in the mathematicks, they improv'd to a great degree, as to the ſtructure of their veſſels; but the chief deſign of their fleets being only for war, they ſoon outſtrip'd their maſters in managing their ſhips in battles; inſomuch, that at the battle of *Salamis*, the *Athenians* beat the *Perſian* fleet, where the ſeamen were all *Phœnicians*, and three times their number.

The *Romans* were, for a long time, wholly ignorant of the art of navigation; nor had they occaſion for it, while they had war only with the little kings of *Italy*, and their neighbours of *Greece*. But when they came to have to do with the *Carthaginians*, who were maſters of the ſea, and were then intent upon the conqueſt of *Sicily*, they found themſelves at a great loſs by their ignorance in maritime affairs, and were frequently baffled by the *Carthaginians* landing their forces in places which they could not foreſee. The *Romans* therefore, whoſe courage and induſtry overcame all difficulties, acquir'd the art of navigation, after a very odd manner; of which, tho' it is a ſtory univerſally known; as being atteſted by all who have written the *Roman* Hiſtory, we ſhall give a ſhort account in this place.

In the firſt war between *Rome* and *Carthage*, one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, a *Quinquereme*, having been ſtranded, fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who immediately ſet about building a hundred after that model; which they ſoon effected; but, as they were entire ſtrangers to the managing of them; while they were building, they choſe out ſo many men as they thought neceſſary, and placing them, at land, upon banks, like thoſe they found in the gally they had taken, they there taught them to handle the oars after the manner they had often obſerv'd their enemies to do at ſea; with one man before the reſt, to give ſigns for the beginning their ſtroakes all together, and for giving over at once, to avoid confuſion, and the claſhing of the oars upon one another. A ſufficient number being thus inſtructed, and, by frequent uſe, become maſters of the art at land, with an undaunted bravery, peculiar to that people, they ventur'd to ſea in their new fleet: but being ſufficiently aware that the *Carthaginians*, by long practice, muſt underſtand the managing their gallies, and keeping themſelves firm in them, much better than they; and believing, juſtly, that their own force conſiſted chiefly in their valour and ſtrength in cloſe fight; they contriv'd

contriv'd a machine, to grapple the enemies gallies when they they came within their reach, ſo as to put it out of their power to row off, or to attack them in *poop*. This machine was made of a ſtrong piece of timber, ſet perpendicularly in the *prow* of the galley; to which was fixed, with iron hinges, another frame of ſeveral pieces of wood, bound with iron joints, long enough to reach a good way over the galley to which it belong'd, to that of the enemy. At the extremity of this jointed frame, were fix'd two large ſpikes of iron, ſharp-pointed. This frame being chain'd to the baſe of the perpendicular timber, the extremity, in which the ſpikes were, could be rais'd by a pully thro' a hole in the upright piece, to any proper heighth; ſo that upon the approach of the enemy's ſhip, they rais'd the machine, (which they called *Corvus*, or *The Crow*) and when they were *board on board*, ſlipping the cord at once, the wood where the ſpikes were, falling, with its own weight, ſtuck ſo faſt in the enemy's galley, that the *Romans* could fight as firmly as at land: for the jointed planks ſerved for a bridge to board the enemy.

Having thus ventur'd to ſea, with their hundred gallies, their admiral, *Duillius*, beat the *Carthaginians*; perhaps by ſurpriſing them, who little expected ſuch a fleet from an enemy entirely ignorant of navigation but a very ſhort time before. Yet a few years after, they ſo improv'd themſelves in this art, and had built ſo many gallies of different ſizes, that they had on board 140000 men, with which fleet they fought and beat their rivals the *Cartaginians*, who had ten thouſand men more than they on board. The various ſucceſſes of the *Romans* by ſea afterwards, is not our preſent buſineſs; they remaining maſters of the ſea after the deſtruction of *Carthage*, only being moleſted by pyrates in particular ſeas, who were from time to time deſtroyed, when the *Roman* Conſuls, and afterwards the Emperors, had leiſure to ſend fleets after them.

After the diſſolution of the *Roman* ſtate, the *Saracens*, and after them the *Northern* nations, maintain'd the art; and became very troubleſome to their neighbours, and likewiſe to diſtant nations, by their fleets.

To them ſucceeded the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe*, both once great Maſters of navigation, and for a long time rivals in power at ſea; which occaſion'd much blood, till the *Venetians*, at laſt, got the better.

But ſtill, notwithſtanding the antiquity of this art, and the ſeveral improvements made in it by the different nations who practiſed it, we may juſtly ſay, that navigation was ſtill in its infancy, till about three hundred years ago; and never got out of its leading-ſtrings before the noble invention of the COMPASS, in the beginning of the xivth century. For, tho' the *Phœnicians* were proficients in aſtronomy, which is of great uſe in navigation, yet they were not, by that, fitted for making diſcoveries over large ſeas; having nothing but the ſun or ſtars to direct their courſe: and tho' they are ſaid to have ſail'd round *Africk*, their voyages were only coaſting; ſo that this large extent of earth, ſo lately found out, muſt, in all probability, have remain'd undiſcover'd to this day; and, perhaps, to the day of judgment, without the aſſiſtance of the Compaſs.

That the Loadſtone attracted iron, was, without doubt, known to the ancients; but that this knowledge was applicable to navigation, we may fairly conclude they were ignorant of; becauſe it never was ſo applied. For, had they been appriz'd that the Loadſtone could communicate a vertue to a piece of iron rubb'd upon it, ſo as that piece of iron, hanging horizontally, and at liberty to move, muſt always point to the north pole, (which muſt ſoon have appeared to be of of vaſt uſe to direct ſhips at ſea, even in ſhort voyages, in a fog, or a cloudy night) it is not agreeable to common ſenſe to imagine, that ſo many great men, to whoſe writings the world has been obliged for valuable diſcoveries in mathematicks and natural philoſophy, ſhould not tranſmit ſo uſeful a ſecret to poſtery. Nay, had ſuch a diſcovery as this been once made, it had been morally impoſſible it ſhould ever have been loſt in thoſe countries which had ſuch conſtant uſe for it: nor could all the wars, revolutions, and deveſtations that ever happen'd in trading nations, have made them forget the uſe of an invention ſo neceſſary for preſerving the lives of many thouſands, and for enriching their countries. And therefore, we may without heſitation conclude, that the uſe of the Compaſs, as we have it in our time, is the invention of theſe latter ages.

The loadſtone itſelf, from which this wonderful vertue to the needle is deriv'd, is commonly known by the name of the *Magnet*, either as being found in *Magneſia*, a country of *Lybia* in *Aſia*; or becauſe its attracting iron was firſt diſcover'd by that people. But the loadſtone's communicating that vertue of a needle's turning to the pole, by being touch'd upon the pole of the *Magnet*, was owing, as is commonly ſaid, to *John* or *Flavius Givia*, of *Amalphi*, a city of *Naples*. But ſo little notice is taken of this firſt Inventer of ſo valuable an inſtrument, that nothing more is known of

him than his name and city; and even his christian name is doubtful; and a *Latin* verse is all we have for the place of his birth, or abode.

Prima dedit nautis usum magnetis Amalphis.

Amalphi *taught the Magnet's secret force,*
To guide the wand'ring pilot in his course.

To give the philosophy of the needle's turning to the pole of the earth, is what we do not pretend to; but that it does so, is certain, till it is carried to so such a latitude; and there, by as unknown a quality in it, varies some points towards *East*, or *West*, according to the places it happens to be in; and is so constant in this variation, that there never is any sensible difference between its moving from the pole either to the *East* or *West* in the same place, at one time more than at another. For instance, in the *Azores*, the needle has no apparent variation, but after you pass the cape of *Good Hope*, if upon the coast of *Guinea*, it inclines eastward, or towards the *African* continent; on the other hand, near the *American* coast, the needle inclines westward.

Purch. Pilg. Book 2. ch. 1. sect. 1.

When this most useful help to navigation was once discover'd, one would wonder that there should not have appear'd adventures immediately to make discoveries of places not before known: but whether it was that people would not believe their own eyes as to the vertue of the compass; or that they were afraid it might lose its vertue by being long at sea; or that they did not think there was any Chart of the earth undiscover'd: whatever was the reason, a good part of the xivth century pass'd, without any attempt made of new discoveries.

The several discoveries, after the invention of the compass, are generally divided into three classes; 1. the *European* northern discoveries, as being the first in order of time; 2. of *Africa*, found out in the way to the *East-Indies*, or *Asia*; and 3dly, those to the *West-Indies*, or *America*: We shall give a just mention these, before we enter upon our chief design; reserving the fuller relation of them to their proper places.

In the year 1360, *Nicholas de Linn*, a friar of *Oxford*, a good astronomer, made five voyages into the northern islands, and made draughts of the places he had seen; but they seem to be of no great consequence, few writers taking any notice of them.

In 1553, Sir *Hugh Wiloughby* sail'd northward with three ships, touching upon the coast of *Denmark*; about the middle of *September* he lost company of the other two ships, and putting into *Arzina* in *Lapland*, where were no inhabitants, he and his crew were frozen to death. *Chancellor*, who commanded the 2d ship, call'd the *Edward*, touching at *Wardhouse* in *Norway*, the place of rendezvous, arriv'd in the bay of *St. Nicolas*, on the coast of *Muscovy*: he himself went to the *Czar*'s court, and was the first who settled commerce between *England* and *Russia*.

In 1556, *Steven Burroughs*, in a small ship, went to discover the River *Ob*: In *July* he arrived at *Nova Zembla*, proceeded by directions from thence to the straits of *Weygates*, but finding no passage, return'd by way of *Muscovy*, and wintering there, was recall'd.

In 1558, Capt. *Jenkinson* sail'd to *Muscovy*, with four ships, where landing himself, he travell'd to *Musco*, and from thence, with the *Czar*'s pass, thro' *Muscovy*, crossing the kingdoms of *Casan*, and *Astracan*, he embark'd on the *Volga*, 600 miles from *Musco*, and sail'd down the *Caspian* Sea, for 27 days, and then landing, proceeded with a caravan of 1000 Camels, five Days Journey by land, among the wild *Tartars*, till he came to the *Caspian* sea again, at the place where the river *Oxus* us'd to fall into it; which, according to his account, falls now into another river near it, call'd *Ardock*, and runs 500 miles under ground, and then rising, disembogues itself in the lake of *Kitay*. *Jenkinson* proceeded to *Boghar* in *Bactria*, and return'd to *Musco*.

In 1561, the same person, carrying letters from Queen *Elizabeth* to the *Czar*, cross'd the *Caspian* Sea, into *Hircania*, and from thence to the Court of *Persia* at *Casbin*, where he obtain'd several Privileges for the *English*; and return'd the same way.

In 1580, *Pet* and *Jackman* sail'd from *Harwich* to make discoveries towards the north-east. But *Jackman*'s ship being in a bad condition, *Pet* left him in the bay of *Petzora*, and sailed to *Nova Zembla*, where, in the month of *July*, he met with so much ice, that he had great difficulty to get through it as far as *Weygates* streights; but when he attempted to pass them, the water was so shallow, that his boat could not float, so that he gave over thoughts of it. In his return, he met *Jackman* in distress; who being refitted, they set sail together, and made another attempt upon the *Streights*, but to no purpose; so that, the ice increasing, they sailed southward, and *Pet* arrived safe in the *Thames* in *December*; but *Jackman* wintered in *Norway*; and setting out northward next year, was never

never more heard of. This made an end of the *Engliſh* endeavours after northern diſcoveries; at leaſt for that century.

The *Engliſh* being thus unſucceſsful, the *Dutch* reſolv'd next to try their fortune in the northern Seas; to which intent, the ſtates fitted out three ſhips, under the command of *Barentz*, *Corneiliſſen*, and *Hugens*. *Barentz* went to 78 degrees n. latitude, and found much ice there in *Auguſt*, with abundance of ſea monſters. The other two (as they pretended) diſcovered ſome iſlands; and at laſt a ſtreight capable of the largeſt ſhips, which they paſſed, and got into an open warm ſea, upon the coaſt of *Tartary*, near the river *Ob*, where they diſcovered a large fruitful country: this ſtreight they called *Naſſau*. But being, as they ſaid, in want of proviſions, (notwithſtanding the pretended fruitfulneſs of the country) they were forced to return to *Holland* the ſame way they went; but neither ſome of themſelves, who were ſent back two years after, nor any body elſe, could ever find the ſtraits of *Naſſau* ſince. —— *Travellers have a Licenſe.*

In the year 1676, captain *Wood* attempted the ſame diſcovery in the *Speedwell* man of war, with a pink for a tender: but loſt his ſhip about *Nova Zembla*, and returned to *England* in the pink.

Thus were all our expectations of trading to *Cathay*, *China*, *Japan*, &c. by a ſhort paſſage to the northeaſt, entirely fruſtrated; and no advantage got by ſo much labour and loſs, except the *Ruſſia* trade.

We ſhall now follow our author to the diſcoveries made on the coaſt of *Africk*, and ſo to the *Eaſt Indies*; ſome of the places then found out, having been alſo ſcaffolds to reach *America*.

Southward Diſcoveries on the African Coaſt.

Altho' moſt of the modern writers ſeem to be doubtful of the truth of our Countryman *Macham*'s diſcovery of the iſland *Madera*, in 32 degrees n. latitude; yet ſince they both relate it from *Hakluyt*, and other authors; and as there is nothing in the ſtory which ſeems improbable, it will not be amiſs to give it in ſhort; ſince if it was true, it accounts very well for putting others upon farther diſcoveries that way.

It is ſaid, that in the year 1344, one *Macham*, an *Engliſhman*, being in love with a lady; whom, it ſeems, he could not obtain for his wife; (but whether from her own want of inclination to him, or the difficulty of getting the conſent of her parents or friends, does not appear;) he being reſolved to enjoy her, ſtole her away; and not finding it ſafe to ſtay with her in *England*, ſhip'd her for *Spain*, whether he intended to carry her. But being by ſtorm, or by miſtaking the courſe, put by that coaſt, they probably ſaw no land, before they arrived at the *Madera* iſland. *Macham* landed with his miſtreſs or ſpouſe, to refreſh her after the toil ſhe had undergone: the wind chopping about, the ſhip ſet ſail, leaving him, and the Lady, with ſome others who had gone aſhoar with them, upon that deſolate iſland; the ſeamen, it ſeems, having gone back with the boat in which they came aſhoar. The lady died ſoon after, of grief for her preſent Condition; and *Macham*, with his companions, ſtay'd there long enough to erect a little chapel and hermitage for her burying-place. After which, they hollow'd out a tree for a boat, to convey them to the *African* coaſt, where they were taken by the *Moors*, and preſented to their king; who, for the rarity of the accident, ſent them to the King of *Caſtile*, to whom *Macham* telling his ſtory, mov'd ſeveral people to attempt the diſcovery of this Iſland, unknown before to the *Europeans*.

In 1348, the King of *Caſtile*, *John* II. gave a commiſſion and grant to *Betancourt*, a *Frenchman*, to conquer the *Canary* iſlands, (diſcover'd before, but after what manner is not ſaid; *Purchas* ſays it was by chance, either by an *Engliſh*, or a *Frenchman*.)

The *Ganary* iſlands are ſeven in number, viz. *Canaria*, *Teneriff*, *Palma*, *Gomeria*, *Herro*, *Lanſarotte*, and *Fuerte Ventura*. They lie between 28 and 29 degrees n. latitude.

Betancourt ſubdued five of theſe iſlands, but the two largeſt were too ſtrong for him; but we hear of no farther diſcoveries made that way, till the year 1417, that prince *Henry*, the fifth ſon of king *John* of *Portugal*, after his return from the taking of *Ceuta*, being a good mathematician, was very intent upon new diſcoveries.

To this end, he went himſelf to reſide at cape *St. Vincent*, for the freer ſtudy of mathematicks, and clearer obſervations: and that he might improve his countrymen in the art of navigation, he brought one *James* from *Majorca* to *Portugal*, to erect an academy for that purpoſe: this *James* was very expert in making ſea charts, and mathematical inſtruments. Purchas, B. 2.

This Prince ſent out two ſhips to double cape *Nao*, or *Non*, about 30 degrees of latitude, which was at that time the *ne plus ultra* of *European* diſcoveries; nor did any ſeaman attempt to paſs it, becauſe of the furious breaking of the ſea, which made it appear dangerous to attempt, unleſs they ſtood out a great way towards the *Weſt*; which till then they were ignorant of.

Thoſe ſhips, now ſent by the Prince, made good the deſign they went for; and

and making towards the *Weſt*, double the cape, and then proceed towards the *South*, about 180 miles, till they were ſtopp'd by another cape, which, for its running 40 leagues into the ſea weſtward, they call'd cape *Bojador*. But they went no farther, becauſe of the great ſurges beating upon the rocks.

In 1418, prince *Henry*, having new diſcoveries ſtill at heart, ſent out two ſhips more, commanded by *Gonſalvo Zarco*, and *Vaz*, to paſs *Bojador*; which they did, unknown to themſelves: for meeting with a ſtorm before they came near that cape, they were hurried to the weſtward of it, whether they would or not, and by chance fell in with an iſland, to which, for the good providence of being ſav'd from the ſtorm, they gave the name of *Porto Santo*, or *Holy Haven*. This iſland is one of the *Azores*, in the latitude of 38 degrees. The maſters being ſatisfy'd with this diſcovery, return'd home. Upon their report, the Prince ſent *Pereſtrello* to the new iſland, to people it, and made him take along with him ſeeds to ſow the ground, and cattel for the uſe of the new inhabitants. Among the other animals he carried thither, he had one couple of rabbets, which in a ſhort time ſo multiplied, that the iſland was made in a manner uſeleſs; for they eat up every thing that was ſow'd; ſo that they were forc'd to deſtroy them.

But this young Prince did not neglect farther diſcoveries; for, in 1419, he ſent *Zarco* and *Vaz*, a ſecond time, to proceed ſtill farther *South*; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that in the latitude of 32 degrees, they diſcover'd another iſland, which, for the great quantity of wood upon it, they call'd the *Madera* iſland: This is the iſland ſaid to have been diſcover'd by *Macham*, above-mention'd. Upon their return, the Prince procur'd from his father a grant of the *Madera* for the two diſcoverers, and their heirs; which they divided between them. The Prince ſending for ſugar-canes from *Sicily*, had them ſoon after planted in the iſland, which prov'd of great advantage to *Portugal*.

Gonſalvo taking poſſeſſion of his part of the iſland, ſet fire to the wood, which, they ſay, was ſeven years in burning, and wood is ſtill the ſcarceſt commodity they have in it.

In 1433, or 1434, the Prince ſent *Gillianez* to proceed ſtill farther *South* beyond cape *Bojador*; which he did, ſailing about 30 leagues farther in a bay, to which he gave the name of *Angria de Ruyvas*, from the multitude of *Gurnets* with which it abounded. The ſame year *Anthony Gonſalvo* ſail'd 12 leagues farther, and diſcovered people on the *African* coaſt, who, upon the approach of the *Portugueſe*, fled. Paſſing 12 leagues ſtill ſouthward, they kill'd ſeveral ſea Wolves, and brought home their skins.

In 1440, or 1441, the ſame *Gonſalvo*, or *Triſtan*, or both together, went as far as *Cabo Blanco*, or *White-Cape*, where the *Portugueſe* landed, and brought off ſome priſoners. This cape is in 20 deg. n. latitude. Purchas, *ubi ſupra*. Church. *Introd.*

The year following, *Gonſalvo* went again to cape *Blanco*, where he exchang'd the priſoners taken the year before, for *Guinea* ſlaves, and gold duſt; from which gold duſt, being the firſt brought from thoſe parts, they called the river they found it in, *Rio del Oro*, *The Golden River*.

About this time, the King of *Portugal*, having already made many diſcoveries, and hoping ſtill to make more, procur'd a donation from pope *Martin* V. of all that ſhould be made from cape *Bojador* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; which was granted in ample form; and confirm'd by three ſucceeding Popes, in favour of the Crown of *Portugal*.

In 1443, *Nunho Triſtan* ſail'd beyond the *Rio del Oro*, and diſcovered one of the *Angruim* iſlands, called *Adiget*; and another which he named *De las Garzas*, from the great number of *Herons* which he found there.

The next year, prince *Henry* erected a Company, who ſent ſix *Caravels*, or ſhips, to the places already diſcovered: theſe took 200 ſlaves among the *Angruim* iſlands, and brought them to *Portugal*, where they ſold well.

But in 1445, *Gonzalo de Cintra*, going to the ſame iſlands, and having landed with ſome of his Men; and neglecting to keep his boat afloat, at the ebb water two hundred *Moors* fell upon him, and kill'd him, and ſeven of his crew. From him this place was call'd, *Angra de Gonzalo de Cintra*. It is about 14 leagues ſouth of *Rio del Oro*.

The ſame year, or the next following, *Denis Fernandez* ſailed beyond the river *Sanaga*, and diſcover'd *Cabo Verde*, or the *Green Cape*, in the latit. of 15 deg. and in 1447, *Nunho Triſtan* went 60 leagues farther; and, anchoring at the mouth of the *Great River*, went up in his boat; but was kill'd, with moſt of his boat's crew, by the *Blacks*, with poiſon'd arrows from the land.

In 1449, *Gonzalo Vello* made a farther diſcovery of the *Azores*, or *Iſlands of Hawks*, which are eight in number, and about the ſame latitude with *Lisbon*. In one of theſe iſlands was found an equeſtrian ſtatue, of a man with a cloak, but no hat; his left hand on his horſe's mane,

and

and the right hand pointing to the *West*. Some characters were cut in the rock under it, but not understood.

In 1460, *Antonio Nola*, a *Genoese*, discovered the islands of cape *Verde*, about 100 leagues to the westward of the Cape; as also those of *Maia*, *St. Philippo*, and *St. Jago*.

About this time died prince *Henry* of *Portugal*, the great encourager and promoter of discoveries upon the *African* coast, and the islands near it; the *Portuguese* having, thro' his means, gone almost to the Equinoxial line: his nephew *Alphonso*, then King of *Portugal*, taking the patronage of navigation upon him; under whom,

An. 1460, *Peter Cintra*, and *Costa*, sail'd as far as *Serra Leon*, in the latit. of 8 deg. Nor have we any account of proceeding farther, till the year 1471, and then

Santareen, and *Escobar*, sail'd as far as *Mina*, or the *Gold Mines*, and pass'd the Equinoxial line, to *St. Catherine*'s cape, in 2 deg. 30 min. south latitude, 37 leagues beyond cape *Lope Gonsalez*. And *Ferdinand Po*, much about the same time, following the course of the *African* coast, discover'd an island in 3 deg. n. latitude, which he called *Hermosa*, or *beautiful*. But is now mark'd in the Maps by the name of *Ferdinand Po*. The other islands, *Del Prencipe*, *St. Thomas*, and *Bom*, were now likewise found out.

John II. succeeding his father *Alphonso* in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, order'd a fort to be built at *Mina*, and settled a colony there upon the coast of *Guinea*.

In the year 1480, *James Cam* advanc'd to the river *Congo*, or *Zaira*; and from thence sail'd as far as 22 deg. south. lat.

Six years after, an ambassador from the King of *Benin*, near the Line, having inform'd king *John*, that his master received the investiture of his kingdom from another potent prince, who liv'd 250 leagues from *Benin*; *John*, believing that prince to be the *Abyssine*, or *Prester John*, so much talk'd of, sent *Peter de Covillian*, and *Alonzo de Payva*, to find him out. These two sailed up the *Mediterranean* as far as *Grand Cairo*, and from thence to *Tor* on the coast of *Arabia*, where they parted, and went, *Covillian* for *India*, and *Payva* towards *Ethiopia*; appointing *Grand Cairo* for the place of rendezvous, at their return. *Covillian* went to *Cananor*, *Calicut*, and *Goa*, and from thence to *Zofala* in *Africa*, to the eastward of the cape of *Good-Hope*, and so to the *Red Sea*, on the *Arabian* side; and returning to *Grand Cairo*, he heard of *Payva*'s death in that city. From *Cairo* he sent an account to the king of *Portugal* of his journey, by a *Jew*; and, with another *Jew*, pursu'd his journey to *Ormuz*, and so to *Ethiopia*; where he was well treated, but never suffer'd to return home.

During this Expedition by land, *Barth. Diaz* pursu'd the discovery of the coast of *Africa* beyond the Line, sailing to the very south point of that coast, which he call'd *Cabo Tormentoso*, the *Troublesome Cape*. But at his rerurn, the King being inform'd of it, and hoping by it to reach the *East-Indies*, changed its name to *Buena Esperanza*, the Cape of *Good Hope*; under which name it is famous at at this day. 'Tis in the southern latit. of 35 deg.

Emanuel King of *Portugal* being flush'd with this last discovery, fitted out three ships, and a Tender, under the command of *Vasco de Gama*, a bold, daring Captain, in order to find a passage to the *East-Indies*, where never *European* had been before, except by a land journey thro' *msia* or *Africa*. With him went his brother *Paul*, and the two *Nunez's*. After a voyage of five months, they came to the bay of *St. Helena*, an island in the *Ethiopick* ocean, in 15 deg. s. latit. about 300 leagues westward of the *African* coast; where they took some *Blacks*. Setting sail from *St. Helena*, (now well known, and of great use to the *East-India* traders) they made the best of their way to the cape of *Good-Hope*, so lately discovered; having doubled which, they arrived at the bay of *St. Blas*, in an easterly course, about 60 leagues from the *Cape*; and from thence, upon *Christmas-Day*, they arrived, in a *North-east* course, (as the coast lies) to a more distant country of *Africa*; which, out of regard to the day, they call'd *Terra de Natal*, the *Birth-Day Land*, in 30 deg. and discovering a river on *Twelfth-day*, they call'd it *De los Reys*, or the *River of the Kings*.

Proceeding farther along that coast, they passed 50 leagues beyond *Zofalo*, without seeing it; where they went some way up a river, to which *Gama* gave the name of *Bonos Synays*, *Good Tokens*; because he there found boats, with sails made of Palm-tree leaves, and met with people who understood the *Arabic*, and told him, that farther to the *East* there were ships like those of *Portugal*. So that pursuing his course, still north-east, he came to the island of *St. George*, opposite to *Mozambeque*, and then to the city of *Mozambeque*, in 14 deg. s. latit. From thence he sail'd to *Quiloa*, and *Monbaza*; the one in 9, and the other in 4 deg. s. latit. Holding on his voyage, he arriv'd at *Melinda*, within one deg. of the Line; and there made peace between that Kingdom and *Portugal*. Then, ta-

king a *Guzarat* Pilot on board, he ſet ſail for *India*, and arrived at *Calicut*, the chief city of the kingdom of *Malabar*, in that tract of ground which the ancients called *India within the river Ganges*, upon the weſt coaſt of *India*, over againſt *Arabia Fœlix*; having in this voyage diſcovered about 1200 leagues in a ſtrait line, more than ever was known before; but, if you allow for the windings of the coaſt, a great deal more.

In his return home, he fell in with the *Anchediva* iſlands; ſo called in the *Indian* language from their number, *five*. From thence he croſs'd over to the *African* coaſt, (having ſeen *Goa* at a diſtance) and anchor'd at *Magadoxa*, in 3 deg. n. latit. and croſſing the Line for the third time during this voyage, he came to *Melinda*, where he was received with much kindneſs by the King. But as he was leaving that place, one of his ſhips, the *St. Raphael*, was driven a-ſhore upon the ſands, and loſt; the men being taken into the other two; the Tender he had burnt, as an incumbrance, before he went to *India*. Thus, in two years, he performed this expedition, which had been ſo often attempted with ſmall ſucceſs before.

In the year 1500, the King of *Portugal* equipp'd thirteen ſail for the ſame ſervice, under the command of admiral *Alvarez Cabral*. This fleet, having been put out of their courſe by a tedious ſtorm, (which kept them ſtill to the weſtward,) upon *Eaſter-Eve*, they came to a ſafe bay: This land happened to be a part of the ſouth continent of *America*, never till then heard of by any inhabitant of *Europe*. For the joy of finding themſelves ſafe after their paſt toil, they nam'd the place *Puerto Seguro*, the *Safe Haven*; and the country *Santa Cruz*, or *Holy Croſs*.

Having ſtaid ſome time here, the admiral ſent a ſhip home, to give an account of the accidental diſcovery of this new land, and ſeting ſail for the cape of *Good-Hope*, arriv'd with only ſix ſhips at *Zofala*, (four having founder'd at ſea, and two more being ſeparated from the fleet;) from this place he held on his courſe to *Mozambeque*, where he ſtop'd to careen; and then ſail'd to *Quiloa*, and *Melinda*; and ſo took the neareſt ſtretch over to *India*, and arriv'd at the *Anchedivian* iſlands upon the 24th of *Auguſt*; and then at *Calicut*, on the *Malabar* coaſt. Here he enter'd into a treaty with the King of that country, which, tho' it was concluded, was but of ſhort duration: but he made a ſtrict amity with the Kings of *Cananor* and *Cochin*, and having laded his ſhips, return'd to *Portugal*.

The next year, *John de Nova*, being ſent upon the ſame deſign, with four ſhips, arriv'd at the iſland of the *Conception*, on the *Eaſt* coaſt of *Africa*, in about 8 deg. ſouth latit. Holding on his Courſe to *Cananar* and *Cochin*, he deſtroy'd all the ſhips he found belonging to *Calicut*; and having laded at the two former places, ſet ſail for *Europe*, and touched at *St. Helena* in his way home.

In 1503, the two *Albuquerques*, and *Saldana*, ſet out with three ſhips each, for *India*. The *Albequerques* arriving at *Cochin*, built a fort there, with the *Indian* King's conſent; and in the mean time they took ſeveral ſhips, and burnt ſome towns in the territories of *Calicut*; and being richly laden, ſet ſail for *Portugal*, where *Alonzo Albuquerque* arrived ſafely; but *Franceſco*, and his three ſhips, were never heard of. *Saldana* ſtopp'd at *Monbaza*, near the Line, and forc'd that King to accept of peace with *Portugal*, and then kept on his courſe to the *Red Sea*, at the mouth of which his orders were to cruiſe.

The year following, *Lope Soarez* was ſent with a fleet of 13 ſail, who made no new diſcovery; but only concluded a peace with *Zamira*, and then return'd, richly laden.

In 1505, Don *Franceſco d'Almeyda* went in quality of *Vice-Roy*, to the *Eaſt-Indies*, with 22 ſhips, and 1500 men. Having paſſed the cape of *Good-Hope*, and ſail'd to 8 deg. ſ. latit. on the coaſt of *Africa*, he attacked *Quiloa*, took it, and built a fort there; and the peace between the King of *Monbaza* and the *Portugueſe*, being broken, he burnt the capital city, of the ſame name: and, proceeding in his voyage to *India*; built a fort at *Anchediva*, and another at *Cananor*, on the coaſt of *Malabar*.

In the year 1506, *Fernandez Pereyra*, diſcovered the iſland *Socatara*, near the entry to the *Red Sea*; which having made known at his arrival at *Lisbon*, the King ſent *Alonzo d'Albuquerque*, and *Triſtan de Cunha*, with 13 ſail; the firſt of which was to guard the trading ſhips, and the other to cruiſe upon the coaſt of *Arabia*. In this expedition, *Madagaſcar* was diſcover'd, a large iſland upon the eaſt ſide of the *African* coaſt, between 11 and 35 degrees ſouth latitude, ſince that time very famous. The fleet purſuing their courſe, arrived at *Socatara*, of which the *Portugueſe* made themſelves maſters, and ſoon after parted, accordiug to order; *Albuquerque* ſtaying upon the coaſt of *Arabia*, and *de Cunha* ſailing to *India*.

Socatara *diſcover'd.*

Mada-gaſcar.

Albuquerque having taken ſome towns on the *Arabian* coaſt, ſet ſail for *Ormuz*, being the firſt *European* who had gone ſo far. This is a city in the iſland *Gerum*, near the mouth of the *Perſian Gulf*: The whole iſland is famous for nothing but abun-

Ormuz.

abundance of salt and sulphur. After this discovery, *Albuquerque* likewise sail'd to *India*, and served under the *Vice-Roy Almeyda* for some years; and at last, in 1510, he was made governor of all the *Portuguese* conquests in the *East*. There he settled trade and commerce with the severel nations, built forts, and erected factories, along the whole coast of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, *Guzarat*, *Camboia*, *Decan*, *Canaria*, and *Malabar*.

This same year, 1510, *Lopes de Sequiera*, having doubled the cape of *Good-Hope*, and leaving the coast of *Africa* near the Line, sail'd east-ward, passed by *Sumatra*, an island which crosses the Line,
Malacca. and arrived at *Malacca*, a city in the ancient *Aurea Chersonesus*, in 3 deg. n. lat. northeast of *Sumatra*. Here the *Moors* conspir'd to murder *Sequeira*, at an entertainment to which they invited him; but being disappointed by some accident which hinder'd his coming, they fell upon 30 of his men, who had come a-shore; and at the same time, attacked his ships: eight of his people were killed, and 60 made prisoners; but he got his ships clear of them, and left the coast.

In the mean time, *Albuquerque* took
Goa. *Goa*, on the coast of *Malabar*, but it was soon retaken; and a year after, it being a second time recovered by him, became the residence of their Vice-Roy, the metropolis of all their dominions in *Asia*, and an archbishoprick. After this success at *Goa*, *Albuquerque* sail'd to *Malacca*: in this voyage he took five ships, in one of which he found one *Nichoada Beeguea*, of whom they tell a ridiculous story of an enchanted *Bracelet* of bone, which hinder'd him from bleeding, tho' mortally wounded, till it was taken from his arm, and then he bled to death. This story might have pass'd at that time of day; but this age will hardly believe miracles, better vouch'd than this. However, *Albuquerque* arriving at *Malacca*, got the *Portuguese* prisoners deliver'd to him, and soon after took the city, and banish'd all the *Moors* out of it; and then return'd to *Arabia*, and a few years after he sailed up the *Red Sea*.

In 1513, *Soarez d'Albergoria*, with 7
Ceylan. gallies, two large ships, and 8 small ones, sailed to *Ceylan*, an island south-east of *India*, within the *Ganges*, from 6 to 10 deg. n. latit. where he built a fort; and afterwards the *Portuguese* became masters of all the Ports of this island, which was of great use to them, for the riches of it.

Maldivian Islands. The *Maldivian* islands, very numerous, lying on both sides of the Line, were found out about this time; but being of no great consequence, there is no occasion to insist upon the discovery of them. *John de Silveria*, who made the discovery, soon after sailed to *Bengala*, Bengala. upon the river *Ganges*, on the east side of the *India* last mentioned, in 20 deg. n. lat. on the south part of the *Mogul*'s country, and north-west from *Astracan*.

About four years after, *Perez d'Andrade*, going into those seas, without troubling himself with any places discovered before, sailing between *Malacca* and *Sumatra*, proceeded to the coast of *Camboia*, thence to *Ciampa*, and so to Camboia, Ciampa. *Patena*; all upon the eastern coast of *India* without the *Ganges*: in the last of Patena. which places he made peace with its governor, and return'd to careen at *Malacca*; which done, he took the course of *Quantung*, on the south coast of *China*, where Quantung. he settled a commerce. But the next *Portuguese* growing insolent, their ships were attack'd by the *Chinese* fleet, and were glad to get off: and their ambassador, whom *d'Andrade* had sent to *Pekin*, was, by the Emperor of *China*'s order, sent back to *Quantung*, where he was put to death. Yet, some years after, they had leave to build *Macao*, on a little Mocao built. island opposite to *Quantung*, in dependance on the *Chinese* Emperor.

James Lopez de Sequiera, being made governor of *India*, sailed to the *Red Sea*, Red Sea. in 1520, with a fleet of 24 sail; having no board (half *Portuguese*, and half *Malabars* and *Canarines*) about 3600 men; and arriving at *Mezua*, an island in that sea, Mezua. he found no inhabitants, they having fled to *Arquico*, a port on the *Ethiopian* side, which was now, for the first time, discover'd at sea.

This place, together with an extent of coast of the *Red Sea*, above 120 leagues, belong'd at that time to the *Ethiopean* Emperor, (commonly called *Prester John*) whose dominions were then of a vast bulk; but most of the coast of this sea has since been taken by the *Turks*.

In 1521, *Ant. de Brito* sailed from *Malacca*, cros the Line, south-east, to the islands now called the small islands of *Molucca*, which are five; *viz. Ternate*, Molucca Islands. *Tidor*, *Machian*, *Moter*, and *Bachian*: the large ones *Celebes*, *Gilolo*, *Terra Papous*, and *Ceram*, not being then discovered. There was afterwards great contention between the *Portuguese* and *Dutch*, for these *Molucca* islands, till the *Dutch* got possession, who keep them at this day.

For some time after this, there was no new attempt made, till the year 1540, when a private pique occasion'd greater discoveries east-ward, than ever had been made before. It happened thus:

Peter de Faria, governor of *Malacca*, dispatch'd a relation of his own name, *Antony de Faria y Sousa*, to *Patena*, to secure the peace already made with the

King

King of that country. *Antony* carried goods with him to the value of 1200 ducats; but finding no vent for them at *Patena*, he sent *Borallo* with them to *Lugor*, in the kingdom of *Siam*, to the north of *Malacca*, on the east coast, about 12 deg. n. latit. *Borallo* being at anchor in that river, was surpriz'd by a *Guzarat* pyrate, *Coje Hazem*. *Borallo* sav'd himself by swimming a-shore, and making the best of his way to *Patena*, gave *Antony de Faria* an account of his misfortune; who vowing revenge, fitted out a small ship, with 50 men, and sailed towards *Ciampa*, to the east-ward, in search of the pyrate. A little east of *Siam* bay, is the island of *Pulo Candor*, and north from that, the kingdom of *Camboia*, whither he directed his course; and coasting along, arrived at the mouth of the river *Toobasoy*, where he took two of the pyrate *Simalau*'s ships, and burnt others. This booty was rich, and the ships being of force, was a great addition to him. Holding on his course, he came to *Varola*, where the *Siam* and *Molucca* Merchants barter their goods for gold, calomba wood, and ivory; and from thence pass'd in sight of *Champilou*, to the entry of the bay of *Cochinchina*, in 13 deg. and spying a ship in a river west of the cape *Pulocampas*; and believing it might be *Coje Hazem*, he attack'd and carry'd it: it belong'd to another pyrate, *Quiay Tayjam*. This prize was valued at 60000 crowns, there being on board 70000 quintils of pepper, besides other goods, with some pieces of cannon, and some plate. After this, coasting along the island *Ainan*, about 18 deg. n. latitude. on the south coast of *China*, he was attacked in the mouth of the river *Tanaquir*, by two large vessels, but took them both, and burnt one of them for want of hands to man her. At cape *Tilaur*, he took four small ships; and, going to *Mutipinam*, sold all his prizes for 200000 crowns, in silver bullion. In the port of *Madel*, in the island of *Ainan*, he defeated the pyrate *Himilan*, and used the same cruelty towards him, as he had exercis'd on Christians. From thence he cruis'd along the coast, and discovered many unknown places.

Pulo Candor.

Varola.

Faria's men becoming weary of chasing the pyrate, press'd to have a dividend of the spoil, which he agreed to; and bending his course back towards *Siam*, where the division was to be made, being attacked by a furious storm, they were all cast away upon the *Thieves Island*, *De las Ladrones*.

But surely there must be some mistake as to the place of this ship-wreck: for the *Ladron* islands are above 1300 miles east-ward of *Ainan*. One would therefore conjecture, that they must have been cast away upon some of the little islands lying to the north-east of *Formosa*. However this be, by this misfortune, he sav'd but 86 men out of 500. They staid 15 days in the island, with little or nothing to sustain them; and, when they were reduced to the last extremity; by good fortune, they perceived a small vessel anchor near the shore; from which about 30 men came to the island for wood and water. The *Portugueſe*, to the number of 28, having concerted matters beforehand, possessed themselves of the boat, and by that means surpriz'd the ship, which belonged to the *Chineſe*, and set sail for *Liampo*, the most eastern cape of all the continent of *China*. In this course they met with a friendly *Chineſe* pyrate, who had 30 *Portugueſe* on board, and so came to the river *Anay*, where they refitted, and held their course to *Chincheo*; and there *Faria* hir'd 35 *Portugueſe*, and sailing from thence, took in eight more, whom he found naked in a boat, their ship having been taken from them by the very pyrate of whom he had been in search. *Faria*, glad of this intelligence, went in pursuit of him, having now got four ships, and 500 men, of which 95 were *Portugueſe*. He found him at last, in the river *Tinlau*, where engaging him, he slew *Hazem*, and 400 of his men; taking all his ships, except one richly laden, which sunk: but the night after, *Faria*'s own ship, and another, were cast away; and the ships which weather'd the storm, were forc'd to throw over-board most of their goods. Here he lost 111 men, but escap'd himself, by getting on board another ship: and, taking a rich prize, he wintered at *Liampo*, built by the *Portugueſe*, in the province of *Chequiang*, in *China*.

Liampo.

Having staid there five months, he set out for the island of *Catempluy*, with design to rob the monuments of the old *Chineſe* Kings, said to have been buried there; and, after many days sail, thro' unknown seas, he arrived at *Nankin*, in 32 deg. n. latit. upon the east coast of *China*; but finding 3000 sail at anchor near that place, he did not stop; but some *Chineſe* he had on board, having been ill treated, deserted him. However, he pursu'd his voyage, and came to the island, which was not far from *Nankin*: the old Keepers having given the alarm, he was oblig'd to go to sea; and, in a month's time, was cast away; and all his people, but 14, were lost. *Liampo* was soon after demolish'd by the governor of *Chequiang*, for the robberies committed by the *Portugueſe*. Thus ended *Faria*'s expedition; which, tho' it was nothing but Pyracy, discover'd many places unknown

Catempluy.

Nankin.

known to the *Europeans* before, and of great advantage ſince their diſcovery.

In the year 1542, *De Mota*, *Zeimoto*, and *Peixoto*, ſailed for *China*; and being driven off the coaſt by a ſtorm, fell Japan. in with the iſlands of *Japan*, or *Gipon*, as the *Chineſe* call them. Theſe lie eaſt of *China*, between 30 and 40 deg. n. lat. In the chief of theſe iſlands, call'd *Nifongi*, now *Japan*, the Emperor has his reſidence, at the city *Meaco*. Here the *Portugueſe* were kindly receiv'd, being the firſt *Europeans* who went thither, and that by chance.

Thus the *Portugueſe* were the firſt diſcoverers, not only of the coaſt of *Afric*, but likewiſe of all thoſe places in *Aſia*, to which the trade, before this century, was only carried on by land to *Europe*, at a vaſt expence, and with great trouble as well as danger.

We think it needleſs, in this Summary, to give any account of the diſcoveries of places in this part of the world, made by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*; becauſe the *Portugueſe*, as they had all the trouble, ought in juſtice, to have all the honour of having ſhew'd to *Europe* the way to the riches and trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*; for under that name is generally comprehended all the diſcoveries we have yet mentioned.

And indeed, conſidering the vaſt tract of ſea they travell'd thro', and the immenſe compaſs of coaſt they diſcover'd, from the year 1417, to the year 1521, almoſt in 100 years; when there was not the leaſt veſtige of any one place to point out their way, but what they traced out with much hazard, and *Roman* conſtany; it may truly be ſaid, that any one who ſhall be ſo unjuſt as to leſſen their glory in attempting and atchieving the diſcoveries of the *Eaſtern* world, as far as *Japan*, by a road unknown to *Europe* before they ſhew'd it, ought to be anſwer'd, as they ſay *Columbus* did thoſe who ſlighted his diſcovering *America*, as a thing of no difficulty: for after he had ask'd them, if they could make an Egg ſtand upon its ſmall end, and they could not; he broke the end of it, and ſet it upright; which they eaſily did, after he had taught them.

Of what conſequence thoſe diſcoveries have been to *Europe*, appears by the vaſt traffick, which moſt trading nations have carried on, to the ſeveral ports in the *Eaſt*, for above a century paſt; and how laborious and difficult a matter it was, will, in ſome meaſure, be evident from a general ſurvey of the prodigious number of leagues they ſailed in one of theſe voyages; ſuppoſing them to have proceeded in a ſtrait line to the great Capes, (where there was a neceſſity of altering their courſe) without ſtopping at any places upon the ſeveral coaſts, in their route to the country they intended to viſit. For,

Extent of the Portugueſe Diſcoveries.

From cape *Non*, in 28 deg. n. litit. in a ſtrait line, to the cape of *Good-Hope*, which lies in 35 deg. ſ. latit. allowing 60 miles to a degree, it makes 3780 miles. But if we take the courſe the firſt diſcoverers were obliged to hold, in order to make the *African* coaſt, without making allowance for doubling ſmall capes, (which yet they muſt have done) it will augment the number not a little: for, ſuppoſing them to have ſailed directly ſouth from cape *Non*, till they came to the latitude of 7 degrees; that makes 1200 miles: then, changing their courſe eaſtward, as the coaſt lies, makes 1200 more: and from thence ſouth-ward again, to the cape of *Good-Hope*, is 38 degrees, or 2280: which, in all, makes 4680 miles. Thus we have above 1560 leagues of new coaſt diſcovered; and in that tract, the farther *Lybia*, the country of *Blacks*, *Guinea*, *Benin*, *Congo*, *Angola*, and the weſt coaſt of the *Cafres*; in all which places, on the weſt coaſt of *Africa*, the natives are inclining to black.

The commodities brought from thence are, Gold-Duſt, Ivory, and Slaves: for the *Blacks* make no bones of ſelling one another, which has been of great uſe to all the *American* plantations. The country of the *Cafres*, towards the cape of *Good-Hope*, abounds in cattle, which the firſt traders uſed to buy for toys, ſuch as Knives, Looking glaſſes, and Bells. The *Portugueſe* have the greateſt ſhare of this coaſt under their dominion, of any *European* nation, eſpecially in *Congo* and *Angola*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have ſome ſmall forts on the coaſt of *Guinea*; but the latter have a ſtrong town, with all conveniencies, at the cape of *Good-Hope*.

From this cape, to that of *Gardafu*, at the entry of the *Red Sea*, we may reckon in a ſtrait line, moderately ſpeaking, 3000 miles: from *Gardafu* to the *Red Sea*, 300; and to the head of the *Red Sea*, north-weſt, 1200 miles; in all 4500: but more, if we allow for the windings of the coaſt. This contains, as far as *Gardafu*, the eaſt *Cafres*, and *Zanguebar*, with all its ſub-diviſions, (viz. *Mozambeque*, *Pemba*, *Quiloa*, *Monbaza*, *Melinde*, *Magadoxa*, and *Adel*. All this eaſtern coaſt of *Africk*, is now in the hands of the *Moors*, except *Mozambeque*, which is ſtill poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueſe*; *Monbaza* having been recover'd by the natives of late years. The product of this country is much the ſame with that of the weſtern coaſt, *viz.* Gold, Ivory, and Slaves.

The *Red Sea* includes *Aben* and *Egypt*, towards the weſt; and on the eaſtern coaſt the two *Arabia's*; that which is called Stony, and the Deſert *Arabia*; which are all in the *Turk*'s poſſeſſion, and not now frequented by any *European* nation.

From the *Red Sea* to the *Perſian* Gulph, along the ſouth coaſt of *Arabia* the Happy, to cape *Reſalgate*, at the entry of the bay of *Ormuz*, are about 1200 miles, partly ſubject to the *Turks*, and partly to ſome *Arabian* Princes. The commodities of this country are, Coral, Pearls, Onyx-ſtone, Balm, Myrrh, Incenſe, Gums, Caſſia, with other Spices and Drugs.

Turning the cape *Reſalgate*, in a courſe north-weſt, thro' the bay of *Ormuz*, you enter the *Perſian* Gulph, paſſing by *Maſcate*, once poſſeſſed by the *Portugueſe*, but now by the *Arabs*. This coaſt comprehends, including the Gulph itſelf, about 600 miles. At the entrance of this Gulph is the city of *Ormuz*, long poſſeſſed by the *Portugueſe*, who were at laſt driven out by the *Perſians*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*. Within the *Perſian* Gulph is the iſland *Baharim*, where was a great pearl fiſhery.

From the mouth of the Gulph, to the *India* within the *Ganges*, along the coaſt of *Perſia*, are above 900 miles. All that country, under the dominion of the *Sophi*, abounds in raw and wrought Silk, Carpets, Cottons, Rhubarb, and Wormwood.

From the mouth of the *Indus*, to cape *Comori*, the very ſouthmoſt promontary of this *India*, may be reckoned, including the bays of *Guzarat*, *Camboia*, *Decan*, *Canara*, and *Malabar*, 1200 miles. *Guzarat*, *Camboia*, and part of *Decan*, are ſubject to the Great *Mogul*; the reſt are under *Indian* princes; yet the *Portugueſe* have forts in the firſt two, and the great city *Goa* in *Decan*, with ſome ſmaller forts in other places: the *Engliſh* have the iſland of *Bombay*, and the *Dutch* ſome forts.

From cape *Comori* to the head of the bay of *Bengal*, in a north-eaſt courſe, is about 1200 miles; and from thence, in a ſouth-eaſt run down to *Malacca*, the ſouthmoſt point of the *Aurea Cherſoneſe*, or *India beyond the Ganges*, are, at leaſt, 1200 more. Theſe two coaſts contain *Coromandel*, *Biſnagar*, *Golconda*, *Orixa*, *Bengala*, *Aracan*, *Pegu*, *Martaban*, and *Malacca*.

From *Malacca* to the ſouth point of *Japan*, allowing for the bays of *Siam* and *Cochinchina*, make 3700 miles, including in this tract of coaſt the eaſt ſide of *Aurea Cherſoneſe*, the Kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboia*, *Chiampia*, and *Cochinchina*, together with the vaſt Empire of *China*. All which, from *Perſia* eaſtward, are commonly, tho' improperly, called by the general name of the *Eaſt Indies*.

The Produce of this vaſt extent of land, as far as relates to trade, is, Diamonds, Silk, and Cotton, wrought, and unwrought, ſweet and rich Woods, Gums, Drugs, and Dyes, fine Plants, and rich Perfumes, beſides the Spices got from the ſeveral iſlands. So that it appears by this computation, that in little more than a hundred years, the *Portugueſe* alone diſcovered about 18000 miles of coaſt; and conſequently the countries included in that coaſt, unknown to *Europe* before.

The Iſlands.

As to the iſlands diſcovered by the voyages from *Lisbon*, upon the *Aſian* coaſt, both the number and value of them are very conſiderable. The *Maldivia* iſlands, of which we have already given the ſituation, are the firſt in courſe; but, tho' they are very fruitful, yet there is little trade with them from *Europe*: So that they are more remarkable for their number, than for any uſe we make of them.

The next to theſe is the iſland of *Ceylan*, a place of great trade, which ſupplies all *Europe* with the beſt Cinnamon in the world. Here alſo are found the fineſt Rubies, and other precious ſtones: and the Elephants of this iſland are ſo eſteem'd, that the eaſtern princes, who have herds of thoſe aninals in their own dominions, give great prices for thoſe of *Ceylan*. Moſt of the coaſt of this iſland was ſubdu'd by the *Portugueſe*, till they were diſpoſſeſs'd by the *Dutch*, who ſtill keep them; tho' they could never make themſelves maſters of the iſland. The Air is very temperate in *Ceylan*, notwithſtanding its nearneſs to the Line; inſomuch, that the *Indians* call it *Temariſin*, or, *The land of pleaſure*.

Gord. *Geogr. Gramm.* p. 300.

Sunda Iſlands.

The *Sunda* iſlands are the next of any account in this courſe, viz. *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Java*; which take this name from the ſtreights between the firſt and laſt, called the *Sund*, or *Sound*. *Sumatra* is about 900 miles long, and 90 broad in the ſouth part: the equinoxial Line paſſing through the middle, makes it extremely hot; as is alſo *Borneo*, for the ſame reaſon: but *Sumatra* is reckon'd unwholeſome, from the multitude of Lakes which it contains. *Borneo* is as long as *Sumatra*, and about 600 broad. *Java* is 600 long, and 120 broad. The ſoil of theſe iſlands is fruitful, and they abound with all ſorts of ſpices. Their chief produce for trade, are Gold, Spices of different kinds, Wax, Honey, Silks, Cottons, procious-ſtones, and fine Braſs. There are ſeveral other leſſer iſlands near theſe,

Ibid. p. 298.

these, such as *Celebas*, *Gilolo*, &c. all which are places of great trade; not only from *Europe*, but from *India*. The *Dutch* have several forts in *Sumatra*; but their chief metropolis is at *Java*, where they have built the great city of *Batavia*, the residence of their *East-India* Stadtholder. The *English* had a considerable trade and factory at *Bantam*, in the same island, but let the *Dutch* turn them out of both, in 1682.

Not far distant from the *Sunda*, are the *Molucca* islands, towards the east: they are five in number, as we observ'd at their discovery. The trade of these islands are much the same with the others; only that the greatest quantity of Cloves is found here. From these islands the *Dutch* expell'd the *Portuguese*, as they did the *English* from *Amboyna*, very near, if not one of the *Molucca's*, by a barbarity never to be forgotten by any but the generous *English* nation: the story is so well known that I need not repeat it. That industrious Republick have likewise got possession of *Banda*, a large island contiguous to those of *Molucca*; whence they drive a *fine* trade for Maces and Nutmegs, which grow in great plenty in those islands.

The *Philippine* islands are not far from the *Molucca*, to the north: but they not being discover'd till some time after; and and then only by the *American* voyagers, we shall take notice of them in another place.

Of the island of *Japan*, we shall have occasion to treat largely hereafter; and therefore shall not detain the reader with any account of it in this place; what has been said, being sufficient to shew what a vast progress in navigation the *Portugueſe* made, almost before any other nation of *Europe* thought of finding out unknown coasts.

Having thus given a succinct account of the first discoveries of the *African* and *Asian* coasts; leaving the more particular accounts of those parts to their proper places, we shall proceed to the discovery of AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's *Discoveries in the* West-Indies.

SECT. I.

His first VOYAGE, *in search of unknown Land.*

TOWARDS the end of the xvth Century, *Christopher Columbus*, a native of the Republick of *Genoa*, of a good family, having been from his youth bred to navigation, and traded several years in the *Levant*, and from thence into *Syria*, and other parts of *Asia*, gave himself to the composing of sea charts of all the coasts, at that time known by the *Mediterranean* seamen. But hearing that the *Portuguese* had lately made considerable discoveries upon the western coast of *Africk*, he went to *Lisbon*, not only to correct his charts, but to enlarge and improve them. Having a competent knowledge in mathematicks, and a head turn'd for navigation, he made it his business to inform himself at *Lisbon*; where he was marry'd and settled, of all that was necessary to be known with regard to the discoveries already made; and likewise gave his thoughts a loose towards new ones.

It has been reported, that the rise of his design upon the *Western* voyage, was occasion'd by a certain pilot's lodging in his house; who having been, by stress of weather, driven off the *African* course, first found out the land of *America*; of which having given *Columbus* a distinct account, he could not rest till he had try'd the experiment. Whether this was true, (nor would it be any disgrace to *Columbus* if it were;) or whether the *Spaniards* or *Portuguese* gave it out afterwards, thereby to lessen the merit of this *Italian*, does not appear: but it seems to have been a fiction, because it looks a little odd, that the pilot should never make this secret known to any body else; nay, that his name should not have been transmitted to posterity. However it be, *Columbus*, finding by the discoveries made towards the south and east, far beyond the equinoxial Line, that the notion the ancients had entertain'd, that there was no living in the Torrid Zone, was an error; and concluding, by his knowledge of cosmography, that, in all probability, there must be a great tract of earth to the west-ward of *Spain*; and that by the very figure of the earth, which by

Eclipses

Eclipſes he knew to be a globe, it was not to be imagin'd, that the ſun, when ſet in our horizon, gave light to no body, reſolved to make an attempt to diſcover what land was towards the weſt-ward: but not being in circumſtances to carry on a project of that kind at his own charge, he, like a good Patriot, firſt offer'd his ſervice to the *Genoeſe*, his countrymen; which being ſlighted by them, he propos'd it to the King of *Portugal:* but whether that court thought they had land enough upon their hands in the new eaſtern diſcoveries; or look'd upon *Columbus*'s project as an idle dream, he found no encouragement from thence. This did not make him give up his deſign; in which he was ſtill more confirm'd by ſeveral ſeamen; eſpecially one *Vincent*, who told him, that having been carried about 450 leagues to the weſtward of cape *St. Vincent*, they had found pieces of wood, carv'd with art, but not, in all appearance, with any inſtrument made of iron; and ſome told him of having ſeen land on the weſt part of the ocean. He therefore ſent his brother to *England*, to offer his ſervice to King *Henry* VII. But he bringing no return, having been taken by pyrates, in his voyage thither, *Columbus* left *Portugal*, and went into *Spain*.

This happen'd in the time of the famous war, and ſiege of *Granada*, carried on againſt the *Moors* of that country by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who had united the kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Arragon:* But their treaſury was ſo exhauſted by the war, that *Columbus*'s repreſentation met with as little encouragement from them, as it had done from other princes. This prov'd a great mortification to him; but he too intent on his deſign to leave any probable means untry'd; and at laſt getting himſelf well recommended by a friar, to the Queen's confeſſor, and being ſeconded by *Mendoza*, the cardinal archbiſhop of *Toledo*, he was admitted to an audience of their catholick Majeſties; where he gain'd ſo much influence, that the Queen would have pledg'd ſome of her jewels for 2000 ducats to carry on the expedition; but *St. Angelo*, the treaſurer, lent the money, and 16000 ducats were advanced for that purpoſe: and ſo confident was he of ſucceſs, that he procur'd a commiſſion as Admiral of all the ſeas, and Vice-roy of all the countries he ſhould diſcover, and add to the *Spaniſh* dominions. This commiſſion was ſign'd by their Majeſties in the camp before *Granada*, on the 17th of *April*, 1492. He likewiſe obtain'd for himſelf and his heirs, the tythe of all that ſhould be brought from the countries to be diſcovered; and that he might be an eighth part of all fleets that ſhould afterwards ſail thither.

Purch. Pilg. B. 2. p. 10.

Columbus having thus obtain'd the ſummit of his wiſhes, ſet ſail in *September*, 1492, on board a deck ſhip, attended by two ſmaller veſſels, called *Caravels*, commanded by the two *Pinſon's*; their whole force conſiſting of 90 men, tho' ſome ſay 200. He firſt bent his courſe towards the *Canary* iſlands, known before to the *Spaniards*, and now in their poſſeſſion; *Betancourt*'s ſon having ſold his property in his father's conqueſts to them. Here *Columbus* water'd, and ſtaid ſome days; and then put to ſea in a courſe directly weſt, continuing that courſe 33 days.

Columbus *ſets out.*

See Peter Martyr's Decads, *tranſlated by* Eden.

Upon the 18th day after his departure from the *Canaries*, he obſerv'd the needle of his compaſs decline from the north pole, two points towards the weſt. Some days after this, they obſerv'd weeds ſcatter'd over the ſurface of the ſea, as if they had been newly torn off ſome land, which gave them great hopes; but when they had ſailed many days after that, without ſeeing land, his men began to murmur, at firſt, and then mutiny; ſaying, openly, that this *Italian* had, by his Chymera, brought them from their own country, to purſue an impracticable deſign: at laſt they threaten'd to throw him over-board, unleſs he would return homeward.

Variation of the Compaſs.

The Admiral ſometimes gave them good words, bidding them take courage, for that, in a few days, he would ſhew them a country, whoſe riches would amply reward their labour; but when that did not avail, he repreſented to them the danger of being proſecuted for high treaſon, in diſobeying the king their maſter's commiſſion. Thus, by promiſes and threatnings, he made them ſilent, tho' not content.

Having held this courſe about 24 days, he and his pilot compared notes, as to the leagues they had ſail'd from *Ferro*, the moſt weſtern iſland of the *Canaries*: the pilot's reckoning was 581; and tho' *Columbus*'s was 707, he gave out only 584. And two days after, the other two pilot's gave theirs, one of which was 634, the other 650. When the *Spaniards* began again to mutiny, they were a little appeas'd by ſeeing great flocks of birds flying round them, eſpecially ſparrows: ſoon after they found a branch of thorn with the berries upon it, floating on the water, and other ſigns of their being near ſome land; and having ſounded, they found ground, and the wind became more variable than they had perceiv'd it during the whole voyage.

Upon theſe ſigns, the Admiral order'd to ſlacken their courſe, leſt, in the dark, they ſhould run foul of ſome land; and, about

about 10 a-clock, he ſaw light at a diſtance, which he ſhewed to his men, to their great joy: and early in the morning the *Pinta*, one of the caravals, which was fartheſt a-head, gave the ſignal of land; which at clear day they plainly ſaw. It was one of the *Bahama* iſlands, about 15 leagues long, in the n. latit. of 15 deg.

St. Salvadore *diſcover'd.*

Thus, in 33 days, *Columbus* ſailed from the *Canaries* to this new diſcover'd iſland; and going aſhore, took poſſeſſion of it in the name of their catholick Majeſties, and call'd it *St. Salvadore*: its ancient name being *Guanahani*. The inhabitants were amaz'd at the ſight of the *Spaniſh* ſhips; but the *Spaniards* making ſigns to them, they ventur'd to ſtay: they were all naked, both men and women; being of a middle ſtature, well ſhap'd, and of tolerable good features: their ſhort hair was ty'd with a cotton ſtring, and their bodies painted of different colours; with little plates of gold hanging at their ears and noſes. The Admiral gave them ſome trifles, ſuch as red caps, glaſs beads, and bells; which they were ſo pleas'd with, that when the *Spaniards* went aboard, they followed them, ſome in Cano's (ſo they call their boats) and others ſwiming. *Columbus* asking them, by ſigns, whence they had the Gold they wore, they pointed to the ſouth; on which he reſolv'd to attempt farther diſcoveries that way: and, taking ſeven of the natives along with him, to ſerve for interpreters (as ſoon as they were taught *Spaniſh*) after a few days ſtay at *St. Salvadore*, he ſailed to another iſland, which he called the iſland of the *Conception*; probably, from their having there celebrated the feaſt of the Bleſſed Virgin's Conception, *December* 8. From thence he touch'd at another, which he called *Fernandino*; and a fourth, to which he gave the name of *Iſabella*.

But finding nothing in thoſe ſmall iſlands to anſwer his expectation, he ſail'd farther ſouth, and fell in with the iſland of *Cuba*, which he took for the Continent. But having ſent two men a-ſhore, and ſeeing no appearance of what he ſought for, he gave the name of *Juana* to this iſland, and coaſting it near 180 leagues, he arrived at another iſland, which he called *Hiſpaniola*, where his own ſhip ſtriking upon a hidden rock, on the north coaſt of the iſland, he and his crew were taken on board the caraval.

Cuba.

Hiſpaniola.

On *Columbus*'s landing here, the natives fled from him; but taking one of their women, treating her well, and ſetting her aſhore, ſhe brought numbers to traffick with him, who ſeem'd very peaceable; and finding there were Gold-mines in the iſland, he reſolv'd to build a Fort; which, by the aſſiſtance of the *Indians*, he finiſh'd in ten days, and gave it the name of the *Nativity*; perhaps from its being built at the *Chriſtmas* time. In this Fort he left 39 men, with a year's proviſions; with ſeeds to ſow, and trinkets to truck with the natives.

Sailing from thence, in *January* 1493, he ſteer'd along the coaſt eaſt-ward, and came up with the *Pinta* caravel; which had left him ſome days before, in expectation of getting Gold by themſelves. Having diſcover'd a good part of the north and eaſt coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, and traded with the *Indians* in ſeveral places, he bent his courſe for *Europe*; but in his return met with a violent ſtorm, which very near founder'd him, and made him loſe ſight of the *Pinta*. However, after long fatigue, he arriv'd in the river of *Lisbon*; and upon the report of his arrival, the king of *Portugal* was adviſ'd to put him to death, for having made diſcoveries for the *Spaniards*: but the King ſending for him, asking him concerning his voyage, and expoſtulating with him about it, (tho' it is ſaid that *Columbus* reproach'd the King for not accepting his offer at firſt) his Majeſty treated him kindly, and gave him leave to purſue his courſe to *Spain*: ſo that on the 15th of *March*, he landed at *Patos de Moguer*, upon the river *Tinio*, in *Andaluſia*; from whence he had ſet out about ſix months before.

Dangers in his return.

The court being then at *Barcelona*, *Columbus* went thither; carrying with him his *Indians*, ſome Gold, and other things, brought from *Hiſpaniola*, and the other places he had diſcover'd. He was receiv'd with great reſpect by the King and Queen, being allow'd to ſit in their preſence; which is a high mark of favour in *Spain*. When he had given an account of his voyage, with all the material circumſtances, he begg'd to be equip'd according to the dignity of his character of Admiral and Vice-roy (now again confirm'd to him) that he might plant colonies in the new diſcover'd places; which was readily granted.

SECT. II.

COLUMBUS's *ſecond* VOYAGE *to* America.

A Fleet of 17 ſail, whereof three were large ſhips, two of a ſmaller ſize, and 12 caravels, being equipp'd at *Cadiz*, or thereabouts, by the King of *Spain*'s order, well ſtor'd with ammunition and proviſions; having on board 1200 men, and 40 horſe, and all inſtruments and ſeeds neceſſary for agriculture, with men

expert in husbandry, gardening, and all handy-crafts, *Columbus* ſet ſail on board the admiral-ſhip, the *Marigalante*, on the 15th of *September*, or as ſome ſay, the 24th; and holding the ſame courſe as the year before, arrived at the *Canaries* on *October* 1. where he ſtaid ſome days, taking in wood and water; as alſo cattle, and ſheep, with other things proper for the expedition.

P. Mart. Dec. 1. B. 1.

Sailing from the *Canaries*, he directed his courſe more towards the ſouth than he had done in his firſt voyage, and in 21 days diſcover'd land, which happen'd to be one of the *Caribee* iſlands, which he called *Dominica*, from being diſcover'd on a *Sunday:* but making no ſtay there, he ſaw ſeveral others, from whence came fragrant odours of Gums and Spices; and ſending ſome of his men a-ſhore, they ſaw no ſigns of inhabitants, nor of any other creatures, except Lizards of a great ſize. One of theſe iſlands the Admiral called by the name of his own ſhip, *Marigallant*, another *Montſerrat*, a third *Guadaloup*. This laſt, being the firſt in which they found inhabitants, during this voyage from the *Canaries*, the *Indians* whom he had taken from *Hiſpaniola* the year before, and had now on board, told him was an iſland of the *Canibils*, or Man-eaters. Here the Admiral ſent ſome of his people aſhore, well arm'd, to ſearch the iſland; wherein they found a great number of villages, ſome of twenty, ſome thirty houſes, all plac'd in a circle, with a void ſpace in the middle, like a market-place. The houſes were likewiſe round, being made of tall trees, ſet cloſe together in a circle, with their tops bent down, to join in a ſmall point, where they were ty'd with ropes of tough roots, or of cotton; and covered with leaves of date trees: they alſo tye ropes of this cotton, (which the *Spaniards* call *Algodon*, and the *Italians*, *Bombaſine*) croſs the houſe on the inſide, pretty cloſe, over which they lay matreſſes, made of the ſame, but not twiſted, in which hanging beds they ſleep. In thoſe houſes the *Spaniards* found ſeveral earthen veſſels; but, to their great horror, they diſcover'd in one pot, man's fleſh, mix'd with that of geeſe and ducks; and ſome of the ſame ſort on wooden ſpits, ready for roaſting, and faggots of men's bones, which their *Indians* told them they us'd for heading their arrows, not knowing the uſe of iron. In ſome of their villages, they have in the market-place a large hall, made after the manner of their houſes, where the people of the village come, at certain times, for exerciſe.

Caribee *Iſlands.*

Guadalupe *inhabited by* Canibals.

Their Houſes.

Their Food.

Upon the *Spaniards* landing, the inhabitants fled; ſo that they found none to contend with, or to give any farther account of the place, than what they had diſcover'd themſelves, or learn'd from their *Hiſpaniola Indians*. In this iſland they reliev'd 30 captives, who were in expectation of being eaten by thoſe Savages, as it came to their turns: they likewiſe found in it ſeveral pleaſant rivers, and, thro' the whole, great flocks of *Popinjays*, of different and beautiful colours, ſeveral of which they brought a-board. At their leaving this iſland, they broke or burnt all the boats or canoe's belonging to it.

Thirty Captives releas'd.

Columbus, being deſirous to ſee his old acquaintances at *Hiſpaniola*, weigh'd anchor from *Guadalupe* on the 10th of *November*; and, ſlighting all the ſmall iſlands he ſaw by the way, bent his courſe directly thither.

In this courſe they ſaw a large iſland towards the north-weſt, which the *Indians* on board called *Matinino*, and ſaid was inhabited only by women, who liv'd like the old *Amazons*, and had communication with the *Canibals* at one certain ſeaſon of the year only: and if any men landed at other times, they retir'd to caves, and defended themſelves from thence with their arrows. The *Spaniards* durſt not board this iſland, becauſe of wind: ſo that paſſing it, and many others of leſs note, they came to *St. Maria rotunda*, *St. Martini*, and *St. Maria antiqua*, all which names were given by them: leaving thoſe, they ſtopp'd at one larger, to take in freſh water. Here the Admiral ſent 30 men a-ſhore, who found only four dogs in the iſland: but the next day, as they were going aboard, they ſpy'd a canoe at a diſtance, making towards them, with eight men and the ſame number of women, all arm'd with bows and arrows: when they came near, they attack'd the *Spaniards* without any appearance of fear, notwithſtanding the inequality of their numbers, and hurt ſome of them with their poiſon'd arrows. One of the women ſeem'd, by the reſpect ſhew'd her by the reſt, to be one of their Queens: ſhe was attended by her ſon, a youth of a ſtrong make, and terrible aſpect. The *Spaniards*, to prevent being hurt by their poiſon'd arrows, which they ſhot at a diſtance, made what haſte they could to board them, and coming full force upon the canoe, overſet her: but the *Indians*, not at all diſconcerted by this ſhock, ſwiming round the boat, ply'd them with darts on all ſides; and at laſt, getting together upon a rock, fought whilſt their ſtrength laſted, and at laſt were taken; one having been kill'd, and the Queen's ſon ſorely wounded. They were brought on board the Admiral, without loſing one bit of their natural fierceneſs, and afterwards

A bold attempt of the Canibals.

wards carried to *Spain*. Leaving this Iſland, which they nam'd *Inſula Crucis*, they ſail'd in a weſtern courſe, through a multitude of Iſlands, which they durſt not approach for the Rocks, till they arriv'd at a large Iſland, call'd by the *Indians*, *Bariquen*; to which *Columbus* gave the name of St. *John Baptiſt*'s Iſland, and is ſince known by that of *Porto Ricco*. Several of the Captives whom they had deliver'd from the *Canibals*, ſaid they were natives of this Iſland, and that it was a fruitful Country, but much infeſted by the *Canibals* who came there, in their Canoes, a Man-hunting; and that the natives had conſtant war with them: But the Admiral making no ſtay at this place, purſued his Courſe, and arriv'd at *Hiſpaniola* on the 22d of *November*, having ſail'd above 500 leagues north-weſt from the firſt *Caribbee* Iſland he diſcover'd.

Upon his arrival at *Hiſpaniola*, he found the fort he had built the year before, demoliſh'd; nor could he hear any news of the *Spaniards* he had left there.

This was no ſmall mortification to the Admiral; but, tho' he had great ſuſpicion of *Guaccanarillus*, the King of *Xamana*, with whom he had contracted friendſhip in his former Voyage; yet ſince he had no poſitive proof of his treachery, he wiſely diſſembled his reſentment. This King, at *Columbus*'s return, pretended to be as much his friend as ever, and ſent his brother aboard the Admiral, attended only by one ſervant, to pay his compliments. He brought with him two images of gold, in the King's name, and told a ſtory of the miſcarriage of the *Spaniards*, which, by the after behaviour of thoſe *Indians*, appear'd to have been forged; nor, indeed, did they well underſtand him; for their *Indian* Interpreters, who had ſurviv'd the fatigues of the ſea, and the change of climate and air, as ſoon as they came upon the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, deſerted the *Spaniards*.

Peter Martyr.

Here our very ingenious author, who was, at the time he wrote this account, counſellor to the King of *Spain*, and proto-notory to the pope, and conſequently a man of reputation and figure; makes a modeſt apology for the *Indians* endeavouring to make their eſcape, from the conſideration of the natural love that all creatures have to liberty; and gives an encomium upon the life which the *Indians* led in their native ſimplicity: but I beg leave to differ from him in ſome things; for, whereas he ſeems to envy thoſe natives in their way of living, as being contented with going naked, and living without the enforcement of laws; I, for my part, can have no notion of liberty without the obligation of laws.

For, as Mankind muſt be conſider'd as a ſociety, without which, I think, the world would not be worth living in; liberty, without reſtraint of laws, in the corrupted ſtate of human nature, would only be a licence to do miſchief; and every individual muſt be an *Iſhmael*, *whoſe hand is againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him*. As to cloaths, tho', I believe, they are only acceſſaries, and appendages of human life, and cuſtom has mad them becoming, or unbecoming; yet regard ought always to be had to decency, which I look upon to be a perfection of nature, and congenial to that modeſty which is born with us, and which nothing can get the better of, but bad cuſtoms. But, without running farther into a digreſſion of this kind, I muſt beg pardon of our author, and of the *Spaniſh* nation in general (tho' neither *Martyr*, nor *Columbus*, were of that nation, but, at this time, under their direction and influence) if I ſay, that I am afraid the ill uſage the poor *Indians* met with from the *Spaniards*, was a greater infringement of their liberty, than their being out of their native Soil. For, had the *Indians* been treated, as people in their circumſtances ought to have been (in policy, as well as chriſtianity) I can ſcarcely believe they would have left the fleet, without taking leave; eſpecially, when they fonnd they were brought back to their own country, and might, by the help of the *Spaniards*, have made a more conſiderable figure there, than, in all probability, they could have propos'd at their firſt ſetting out.

But, to return to the Admiral. After he had been ſome time at *Hiſpaniola*, he ſent to the King *Guaccanerillus* to come to him, which he did, and was civilly entertain'd; tho' ſome adviſ'd the Admiral to make him priſoner, till ſuch time as he had made a farther enquiry into the deſtruction of the garriſon he had left, but *Columbus* wiſely declin'd it. Before he was diſmiſs'd, he ſaw the *Indians* whom the *Spaniards* had reſcu'd from the *Canibals*; and fixing his Eyes upon one of the Women, to whom the *Spaniards* had given the name of *Katherine*, he had ſome Converſation with her, and ſo went aſhore. The next day the King's brother came on board, and finiſh'd the concert with *Katherine* which the King had begun; for that very night ſhe, with ſeven more of the captive Women, got privately over-board, and tho' the ſea was none of the calmeſt, attempted to ſwim to the iſland, which was three miles diſtant from the fleet; and four of them made the ſhore, with *Kathe-*

India Women make their Eſcape from Columbus.

Katherine; the other three were taken and brought back by the *Spaniards*; who having miſs'd them, purſu'd them in their boats. In this ſearch, the *Spaniards* were directed by the lights from the ſhore, which they concluded were made to guide the women in their paſſage.

300 *men ſent in ſearch of* K. Guaccanarillus.

This attempt made *Columbus* more than ſuſpect the treachery of *Guaccanarillus*; and therefore he ſent 300 men aſhore the next day, under the command of *Melchior*, in ſearch of him. This party traverſed ſeveral parts of the Iſland to no purpoſe, for the King and all his People were fled, and they found no body to give an account of them. They coaſted the Iſland in ſmall veſſels, and enter'd the mouth of ſeveral rivers. At laſt ſeeing a high houſe at a diſtance, *Melchior* march'd his men to it, and was met in the way by about 100 natives, led by a man of a ſtern aſpect; they were all arm'd with bows and arrows, or javelins, with ſharp points, harden'd in the fire. At the *Spaniards* approach, they called out that they were *Taini*, and not *Canibals*; *Taini*, in their language, ſignifying, Noble. Upon the *Spaniards* making ſigns of peace, the *Indians* laid aſide their arms; and being ask'd news of *Guaccanarillus*, they anſwer'd, that this part of the Iſland was not ſubject to him, but to another king, who was in their party. *Melchior* made them a preſent of Hawk's-Bells, with which they were ſo well pleas'd, that they deſir'd to enter into Friendſhip with them, and, without any apprehenſion, went with them to their ſhips. They told *Melchior*, that the King he ask'd for, was probably retir'd to the mountains, whither it would neither be eaſy, nor ſafe to purſue him.

Melchior, returning to the Admiral, gave him an account of what he had done. *Columbus* ſent out two other captains, with ſeparate bodies, to make farther diſcoveries; theſe two, dividing themſelves, took two different routs, according as they obſerv'd the ſeveral mountains at a diſtance; making it their buſineſs to ſearch the rivers which fell from the Hills. Some of the natives, who came to them, preſenting them with Gold, told them, they had gather'd it out of the ſand about the rivers; and ſhew'd the *Spaniards*, without any ſcruple, how they came by it; which was only by digging in the ſand, about the depth of eighteen inches, and taking up in one hand as much as they could hold of the ſand, pick'd the gold out of it with the other; and our Author ſays, he ſaw a piece of gold taken up by one of thoſe *Spaniſh* captains, at that time, which weigh'd nine ounces. The officers who were ſent out on this expedition, being limited to diſcoveries only, came back to the Fleet, and made report of the golden rivers, and ſome pieces which they brought with them.

The way the natives found gold.

Upon this report, the Admiral thought fit to remove to a part of the Iſland, more commodious for a new city, than the place where he had built his fort the year before; and therefore, he bent his courſe towards the rivers, the captains had ſpoken of; and finding a convenient harbour for ſhipping, he began to build: But, thinking himſelf oblig'd to ſend an account to *Spain* of all that had happen'd, he diſpatch'd his 12 caravels, as not being neceſſary; reſolving, with the other five, to purſue farther diſcoveries.

Columbus *builds* Iſabella.

After the departure of the caravels, he proceeded in building his new city, which he call'd *Iſabella*, in honour of the Queen of *Spain*. It was built on a hill, in the north coaſt of the iſland; and below it was a large pleaſant valley, fit for planting of all kinds, thro' which flow'd ſeveral rivers. But one great inducement, to make choice of this place for his city, was, a quarry of ſtones, which had been found out contiguous to it, which ſerv'd both for ſtone and lime. One large navigable river run at the foot of the hill where the city was built; upon the Banks of which, he enclos'd a conſiderable ſpot of ground for gardens and orchards; all which they planted and ſowed with the plants and ſeeds they had brought with them.

Cibava, *or* Cipango *diſcover'd.*

Whilſt the building went on, *Columbus* ſent out 30 men to enquire for the kingdom of *Cipango*, or *Cibava*; having been inform'd that that country abounded in gold mines. At their return, they talk'd ſo much of the riches of the country they had ſeen, that the Admiral himſelf, with all his horſe, and 400 foot, march'd, as they were guided by thoſe who had been there before, to the ſouth ſide of this golden region. He paſs'd ſeveral mountains with large valleys between them, in which were conſiderable rivers, all abounding with gold, which they ſuppos'd had been waſh'd out of the mountains by the floods, and ſo mix'd with the ſand in the rivers. Having march'd about 80 miles from *Iſabella*, he gave orders for building a Fort, upon the top of a hill near one of the rivers; which he called St. *Thomas*'s; in building which he was aſſiſted by the natives, who came to him with gold, and were much delighted with the Hawk's-Bells which they got in exchange; and, at the deſire of the *Spaniards*, they went often to the river, and in a ſhort time brought great quantities of gold out of

of it: And one old man bringing two pieces of the ſame mettal of about an ounce weight, when he ſaw the *Spaniards* wonder at the bigneſs of them, took four ſtones in his hand, and told them, that in his country, which was not above half a day's journey from thence, they often found pieces of gold as big as all the four put together.

From fort *St. Thomas*, he ſent one *Luxanus*, a young gentleman, with a party, farther into the country; who at his return, told him ſurprizing things of the riches of it; but *Columbus* enjoin'd him ſecrecy. This country, tho' it abounds with ſtones, and is therefore called *Cibava*, which ſignifies *ſtone*; yet it is very fruitful; and aſtoniſhing things are ſaid of the quickneſs of the growth of graſs, and other produce of the earth.

Columbus having made theſe diſcoveries, and finiſh'd the fort, return'd to *Iſabella*, and reſolv'd to proceed to other places not yet found out; becauſe he knew it was the king of *Spain*'s intention, he ſhould take poſſeſſion of as much of this new world as he could, leſt other princes of *Europe* ſhould get the ſtart of him, and eſpecially the king of *Portugal*, who ſent fleets frequently to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and had made great diſcoveries there before this time; tho' to guard againſt any attempt of that nature, he had procur'd from pope *Alexander* VI. a Bull, dated the 4th day of *May*, 1493. inveſting him and his Queen *Iſabella*, their heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, in all the lands diſcover'd, or to be diſcover'd, weſtward from a line drawn from north to ſouth, a hundred leagues to the weſt of cape *Verde*, (by which his holineſs ſecur'd the eaſtern diſcoveries to the king of *Portugal*, as was indeed his due.)

The Pope's Bull.

Purch. *Pilg.* B. 2.

The Admiral therefore, leaving the government of *Hiſpaniola* in the hands of deputies, ſet ſail for *Juana* or *Cuba*, with three ſhips; but he now coaſted the ſouth ſide of this iſland; and getting ſight of another lying, as it were, between it and *Hiſpaniola*, but neareſt the latter, he attempted to land in ſeveral places; but the inhabitants aſſembling in great numbers on the ſhore, oppos'd him: till at laſt, *Columbus*, being reſolv'd to view that iſland, well known ſince by the name of *Jamaica*, landed in ſpite of the natives, whom he conquer'd, and then enter'd into a league with them: and, having ſtaid ſome little time there, he bent his courſe directly weſt, along the coaſt of *Cuba*, that he might diſcover whether it were contenent, or an iſland; of which he was yet uncertain. In this courſe he met with very tempeſtuous ſeas, occaſion'd by the multitude of ſmall iſlands, to many of which he gave names: But finding a moſt convenient place for anchoring on the ſouth coaſt of *Cuba*, he ſtop'd there, and ſent boats a-ſhore to ſome cottages which he obſerv'd, and, by the ſmoke that proceeded from them, believ'd to be inhabited; but they found nothing in them, except fires made of wood, with a great deal of roaſted fiſh, upon ſpits lying by the fire; and two ſerpents of eight feet long each: having ſearch'd in vain for the proprietors, they fell to eating the fiſh, which they found very good, but did not venture upon the ſerpents. After they had refreſh'd themſelves, they went to a wood hard by, where they found ſeveral ſerpents hanging upon boughs of trees, ſome of which had their mouths ty'd with ſtrings, and others their teeth pull'd out. Going about ſtill in ſearch of the inhabitants, they ſpy'd a great number of people upon a hill at a diſtance, who began to flee as they made towards them; the Admiral therefore, being advertis'd of it, ſent one of the *Hiſpaniola Indians* to them alone; who, ſpeaking in their own language, diſſipated their fears; ſo that he brought 70 of them to the fleet. *Columbus* treated them kindly, and gave them ſuch trifles as the *Indians* are fond of. *Dydacus*, the interpreter, who had perſuaded them to come on board, told the Admiral, that they were the king's fiſhers, ſent to that place to prepare fiſh for an entertainment which their lord was to give to a neighbouring king. They ſeem'd pleas'd that the *Spaniards* had not eaten the ſerpents, which are held in ſuch eſteem in that country, that they are thought too good food for the inferior ſort of people. Theſe fiſhers, joining hands with the *Spaniards* in token of friendſhip, went to catch more in the place of what had been eaten; and the Admiral purſu'd his voyage.

Jamaica *diſcover'd.*

Sailing farther weſt upon the ſame coaſt of *Cuba*, they found the inhabitants more civiliz'd; for, at their going a-ſhore, the natives did not abſcond, as at other places, but came down to them, bringing ſome of their bread, and water in gourdes, or pumkins, which they offer'd to the *Spaniards*; and invited the reſt to come a-ſhore. Some days after, they came to a navigable river, the water whereof was too hot to bear ones hand in it for any time. *A hot river.*

Upon this coaſt they found ſome *Indians* in a canoe, fiſhing in a very curious manner. They had a fiſh ty'd by the ſide of the canoe with a cord, long enough to let the fiſh lie along the ſide of the keel, becauſe it can not endure

the air: when they ſee any other fiſh, eſpecially *Tortoiſes*, (which are there in great plenty, and very large) they ſlacken the cord, and the fiſh, finding itſelf at liberty, darts itſelf againſt its prey like an arrow; and when it ſeizes a *Tortoiſe*, or other fiſh, it throws a ſort of a purſe, which grows on the back part of its head, over the prey, which contracts itſelf ſo cloſe, that no man could diſengage any thing it ſeizes, but by bringing both of them above water, where the hunter-fiſh immediately lets go her hold; and the *Indians* are ready in the water to catch what ſhe brought up. Then they let her down again to her poſt, tying a piece of the fiſh to a line for her to eat. This fiſh the *Indians* call'd *Guaicanum*, but the *Spaniards* gave it the name of *Reverſum*. They gave the *Spaniards* four *Tortoiſes* thus caught, which were ſo large, that they almoſt fill'd their boat; and receiv'd from them other things in recompence. Thoſe fiſhers ſaid, that country had no end towards the weſt. They preſs'd the *Spaniards* to land, telling them, that their king would make them great preſents; but the Admiral would not, at that time, ſtay to try the experiment, being earneſt to find the end of *Cuba*, if it was an iſland, or to be aſſur'd of its being a part of the continent. Yet even in this he was baulk'd of his expectation; for having got into ſuch ſtraights among a number of iſlands, and often ſuch ſhallow water, that the keels of his large ſhips graz'd often upon ſand or rocks; the ſhips ſuffer'd much, and their ropes and cables were in a bad condition; ſo that he was forced to change his courſe eaſtward; having call'd the moſt weſtern point of *Cuba*, which he ſaw, *Evangeliſta*.

A fiſh-hunter.

In his return he viſited ſome other iſlands; but, not willing to truſt his ſhips in thoſe ſhallow ſeas, he ſteer'd for *Cuba*, deſigning to go back the ſame courſe he came. Having landed on one part of this great iſland, as he was one day at maſs upon the ſhore, it is ſaid that an old naked gentleman, attended by a great many others, came to the place where the Admiral was; and waiting very gravely till maſs was over, accoſted *Columbus* by the *Hiſpaniola* interpreter, telling him that, "Having been inform'd, that he "was a great prince, who had con-"quer'd many unknown countries by "his valour; he had ventur'd to come "to him, to put him in mind of the "the two different journeys which men "have to travel when they die: that "the ſouls of the good and benevolent, "have an eaſy and delightful journey; "but, on the contrary, the ſouls of op-"preſſors, and wicked diſturbers of the "peace of others, have a dark and "gloomy road to go. If therefore he "knew he was mortal, he ought not to "behave himſelf with cruelty towards "thoſe who had done him no harm, leſt "the miſchief he ſhould do to others in "his life, ſhould be requir'd of him at "his death."

Remarkable Speech of an Indian.

The Admiral, ſays our author, was agreeably ſurpriz'd at this ſpeech of the old man, and bad the interpreter tell him, "That he was extreamly pleas'd "to find that he talk'd ſo well of the "ſtate of the ſoul after death; which "he thought he had not known. That "as to his own part, he was come into "thoſe (before unknown) parts, only "for the ſervice of the natives, to teach "them knowledge; and to protect them "from their enemies, eſpecially the *Ca-"nibals*. And therefore, he was ſo far "from having any intention of doing "any hurt to ſuch as were peaceably "inclin'd, that if he, or any of his "friends, the natives of that country, "had any enemies who were too hard "for them, he would willingly revenge "their quarrel. And finally, that he "himſelf was ſubject to a great king, "who had ſent him to aſſiſt people in "diſtreſs." Pet. Martyr, Dec. 1. B. 3.

The old gentleman was no leſs charmed with this diſcourſe, than *Columbus* was ſurprized at his; and would have left his country to have follow'd him, but that his wife and children, proſtrate at his feet, beg'd he would not abandon them to miſery. Natural affection and ſound reaſon prevail'd, ſo they parted, with a great eſteem of each other; and *Columbus* keeping his intended courſe, without any farther diſcovery, came a ſecond time to *Jamaica*, and from thence to *Hiſpaniola*, but upon that ſide of it oppoſite to *Iſabella*; at a port which he call'd *St. Nicholas*'s haven, where he deſign'd to careen, and then to go in purſuit of the *Canibals*. But he was diſappointed of that generous deſign by a diſtemper he had contracted by fatigue, and want of reſt; ſo that he was forced to let himſelf be carried to his own new city, where he met with his brother, lately come from *Spain*, and ſoon after he recovered his health; but not his good-humour, being involv'd in ſome difficulties by an unlucky miſunderſtanding amongſt the *Spaniards*, and, as it were, in conſequence of that, a formed deſign of the native kings of the iſland to extirpate them.

Columbus arrives at Hiſpaniola.

Upon his arrival in *Hiſpaniola*, which was the beginning of *September*, 1494. he found that they, whom he had left governors of the iſland in his abſence, had

had fitted out the two ſhips which he had left them, and were ſail'd for *Spain*, with intent to miſrepreſent him, and his conduct, to the court. This intelligence made him think his preſence there neceſſary for his own vindication. But, on the other hand, the ill-management of the government, and the licentious conduct of the *Spaniards* at *Hiſpaniola*, during his abſence, who committed the groſſeſt abuſes and inſults upon the liberties of the natives, raviſhing their wives and daughters before their faces, and taking from them whatever they lik'd, without any retribution, had ſo alarm'd the kings of the iſland, who had liv'd quietly and friendly with them, whilſt the Admiral himſelf was among them, that they were reſolv'd to put the *Spaniards* to death, and ſo rid their country of them. To effect this, where-ever they found any of them alone, or in ſmall numbers, they murder'd them without mercy. In order, therefore, to prevent this miſchief, *Columbus*, being now pretty well recover'd of his diſtemper, ſent for the King of the *Golden-Houſe*, whom the natives call'd *Cacicus Caunaboa: Cacicus* being, in their language, king, or lord; *Boa*, a houſe; and *Cauna*, gold. The other kings his neighbours perſuaded him not to go, telling him, that he ought not to take notice of any meſſage from a ſtranger, who came to bring kings under ſubjection; and at the ſame time they threaten'd, that if he ſubmitted himſelf to the *Spaniards*, they would diſpoſſeſs him of his kingdom, with their united forces. But in oppoſition to this advice, *Hoieda*, the governor of fort *St. Thomas*, in the *Caunaboa*'s kingdom, repreſented to him, the danger of refuſing to go to the Admiral; that *Columbus*'s only aim was his friendſhip and alliance; but if he refus'd that, he would inevitably plunge himſelf and country into ſlavery. The poor king was in great perplexity of mind, what courſe to take. He was afraid to appear, becauſe he had, at one time, kill'd 20 *Spaniards* in time of peace; but at laſt, having, in his own imagination, laid a ſcheme for the deſtruction of the Admiral and all his people, he began his journey to *Iſabella*, with a great retinue in arms; and being ask'd, why he came in that warlike manner? He anſwer'd, that it did not ſuit with the dignity of ſo great a prince as he was, to travel without attendance.

The outrages of the Spaniards *in the Admiral's abſence.*

King Caunaboa *goes to* Columbus.

Upon his arrival at *Iſabella*, he was immediately confin'd, with all his people; and *Columbus* reſolv'd to make a progreſs thro' the iſland, and to bring it intirely under ſubjection; but he was inform'd that there was an univerſal famine in it, occaſion'd by the natives having wilfully neglected to ſow any ſeeds this year, in order to ſtarve the *Spaniards* out of their country; eſpecially in the region of *Cibava*, they had not only deſiſted from ſowing or planting, but had pull'd up by the roots any thing, which could ſerve for food; becauſe they ſaw that the gold of that country was the great bait which took with the *Spaniards*. However, he ſent out one captain with a party to croſs the country ſouthward, who, at his return, confirm'd the account of the famine; telling him, that he and his men had been oblig'd to live, ſixteen days together, upon the roots of herbs, and young date trees, and ſome wild fruit.

Is put in priſon.

The Admiral, finding things pretty quiet in the country, to prevent any inſurrection for the future, built another fort between *Iſabella*, and *St. Thomas*, that travelling might be more ſafe for the *Spaniards*; to this fort he gave the name of the *Conception*; it was in the precinct of *Cibava*, upon the frontiers of the kingdom of *Guarionexius*, who ſeem'd to have a mind to live in peace with *Columbus*; and, to cultivate his friendſhip, gave his ſiſter in marriage to *Didacus*, who was bred by the Admiral, and had been his interpreter in all places of the *Indies*.

Fort Conception *built.*

The garriſon placed at the new tower, or fort of *Conception*, ſent out a party to ſearch, in their diſtrict; who got, from a neighbouring king, a piece of rough gold as big as one's fiſt, weighing 20 ounces, which had been found in a heap of dry earth. This was ſent to *Spain*, and our author ſaw it, as alſo a piece of *Electrum*, or a mixture of gold and ſilver, ſo large and heavy, that he ſays, he was not able to move it with both his hands. This laſt, he tells us, was found in the houſe of one of the *Indian* princes; but the *Spaniards*, after much ado, found the Mine; but he does not ſay in what place.

Pet. Mar. Dec. 1. B. 4.

In the mountains near this new fort, they found great plenty of *Amber*; and a yellow ſubſtance fit for painting, diſtill'd from the rocks; there are alſo, near thoſe hills, great woods of *Brazile*. From the produce of this iſland alone, they might have ſent great riches to *Spain*; but for the lazineſs of the *Spaniards*, and likewiſe from their tyrannical conduct towards the natives, and their ſeditious behaviour towards the Admiral, which put it out of his power to keep the natives in peace with him: however, in two months time, this year, 1494, they gather'd together in this iſland 1200 pound weight of gold. But this only by the bye, reſerving the produce

duce and trade of the ſeveral parts of this new world, to another time, and a more proper place.

The Indian kings offer to pay tribute.

The *Indian* kings, finding their countries almoſt ruin'd by the famine, ſent to the Admiral, to offer ſo much yearly tribute; which he accepted of, and promis'd them all eaſe and peace, upon their performing conditions.

In the mean time, the *Caunaboan* king, fretting at his captivity, deſir'd *Columbus* to ſend ſome of his forces to his country (which the Admiral now might call his own) to ſave it from the incurſions of his old enemies. This the crafty *Indian* propos'd, in expectation that his brother, and others of his dependants in *Cipango*, would be able to get as many *Spaniards* in their power, as ſhould be a ranſom for him and his family. But *Columbus*, ſmelling his deſign, diſpatch'd *Hoieda* thither, with a force equal to all that they could raiſe againſt him. Upon the *Spaniards* arrival in *Cipango*, the king's brother, as he believ'd he would, march againſt them with 5000 men, thinking to attack them unprepar'd; and therefore dividing his men into five little armies, order'd them to give the aſſault at five different places; but the *Spaniards*, being upon their guard, fell in with their horſe, upon his main battle, now divided from the reſt, and treading the naked *Indians* under their horſes feet, gave them a total rout before the others could come to their relief; and when the other ſeperate bodies came to the field, and found their main army defeated, they fled to the mountains, from whence they beſought the *Spaniards* to ſpare their lives; promiſing all ſorts of obedience for the future. Many of them were kill'd, and their general, the king of *Caunaboa*'s brother, was taken priſoner; with many others, whom *Columbus* diſmiſs'd, only keeping the two brothers, with deſign to ſend them to *Spain*.

About this time, a dreadful hurricane ſwallow'd up the Admiral's three ſhips, which lay at anchor in the bay, whirling them two or three times round, and driving them to the bottom, ſo that having now no ſhips left, he ſet about building two caravels, having carpenters and other artificers neceſſary for that work, in his new city. Whilſt theſe were building, he ſent his brother *Bartholomy*, his lieutenant, to *Hiſpaniola*, to ſearch other gold mines, which he found (by ſome *Indian* guides) about 60 leagues from *Iſabella*; and going into them, he perceiv'd that there had been pits dug in them in ancient times. This made *Columbus* believe that this iſland was *Solomon*'s ophir; and that they had been dug up in his time. A weak conjecture to found ſo incredible a ſtory upon!

Columbus ſails for Spain.

The ſhips being finiſh'd, and fitted for the ſea, the Admiral leaving the government of the whole iſland in the hands of his brother, and taking his priſoners with him, ſet ſail on the 11th of *March*, 1495. for *Spain*.

Bart. Columbus, lieutenant of Hiſpaniola, builds the Golden-Tower.

After his departure, the new lieutenant ſet to work to fortify the iſland againſt any attempts of the natives; and to that end, he built a new fort, which he call'd the *Golden-Tower*, near the new-diſcover'd gold-mines; and then put people to work to prepare inſtruments for digging, waſhing, trying and melting the gold. While theſe were carrying on, he took a ſmall party, and went about to exact the tribute, but more eſpecially to gather in proviſions for his garriſons.

About the beginning of *July*, three caravels arriv'd from *Spain*, which reliev'd the neceſſities of the *Spaniards*, in a very ſeaſonable time; for they brought wheat, wine, oyl, and bacon; with other things, of which they ſtood very much in need. The people, who came in theſe ſhips, brought him an account of the Admiral's arrival in *Spain*, but that his two captives, the king of *Caunaboa*, and his brother, had dy'd in the paſſage. They alſo brought orders to him, from the King, and the Admiral, to remove with his forces to the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, near the gold-mines, and that he ſhould make diligent enquiry into the occaſion of the ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*, the years paſt, and to ſecure the Kings who had been concern'd in any of thoſe murders, with their confederates, and ſend them all to *Spain*: which he perform'd, ſending three kings, with 300 captives, by the firſt ſhips bound thither.

Having ſearch'd the ſouth part of the iſland, the lieutenant remov'd from *Iſabella*, and march'd to the top of a hill, near a commodious harbour, at the mouth of a pleaſant river; where he built a fort by the name of *St. Dominic*; having left, at *Iſabella*, only the ſick people, and the ſhip-carpenters, who were employ'd in making caravels. When *St. Dominic*'s fort was finiſh'd, he left 20 of his men in it, and went, with the reſt, to view the inland parts of the iſland, towards the weſt ſide. He divided his men into 25 parties, ten in each party, two of which he ſent into the regions of *Brazile* woods, who having found them out, were the firſt that ever put an ax into that (now ſo much eſteem'd) timber, of which they fell'd great quantities; each company filling ſome of the iſland houſes with logs, to be

St. Dominic built.

Firſt cutters of Brazile-wood.

be taken off by the next ſhips that were bound homewards.

The lieutenant himſelf, marching towards the banks of the river *Naiba*, which comes from the mountains of *Cibava*, about the middle of the iſland, found a certain king, *Beuchius Anacauchoa*, encamp'd againſt the people of *Naiba*, in order to bring them under ſubjection, as he had ſeveral other of his neighbours. This king, ſeeing the *Spaniards*, laid down his arms; and coming up to the lieutenant, in civil terms, ask'd what they wanted? to which he reply'd, that he ſhould pay tribute to his brother the Admiral, in the name of the catholick king of *Spain*. The king ask'd, why he ſhould demand that of him, ſince there was no gold in any region under his dominion? The lieutenant anſwer'd again, that if they had not gold, they had cotton, hemp, and ſuch other things as were uſeful for them. The king ſaid, ſmiling, they ſhould have as much of thoſe as they would. This king, ſending meſſengers home to ſignify his return, took the *Spaniards* with him to his houſe, about 30 leagues off, paſſing thro' the provinces of ſeveral little kings, his vaſſals; ſome of which preſented the lieutenant with hemp, which prov'd very good for ropes; others brought cotton, and other things.

The lieutenant's reception at Xaragua.

When they arriv'd at *Xaragua*, which was the king's houſe, they were met without doors by 30 women, who were naked, ſave only cotton breeches, which came down mid-thigh; theſe were the king's wives and concubines: after them came a company of virgins, who, (not being yet entitled to wear the breeches) were ſtark naked, and their hair flowing looſe about their ſhoulders. The *Spaniards* affirm'd that their faces, necks, breaſts and hands appear'd very ſmooth, and their complexion of an agreeable brown. They had branches of date-trees in their hands, which, with a chearful, but modeſt air, they preſented to the Lieutenant. Thus they enter'd the king's houſe, where they were well entertain'd, and, according to their rank, had their apartments aſſign'd them by the officers of the court; and repos'd in the hanging-beds, little different from hammocks at ſea. The next day they were entertain'd with a fight between two armies; which, tho' it was deſign'd for diverſion, was likely to have been a bloody one, if the lieutenant, ſeeing four men kill'd at the firſt encounter, had not beg'd of the King to diſmiſs them.

Having thus ſtaid ſome days at *Xaragua*, the Lieutenant, parting in a very friendly manner from the king, return'd to *Iſabella*; where, to his great mortification, he found that 30 of his men, whom he had left there, were dead of ſickneſs, having had no medicines, and but little ſuſtenance. He therefore order'd ſeveral other towers to be built at convenient diſtances, about 20 miles aſunder, along the ſouth part of the iſland; to which towers he deſign'd to tranſport his ſick men, for change of air. Having perform'd this, he went himſelf to *St. Dominic*, deſigning to receive his tribute, as he went along. Here he had intelligence, that all the kings, bordering upon the tower of *Conception*, intended to make an inſurrection; and that they had, as it were, forced *Guarianexius* to be their captain-general againſt the *Spaniards*. This intelligence prov'd true, for there aſſembled no leſs than 15000 *Indians*. But before their kings had left their own houſes to go to the camp, (for which they had appointed a certain day) the lieutenant calling a council of war, it was there determin'd to ſend parties to ſeize thoſe kings in their houſes, in the night; which was accordingly done; fourteen of them being made priſoners in one night, and brought to the *Conception* fort. The lieutenant himſelf ſeiz'd *Guarianexius*, for whom he had great regard, as being the moſt worthy man of all the kings, his neighbours. They put two of theſe kings to death; and having admoniſh'd the others, diſmiſs'd them, to the great joy of the *Indians*, who flock'd about the fort, without arms, making great ſupplication for their ſafety. *Guarianexius*, being releas'd, made a ſpeech to the natives, ſetting forth the juſtice and clemency of the *Spaniards*, and exhorted his countrymen to live peaceably. Thus ended the ſtorm for the preſent.

Soon after this, meſſengers came from *Xaragua*, that *Beuchius*, and 32 of the neighbouring kingdoms, were ready to pay their tribute. The lieutenant march'd towards *Xaragua*, where he found them all aſſembled, and where he was moſt agreeably entertain'd by the king, and eſpecially by *Anacaona*, the king's ſiſter, the widow of the king of *Caunaboa*, who dy'd in his paſſage to *Spain*; and being a woman of more than ordinary underſtanding, govern'd as much as her brother did. She perſuaded the lieutenant to eat of the ſame kind of ſerpents as the *Spaniards* had ſeen in *Cuba*, but never had ventur'd to taſte; which they found the moſt delicate food they had ever eaten; being ſtew'd in a pot with a little water, and ſome of the ſpices of the iſland.

Here he receiv'd as much cotton, from the Kings, as fill'd one of the houſes of the iſland; and they having, of their own accord, offer'd him great quantities of bread, and other proviſions, he ſent an expreſs to *Iſabella* for one of the caravels newly built there, with a deſign to ſend it back with a lading of bread, which was ſcarce in that city. The ſeamen joyfully brought the ſhip along the coaſt. Upon the arrival of the caravel, within ſix miles of *Xaragua*, *Anacaona* perſuaded her brother to go to ſee it. By the way ſhe ſhew'd the lieutenant her treaſury (at a village upon the road) conſiſting of chairs, ſtools, diſhes, pottingers, *&c.* all of Ebony, curiouſly wrought at *Guanabba*, an iſland on the weſt-coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, without the help of iron or ſteel, in a moſt ſurprizing manner, all perform'd with ſharp ſtones. This lady made the lieutenant a preſent of fourteen ſtools and chairs, and threeſcore veſſels for the table and kitchen, ſome of Ebony, and ſome of Earth; as alſo four great bottoms (of great weight) of cotton ready ſpun.

The lieutenant carries the king and his ſiſter aboard his caravel.

Being come to the haven, where the ſhip lay at anchor; the lieutenant made a ſignal for the boat to come a-ſhore. The King had two painted canoes for himſelf and his ſiſter; but ſhe choſe to go in the boat with the lieutenant. Upon a ſignal given by the lieutenant, during their paſſage, the ſhip fir'd ſome guns, the noiſe and ſmoke of which ſo ſurpriz'd the *Indians*, that they look'd pale for fear; but *Anacaona* perceiving the lieutenant ſmile, took courage; and they all went aboard, where they wonder'd at every thing they ſaw; but much more, when the lieutenant, ordering the anchors to be taken up, and the ſails to be ſpread, they perceiv'd the ſhip to move without the help of oars; and to ſail, ſometimes one courſe, ſometimes another, without any change of wind; which they could not comprehend. Thus having diverted them for ſome time, and entertain'd them as well as he could, making them and their company ſuch preſents as he had in the ſhip, he brought them a-ſhore, and diſmiſs'd them, much to their ſatisfaction and aſtoniſhment; and having laded the ſhip with bread, he himſelf went to *Iſabella* by land.

Roldan Ximenes *revolts.*

Upon his arrival in the city, he was inform'd that one *Roldanus Ximenes*, (whom, from being his ſervant, he had prefer'd to be a captain, and over-ſeer of the miners) had committed ſuch outrages in the kingdom of *Guarianexius*, that were deteſted even by thoſe poor people, who are only govern'd by the law of nature; and had made the *Spaniſh* name ſo odious, that this King had abandon'd his country, and fled to the mountains of *Ciguaios*, where he had made application to *Maiobanexius*, chief of all the mountain Kings, or, as we may call him, *head of the clans*, complaining of the villanies of the chriſtians, and beging his aſſiſtance; which he readily promis'd him. Upon this intelligence, the lieutenant march'd with all expedition to the fort of the *Conception*, and immediately ſent for *Roldan*, who, with ſuch as follow'd him, and had been accomplices in his wickedneſs, lay in ſome villages about 12 miles diſtant from the fort. When he came before the lieutenant, and was ask'd of his behaviour, he boldly and inſolently anſwer'd, "That the Admiral was accountable for "it, which both he and the lieutenant "ſhould anſwer for, before the king "their maſter; becauſe they had abus'd "their power, and left the King's ſub-"jects to ſtarve in a deſart; that as to "himſelf, he had been left, by the Ad-"miral, joint governor of the iſland "with the lieutenant; but ſince he had "taken no notice of him, as his col-"league, after his brother's departure, "he thought himſelf under no obliga-"tion of obeying his orders."

Upon hearing this impudent ſpeech, the lieutenant endeavour'd to ſeize *Ximenes*; but he made his eſcape, and, with about 70 as profligate fellows as himſelf, retir'd towards the weſtward of the region of *Xaragua*, where he liv'd by robbery and plunder, and raviſh'd both wives and virgins where-ever he came. In the mean time, king *Guarianexius*, making incurſions from the mountains upon all the adjacent valleys, where either the *Spaniards* or their friends were, ſpared neither the one, nor the other, when they came in his way.

About this time, Admiral *Columbus* was preparing for another expedition from *Spain*, which we come now to treat of.

SECT. III.

COLUMBUS's *third* VOYAGE *to the* Weſt-Indies.

HAVING, in the preceding Section, given a ſuccinct account of what paſt in *Hiſpaniola*, during the adminiſtration of the lieutenant, as having been tranſacted under the Admiral's direction, and properly belonging to his regnecy, by whoſe commiſſion his brother govern'd the iſland; we now return to the Admiral himſelf.

He had ſtaid now ſome years in *Spain*, and having juſtify'd his conduct in his two former voyages, from the miſrepreſentations

ſentations made of him at court; he was order'd upon a third expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, for which he ſet out from *Barramede*, not far from *Cadiz*, on the 30th of *May*, 1498. with eight ſhips laden with proviſions. But having had intelligence that ſeveral *French* pyrates had ſail'd towards the *Canaries*, on purpoſe to wait for him, he reſolv'd to take another courſe this voyage, and therefore, ſailing more weſterly than at other times, he arriv'd at *Madera*, from whence he ſent five of his ſhips directly for *Hiſpaniola*, intending to make ſome new diſcoveries before he went thither himſelf.

Columbus ſails to Madera.

Having ſtaid at *Madera* ſome days, he bent his courſe to the ſouthward; and leaving the *Canaries* to the eaſt, he came in with the cape *Verde* iſlands; but being inform'd that there was a contagion there, he made no ſtay, but ſail'd ſouth-weſt, to the 5th degree of north latitude, which he repented very heartily; for keeping in that latitude about eight days, he found the heat ſo intollerable, that their very ſhips were like to take fire, and the barrels in which their water was, open'd with the drought, and both he and his men were almoſt dead. However, in two or three days after, they found the air more temperate; and the laſt day of *June* they ſpy'd land, but could not get near enough for the ſhallows; ſo that coaſting along a day or two, they perceiv'd the country was inhabited, for they ſaw all the marks of agriculture at a diſtance. This was an iſland in about 5 or 6 deg. n. lat. and is call'd by our author *Puta*, upon the north-weſt of the *Terra-Firma*.

The iſland Puta diſcover'd.

Sailing along the coaſt of this iſland, they ſaw a canoe, in which was 24 well-made handſome young men, whoſe long lank hair was cut on the forehead, much after the *Spaniſh* manner; but they were all naked, except a covering of cotton before: they were arm'd with bows and targets. The Admiral, to entice them to come on board, made his people ſhew them looking-glaſſes, hawk's bells, and the like toys; but, tho' they ſeem'd to admire thoſe things, yet they kept their diſtance, having their oars ſtill ready to row off; which *Columbus* ſeeing, order'd his muſick to ſtrike up, to ſee if that would allure them. The muſick no ſooner began, but the *Indians*, throwing aſide their oars, in a moment had their targets upon their arms, and their arrows in their bows; thinking, as the *Spaniards* conjectur'd, that the muſick was a ſignal of battle. They kept at a diſtance from the Admiral's ſhip, becauſe of her bulk; but coming near one of the caravels, they made ſigns to the maſter to come a-ſhore, which he deſign'd to have done; and to that intent went to the Admiral to get leave, which the *Indians* perceiving, fled from them with ſuch haſte, that it was impoſſible to reach them.

In this courſe he perceiv'd a prodigious tide run weſtward, which put him in great fear: this gulph he call'd *Os Draconis*, the dragon's mouth, which is over-againſt the iſland of *Margarita*; ſo nam'd by him, in the latitude of 5 deg. n. After they enter'd this gulph, they ſail'd above 100 miles weſt, in freſh water. At laſt they caſt anchor in a large river, upon the north coaſt of what is now call'd the *Terra-Firma*. The people, who liv'd near the ſhore, came in multitudes to ſee the ſhips, not ſhewing the leaſt ſign of fear. By them the Admiral found out that the region where he was at that time, was call'd *Paria*, and that it was very large towards the weſt.

The iſland Margarita.

Paria.

Taking four *Indians* on board, he coaſted along in a moſt temperate air, and upon the ſhore ſaw many pleaſant and fruitful fields. Early one morning, being allur'd by the fragrant ſmell from the land, they went a-ſhore; where they found abundance of people; and ſoon after, meſſengers came from ſeveral of the *Indian* kings, to invite the ſtrangers to their houſes. The Admiral thank'd them, and excus'd himſelf for that time. After he was gone aboard, great numbers of the natives flock'd to the ſhips in their canoes. The moſt of them had chains about their necks, garlands on their heads, and bracelets of pearls on their arms, in great numbers; which they ſaid they got upon the banks of the adjacent ſhore; and taking up ſome baskets, which they found in the ſhips, they made ſigns that they would fill them with pearls in a ſhort time. The Admiral ſent two boats a ſhore with toys, to purchaſe pearl garlands, and to try the temper of the natives. The *Spaniards* were receiv'd by the *Indians* with great civility; particularly one grave perſon, accompanied with a young man, who the *Spaniards* believ'd was ſon to the other, attended by a great multitude of *Indians*, came up to them in a friendly manner, and conducted them to a houſe built round, where were ſet a great many chairs and ſtools of wood like Ebony, finely carved. When the father and ſon had made the *Spaniards* ſit down, as they themſelves likewiſe did, the attendants brought in a collation of different kinds of fruit, which were unknown to them, and likewiſe wine made of the juice of ſeveral fruits, and very pleaſant to the taſte.

Hoſpitable people.

After

After they had been thus entertain'd in the old gentleman's houſe, the young man carried them to his; where were a great many, both men and women, but the one ſeperate from the other. They were as white as the *Europeans*, and of the moſt civiliz'd behaviour to ſtrangers: but all naked, except a little cotton, wrought of ſeveral colours, upon the lower part of their belly; every one had either collar, chain, or bracelet, and ſome all three, of gold and pearls. The *Spaniards* asking, where they had the gold, they pointed to the mountains, ſouthward; but at the ſame time made ſigns as if there were man-eaters there, or elſe wild beaſts, which made it dangerous to go thither. When the *Spaniards* had ſtaid ſome hours a-ſhore, and had gotten a good number of garlands, they left the *Indians* with much civility on both ſides; and went back to their ſhips.

The Admiral having in his ſhips ſome grain for the colony of *Hiſpaniola*, would not ſtay longer in this country, however pleaſant it was; deſigning to return to it as ſoon as he had ſettled his affairs in that iſland. But he was diſappointed in this; for before he could return to this country, another had made the diſcovery, and deprived *Columbus* of the glory of having found out the continent, tho' nothing can leſſen his honour in being the firſt that attempted it, and ſhew'd others the way.

He coaſted along ſtill weſtward, much about the ſame latitude, above 230 miles; but, as in the laſt voyage he was not ſure whether *Cuba* was an iſland, ſo now he was as uncertain if *Paria* was part of the continent; of both which later diſcoveries have given us full aſſurance. But having view'd a great part of the north coaſt, and finding it to bend more ſoutherly, he turn'd his courſe backward the ſame way, till he found himſelf pretty near the longitude of *Hiſpaniola*, and then made the beſt of his way to it; where he arriv'd the 30th of *Auguſt*.

Roldan *accuſes the two brothers of treaſon.*

Columbus, at his landing in the iſland, was inform'd by his brother, of all the villanies of *Roldan Ximenes*; and of his having not only ſhaken off all obedience to the two brothers, but of his ſending accuſations againſt them both to *Spain*, as if they had acted in ſo tyrannical and arbitrary a manner in the *Weſt-Indies*, as that the *Spaniards* could not live under them; and farther, that they deſign'd to make a monopoly of the gold-mines to themſelves; for which purpoſe they would ſuffer none but their own confidents to enter them. Upon this information, the Admiral diſpatch'd a caravel to *Spain*, repreſenting *Roldan*, and his accomplices, as a ſet of profligate ruffians, who would ſubmit to no government; and, by their outragious conduct, had alienated the minds of the beſt affected *Indians*, and been the occaſion of ſeveral rebellions of the natives.

The Admiral retaliates the impeachment

Whilſt the partiſans of both ſides were managing the different intereſts at the court of *Spain*; the Admiral ſent his brother, with a party of fourſcore foot, and a few horſe of his own people, together with 3000 natives, who were enemies to the *Ciguavians*, againſt *Guarianexius*, who had lately come from the mountains with an army of *Maiobanexius*'s ſubjects, to infeſt the country. In their march, they ſpy'd two of the enemies men lurking in a buſh, one of which leap'd into a great river headlong, and eſcap'd; the other being ſeiz'd, told them, that about 6000 *Ciguavians* were in ambuſh in the woods beyond the river, in order to cut them off, if they ſhould paſs it. Notwithſtanding this intelligence, the lieutenant made his little army croſs at the neareſt ford; and as they paſs'd, the enemy came ruſhing out of the neighbouring woods, and fell upon them with a hideous cry, ſhooting their arrows at them whilſt they were in the river. But the lieutenant's people oppoſing their bucklers to the arrows, ſav'd themſelves; tho' ſeveral were wounded. Having thus paſs'd the river, they prepar'd to attack the enemy, who all fled towards the mountains, and were purſu'd by the lieutenrnt; he having been advis'd by the natives of his party, to march directly to *Maiobanexius*'s houſe; upon his way, they catch'd two *Indians* of that country, who told them there were ten *Caici*, or kings, and 8000 men, with *Maiobanexius*.

The lieutenant marches againſt the Ciguavians

The lieutenant continu'd his march, and the enemy coming to the field in parties, he drew up his little army, and engag'd; but rather by way of skirmiſh, or pickeering, than a ſet battle: however, many of the *Ciguavians* were kill'd, and a good number taken priſoners; one of whom he ſent, accompany'd by an *Indian* of his own, with a meſſage to *Maiobanexius*, ſignifying, that the lieutenant was not come into the mountains to make war upon him, but that he rather courted his friendſhip, and would protect and aſſiſt him againſt any enemy; his deſign was to get *Guarianexius* into his hands, that he might be puniſh'd as the common diſturber of the peace of the country, and the author of all the tumults. If therefore the king would give him up, the *Spaniards* were ready to enter into a league with him; but, if not,

Offers of peace ſent to Maiobanexius

not, they would deſtroy his country with fire and ſword. To this, *Maiobanexius* made anſwer, that *Guarianexius* was a man of approv'd probity, that he had come to him for ſhelter againſt the cruelties and licentiouſneſs of thoſe ſtrangers, who made it their buſineſs to invade other men's properties; and therefore he would make no league with them, but would defend his neighbour King to the utmoſt of his power.

The meſſengers being return'd with this ſhort anſwer, the lieutenant ſet fire to ſaveral villages, and march'd on to that where *Maiobanexius* lay; but before he would commit any more hoſtilities, he thought fit to ſend another meſſage to the king, deſiring him to let ſome of his moſt faithful friends come and treat with him. Upon this, the King ſent one of his chief miniſters, with two officers to attend him. The lieutenant us'd many arguments to convince him of the reaſonableneſs of delivering up *Guarianexius*; but could get him brought to nothing farther, than to promiſe to lay the matter before his maſter. When he return'd, *Maiobanexius* call'd the chiefs of his people together, and laid the caſe before them; whereupon they unanimouſly preſs'd the delivering up *Guarianexius*; but the king ſaid, he was a good man, and had taught him and his wife to *ſing* and *dance*; but his chief conſideration was, his having come to him for ſhelter, which he had promis'd, and therefore would undergo any hardſhip rather than betray him. With this declaration he diſmiſs'd the people, with heavy hearts; and, calling for *Guarianexius*, he gave him new aſſurances of protection; and that he might not be farther ſolicited, he ſent orders to an officer to guard the paſs between him and the lieutenant's camp, that no meſſenger might have acceſs to him: this officer executed his orders ſo well, that two new ambaſſadors, one a captive *Ciguavian*, and the other an *Indian* of the lieutenant's army, were taken and put to death. This ſo incens'd the lieutenant, that he march'd with all his forces to *Capronum*, the chief palace of *Maiobanexius*. At the news of his approach, all the kings fled; which *Maiobanexius* ſeeing, was forc'd to retire (with all his family) to the mountains. *Guarianexius*, being afraid to truſt himſelf in the hands of the *Ciguavians* (many of whom ſought an opportunity of delivering him, as the cauſe of their unneceſſary war) fled to the rocks, where he led a miſerable life.

He refuſes to deliver up Guarianexius.

The kings flee upon the lieutenant's approach.

In the mean time, the lieutenant's men deſir'd leave to return to the fort of *Conception*, where they had plantations, which requir'd their preſence; this he agreed to, and ſent them all home, except 30, with whom he deſign'd to ſearch for the two kings. Some of this ſmall party going abroad to find ſome creatures not unlike rabbets, of which there was abundance in that country, chanced to meet with two of *Maiobanexius*'s people; and forcing them to diſcover where he lay conceal'd, 12 of the Lieutenant's ſoldiers, guided by thoſe two *Ciguavians*, fell upon him unawares, and made him and his whole family priſoners, and ſent them to the tower of *Conception*. Soon after this, *Guarianexius*, being forced to get out of his lurking places to provide himſelf with food, was betray'd by ſome of the *Ciguavians*, and taken by the Lieutenant's men. The apprehending theſe two Princes brought peace and tranquility to the whole country.

Maiobanexius *taken.*

Guarianexius *taken.*

One of the neighbouring Kings, whoſe kingdom was not touch'd by the *Spaniards*, had the moſt beautiful woman of the iſland to his wife; this lady was a near relation of *Maiobanexius*, and having follow'd him in his flight, was taken priſoner with his family. Her husband, who lov'd her paſſionately, came to the Lieutenant, and offer'd to ſubmit his kingdom to him, in ranſom for his wife; which he accepted, and releas'd her, with ſeveral others. This King, in gratitude to the Lieutenant for this favour, of his own accord, without being deſir'd, brought 5000 men, with all inſtruments of tillage, and ſeeds of different kinds; and planted and ſow'd the fields near the Tower of *Conception*, to the great advantage of the garriſon; for which the Lieutenant rewarded him much to his ſatisfaction, and diſmiſs'd him.

An Indian *King enſlaves his Kingdom to redeem his* Wife.

His farther gratitude for her releaſe.

The *Ciguavians* hearing of the *Spaniard*'s clemency to this King, perſuaded their Kings to apply to him in the ſame manner; which they did, and by that means obtain'd the releaſe of *Maiobanexius*'s wife and family; but himſelf was ſtill kept priſoner.

But while the Admiral and his brother were thus, by degrees, ſubduing the Iſlanders to the power of *Spain*, their enemies at court ſo manag'd matters againſt them, that they got a new governor ſent over to *Hiſpaniola*; who being arriv'd about the time that the Lieutenant had made peace with the *Ciguavian* Kings, ſeiz'd both the brothers, and ſent them bound to *Spain*, alledging treaſonable things againſt them. But when the King of *Spain* heard of their arrival at *Cadiz*, he order'd them to be loos'd from their chains, and to come to him without any mark of captivity.

Columbus *and his brother ſent bound to* Spain.

Tho' *Columbus*'s enemies could prove nothing materal againſt him, yet he was not reſtor'd to his government of *Hiſpaniola*; but was acquitted of what he was charg'd with, and continu'd in favour with the King; and ſoon after had the command of four ſhips for a new voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*; of which we ſhall give a ſhort account, being unwilling to mention any other diſcoverer (of which we ſhall treat hereafter) before we had finiſh'd his attempts, to whom the world is oblig'd for having firſt pav'd the way.

SECT. IV.

COLUMBUS's *fourth, and laſt, Expedition to the* Weſt-Indies.

IN the year 1502, Admiral *Columbus*, having four ſmall ſhips fitted out for him, and 170 men on board, ſet ſail from the coaſt of *Cadiz* on the 10th of *May*, and in five days arriv'd at the *Canaries*; but making no ſtay there, before the end of *June* he arriv'd at *St. Dominic* in *Hiſpaniola*; where ſome tell us, from the authority of *Herera*, that the Governor forbad his landing upon the iſland. However that was, it is certain that he was not long there; for about the 14th of *July*, he ſet ſail weſtward, leaving *Jamaica* and *Cuba* both north of him. In this courſe he fell in with a ſmall iſland to the north of cape *Hunduras*. This iſland the natives call'd *Guanaſſa*, or *Guanaja*. Here *Bartholomy* went a-ſhore, when they ſaw a number of ſlaves drawing a canoe againſt the tide; in this canoe, which was very large, was a perſon of diſtinction, with all his family; the Lieutenant brought them aboard his brother's ſhip, finding in their canoe a great quantity of cotton work'd with ſeveral colours, wooden ſwords edg'd with flint, and utenſils for the kitchen, which made the *Spaniards* take the chief man to be a ſort of a merchant, who came to that iſland to barter for other goods. After they had kept him aboard for ſome time, the Admiral diſmiſs'd him, with his people and goods. There was one old man in this company, who, when the Admiral enquir'd for gold, pointed eaſtward, which made him change his reſolution of going farther to the weſt.

Iſland Guanaja.

Therefore, weighing anchor, he ſail'd eaſterly, and diſcover'd a cape on the coaſt of *Hunduras*, which he call'd *Ciamba*, and ſince that, *Caſinas*; they ſaid it had the name of *Quiriquetana* before, and is a part of the continent, in about 17 deg. n. lat. Here he went a-ſhore, and found the natives very civil, for they brought them meat and freſh water, ſhewing the *Spaniards* great reſpect by their geſtures. From this he ſail'd along the coaſt, till he found it incline ſouthward; he therefore call'd that cape *Gracias à Dios*, Thanks to God, becauſe he had the benefit of the eaſterly winds, which are moſt frequent there. In this ſoutherly courſe he found many fine rivers, and ſending his brother often a-ſhore, they ſaw great quantities of gold in ſeveral places, which they got by digging upon the ſides of the rivers, as the natives ſhew'd them. Thus he coaſted along, trading with the *Indians*, and touch'd at *Porto-Bello*, *Nombre de Dios*, *Belen*, and *Varagua*. Near this laſt place, he reſolved to ſettle his brother, finding abundance of gold; and therefore, having frighted the natives by his his great guns, which he had cauſed to be fired over their heads, and then treated them civilly, he began to build houſes for the people he intended to leave there; but the natives, as ſoon as they perceiv'd their deſign, aſſembled in multitudes, and fell upon the *Spaniards* with the utmoſt reſolution, without ſeeming concern'd at the playing of the guns from the ſhips; inſomuch, that having had two or three skirmiſhes with them, and finding their numbers ſtill increaſe, the Admiral gave over his deſign, and left the country.

Cape Caſinas.

Gracias a Dios.

Much gold.

Columbus reſolves to ſettle at Varagua.

But is hinder'd by the obſtinacy of the natives.

But upon this coaſt, their ſhips were imperceptably deſtroy'd with worms, which made them ſo full of holes, that the water came in faſter than they could poſſibly pump it out, tho' they had quite fatigu'd themſelves with pumping: which when the Admiral perceiv'd, and knowing that he was much nearer *Jamaica* than *Hiſpaniola*, believing it impracticable to reach the latter, he determin'd to ſtand in for the former; which he did, and run his ſhips a-ſhore cloſe by one another; and, becauſe the water was up to the very decks, he made huts upon the deck, for the men to live in; going a-ſhore in the day-time, to look for proviſions.

Their ſhips eaten with worms.

In this manner they liv'd for ten months; but ſeeing no relief like to come, and have no means of leaving the iſland in their preſent circumſtances; they prevail'd with *Diego Mendez*, the Lieutenant's ſteward, with two *Indians*, whom they enticed by large promiſes, to undertake a voyage to *Hiſpaniola* in a canoe, which is above 20 leagues diſtant from *Jamaica*; beſides the round they were to take from the part of the that iſland which they had been oblig'd to run into. This voyage they undertook, and happily perform'd; and

ſome

ſome time after *Mendez* return'd with two ſhips, on board which the two brothers embark'd, and all their men, and having ſtaid ſome time at *Hiſpaniola*, return'd to *Spain*; where, ſoon after, the Admiral dy'd; having paſs'd thro' many viciſſitudes of fortune, and left a great reputation, and the honour of having been the firſt diſcoverer of the greateſt and richeſt part of the world.

In giving this account of *Columbus*, tho' we have conſulted ſeveral authors, yet we have, for the moſt part, followed *Peter Martyr*, [illegible]g the moſt likely to be well inform'd of the facts; becauſe, as he was counſellor to the King of *Spain*, and Protonotary-Apoſtolic, he could not miſs of knowing all the accounts that came to the Court, with regard to the *Weſt-India* affairs; and having been perſonally acquainted with *Columbus*, and the principal perſons concern'd in the diſcoveries of this new world, and a curious man himſelf, he ſeems to deſerve credit more than any later author.

CHAP. II.

Farther DISCOVERIES *of the* Weſt-Indies, *by* CABOT, OJEDA, NINO, PINSON, *&c.*

THE fame of the diſcovery of the new World (for ſo it was indeed) by Admiral *Columbus*, and of the rich cargoes brought to *Spain*, at ſeveral times, being ſpread thro' other nations, gave ſeveral others an itch to try their fortune in thoſe ſeas; and, as if the *Italians* had been deſtin'd to diſcover that country to *Europe*, the next attempt was made by a *Venetian*.

Sebaſtion Cabotti, commonly call'd *Cabot*, having come to *England* in his youth, with his father, who was a merchant; after his father's death, being much addicted to the ſtudy of Navigation, and well skill'd in Coſmography, he believ'd there might be a paſſage found out, by the north-weſt, to the *Eaſt-Indies*; which muſt be much ſhorter than that by the cape of *Good-Hope*, ſo lately diſcover'd. He therefore found means to have his propoſal laid before *Henry* VII. then King of *England*, who approving of it, gave orders for fitting out two ſhips, with all things neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition.

In the year 1497, *Cabot* ſail'd from *Briſtol*, in the beginning of Summer; and taking his courſe north-weſt, came up with land about 60 deg. n. lat. ſuppos'd to have been *Greenland*. But perceiving the land to run ſtill farther towards the North, he changed his courſe, in hopes of finding a paſſage in leſs latitude. About the 50th degree he ſaw that which is now well known by the name of *Newfound-Land*. In this country he obſerv'd a ſort of ſavages, clad in skins of beaſts, and arm'd with bows and arrows; here alſo they found bears and ſtags, with great plenty of fiſh; but the ſoil did not appear to be very fruitful. He took three of the natives, and brought them with him; they liv'd in *England* a long time. He coaſted along ſouthward, till he came to the latitude of 38 deg. which is about *Maryland*; but his proviſions beginning to be ſcarce, and no ſupplies to be expected among ſuch Barbarians, he return'd to *England*; where at his coming, finding no notice taken of his voyage, nor any thing minded but a war with *Scotland*, he left the Kingdom, and went to *Spain*, where he was entertain'd, and afterwards employ'd to the *Weſt-Indies*.

Cabot *diſcovers* Newfound-Land.

In 1499, *Alonzo d'Ojeda*, having obtain'd leave of the King of *Spain*, fitted out four ſhips at private charge, and having with him *John de la Coſa*, and *Americus Veſputius*, ſet ſail upon the 20th of *May*, and in 27 days weſt ſailing, came in with land, in 11 deg. n. lat. now known by the name of *New Andaluſia*, on the north-coaſt of *Terra-Firma*, to the weſtward of the river *Oroonoko*. Here was a town built upon the water, like *Venice*; for which reaſon *d'Ojeda* gave it the name of *Venezuola*.

Alonzo d'Ojeda's voyages.

Leaving this place, he proceeded in diſcoveries weſtward; and doubling the north point of this part of the Continent, ſail'd ſouth-weſt to the cape *de la Vela*, oppoſite to the river *Oroonoko*, on the weſt ſide of *Terra-Firma*. From thence they return'd along the ſame coaſt to the iſland *Margarita*, where they careen'd, and then ſet ſail for *Hiſpaniola*.

Tho' there ſeems to have been little or no new land diſcover'd in this voyage, nor any thing of conſequence, that we hear of, perform'd by any of theſe undertakers; yet this whole Continent, from that time, took the name of *America*,

The Weſt-Indies called America.

rica, which it ſtill retains, from the Merchant *Americus Veſputius*, a *Florentine*. Thus, tho' *Italy* had no advantage in the partition of the new World, the *Italians* had the honour of beating the buſh (as *Purchas* expreſſes it) till the *Spaniards* firſt, and then other nations, ſeiz'd the game.

Alonzo Nino's diſcoveries.

This ſame year, 1499. *Peter Alonzo Nino*, getting a licenſe from the King of *Spain*, ſet out with one ſhip, at his own charge, and arrived on the coaſt of *Paria*, or *Terra-Firma*; and ſailing towards the ſouth, he came to a country, call'd by the natives *Curiana*, which I ſuppoſe is what is now call'd in the maps *Curatini*, about 7 deg. n. latit. Along this coaſt, he ſaw ſeveral villages, and being cloſe by the ſhore, about 50 naked men, with a man of ſome authority at their head, made ſigns to him to land; but he, ſeeing great numbers of people, did not think it adviſable to truſt himſelf with them; and ſhewing them Hawk's-Bells, Looking-glaſſes, *&c.* invited them aboard, and there, as faſt as they could hand thoſe trifles to them, they exchanged them for 15 ounces of pearls, which thoſe who came to the ſhips had about their necks and arms.

Finding this people of a peaceable temper, he traded with them ſome time, getting from them all ſort of proviſions which the country afforded; ſuch as deer, wild boars, conies, peacocks, and doves; all which the natives ſhot with their arrows; at which they were ſo dexterous, that they ſeldom miſs'd what they aim'd at. And here the ſimplicity of this people is worth taking notice of, or rather the general bent of human nature to things curious and unknown: for, tho' one would think pins had been a very uſeleſs commodity for people who went naked; yet, *four* pins was the price of a peacock, and *one* purchas'd a dove. Indeed, ſome of them made the objection of their being of no uſe; but the *Spaniards*, abuſing their ſimplicity, ſhew'd them, that the pins were good for picking their teeth, and taking thorns out of their Feet; which paſs'd very well, and the barter continued: but the hawk-bells were a purchaſe for the beſt pearls they had.

The manner of trading with the natives.

The *Spaniards*, after being a little acquainted with theſe people, ventur'd to go a ſhore, and lay all night in their houſes, which were built after the manner already deſcrib'd. Sometimes they were alarm'd, in the night, with the roarings of wild beaſts; but the natives allay'd that fear, by letting them know, no man had ever been hurt by any of them. *Algonzo* judg'd, by thoſe wild beaſts, which was not to be found in any of the iſlands, that this country was part of the continent; but he was confirm'd in that opinion, by ſailing above 1000 leagues along the coaſt, without ſeeing any end of the land.

Alonzo ſails near the Line.

From this place they ſail'd farther ſouth, till they loſt ſight of the great Bear, and other Stars about the north Pole; which ſhews they were near the Equinox, tho' there is no account given of the latitude; only, they ſaid, the natives call'd the country *Canchietta*, or *Cauchietta*; with theſe they traded as with the *Curians*; but going a little farther, about 2000 of the *Indians* came to the coaſt, arm'd with bows and arrows, to hinder their landing; ſo that, not being able to ſubdue them, nor yet to make friends of them, they chang'd their courſe, and ſail'd back to *Curiana*; where having ſtopp'd about 20 days, they bent their courſe for *Paria*. Near the entry into the *Parian* Gulph, or *Os Draconis*, they were ſet upon by 18 canoes of *Canibals*; but the Savages being frighten'd by the *Spaniards* Guns, made off; ſo that the *Spaniards* purſu'd, and took one of the canoes; in which they found only one *Canibal*, and a poor *Indian* lying bound, who, by ſigns, made them underſtand that ſix of his companions had been eaten by the Savages; and that he was reſerv'd only to the next day: the Captain gave him leave to treat his enemy as he pleas'd; ſo that being loos'd from his bonds, he took the Savage's own club, which lay in the canoe, and, by many ſtrokes, beat out his brains, with that eagerneſs and fury, as if he could not ſufficiently revenge the death of his companions.

A skirmiſh with Canibals.

At laſt, ſetting ſail from this continent, on the 5th of *February*, they return'd to *Spain*; having on board 76 pound weight of pearls, which they had purchas'd for goods to the value of five Shillings: many of the pearls they brought home were as big as hazle nuts, and as bright as thoſe of the Eaſt.

The Pinſons *diſcover* Brazile.

In the year 1500, the two *Pinſons*, uncle and nephew, who had accompanied *Columbus* in his firſt voyage, fitted out four Ships at their own charge; and, having obtain'd their King's licenſe, ſail'd directly to cape *Verde* iſlands, and from thence, in a ſouth-weſt courſe, croſs'd the Equinoctial Line, and came in ſight of land. This was the north coaſt of ſouth *America*, now known by the name of *Brazile*, within 5 deg. ſ. lat. Here they found the natives very wild, and could not perſuade them to have any commerce with them; ſo that having loſt ſome of their men in ſcuffles with thoſe people, they chang'd their courſe; and croſſing the Line, ſail'd along the coaſt

coaſt of *Coribana*, in *Terra-Firma*; all which was call'd *Paria*. In this voyage they met with a river 30 leagues broad, which makes the water freſh a great many leagues out at ſea, being a gather'd flood of many rivers from the land; this was the river of *Maranon*: They likewiſe touch'd at many iſlands, but uninhabited (as they ſuppoſed) becauſe of the *Canibals*. In ſome of thoſe iſlands they found *Caſſia*, and large woods of *Brazile* trees.

In this courſe they ſail'd 600 leagues of coaſt; but, at laſt, a ſtorm coming unexpectedly upon them, two of their Ships were founder'd in view of the others, and a third driven quite out of ſight; the fourth ſo ſhatter'd, that they were forc'd to run her aſhore; and when they were in great perplexity how to get away, their third ſhip, which had been forc'd away by the tempeſt, came back again, and by her help they ſav'd the ſhip which they had run aground. Having refitted her, the beſt they could, they ſet ſail for *Spain*; bringing with them a ſtrange monſtruous wild beaſt, having a head like a Fox, a tail like a Monkey, ears like a Batt, feet like an Ape, and hands like a Man: but what was moſt remarkable in this creature, was, that ſhe carried her whelps in an outward belly, like a great bag or purſe, which ſhe open'd and ſhut at pleaſure; there the young ones lay, except when ſhe let them out to play, or ſuck. The young ones dy'd ſoon after they were taken, but the dam liv'd ſome part of the voyage homeward; and dying at ſea, they brought the ſkin with them, which our author ſaw. They had alſo with them a good number of *Topaz*'s; with all which they arriv'd ſafe in *Spain*.

P. Mar. Dec. 1. B. 9.

Alvarez Cabral goes to Brazile by chance.

Whilſt the *Spaniards* were thus buſy in their Diſcoveries on this ſide of the Line, (having ſtaid but a very ſhort time on the ſouth part of *America*) the *Portugueſe*, with a fleet of 13 ſail, under the command of *Alvarez Cabral*, deſign'd for the *Eaſt-Indies*, were driven by ſtorm to *Brazile* (very ſoon after the *Pinſons* had left it) coming in with land, about 20 deg. ſ. lat. Having ſail'd along the coaſt one day, they went a-ſhore, where they found the people of a tawny complexion. They held their courſe ſeven degrees farther ſouth, to a Port, which they call'd *Puerto Seguro*. Here they landed again, and ſet up a croſs in token of poſſeſſion; for which reaſon, they gave the name of *Santa-Cruz* to that part of the Continent; which that particular place retains to this day; tho' the name of *Brazile* has prevail'd for the country, becauſe of the great number of trees of that ſort of wood found in it. From this place *Alvarez* ſent one of his ſhips back to *Lisbon*, with an account of this diſcovery; and, with the reſt, proſecuted his intended voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*.

At the ſame time, *Gaſpar de Cortereal*, another *Portugueſe*, viſited north *America*, which had been diſcover'd by *Cabot* before; he run along ſome part of that coaſt, and gave his own name to ſome ſmall iſlands about *Newfound-Land*, and brought home 60 natives: ſome time after, he undertook another voyage, but never return'd to give an account of it.

Cortereal ſails to N. America.

The year following, 1501. *Rodric de Baſtidas*, with two ſhips, ſail'd from *Cadiz*, having on board *John de la Coſa*, accounted the beſt pilot in *Spain* for the weſtern ſeas. He kept the ſame courſe which *Columbus* had done, when he diſcover'd *Paria*; and traded with the *Indians* in all the places then known to the *Spaniards* upon that coaſt: and then, having a mind to make farther diſcoveries, he ſail'd 100 leagues weſtward, and diſcover'd *S. Marta*, *Carthagena*, and *Nombre de Dios*, all upon the north-weſt coaſt of *Terra-Firma*, towards the Gulph of *Darien*; all which *Columbus* ſaw the year following, as has been ſaid in his laſt voyage. But having got a conſiderable cargo of gold and pearls, and finding his ſhips miſerably worm-eaten, he made the beſt of his way to *Hiſpaniola*, and, with great difficulty arriv'd at *Xaragua*; where, after he had landed his treaſure, the ſhips ſunk. How this Captain came to be impriſon'd in *Hiſpaniola*, is of no conſequence to the diſcovery of new parts of *America*; and therefore we ſhall only add, as to *Baſtidas*, that having recover'd his liberty, and procur'd ſhipping, he return'd with his riches to *Spain*.

Baſtida's voyage.

All the diſcoveries hitherto mention'd, were made during the life of the great *Columbus*; and ſuch of them as were not made by himſelf, were under the direction of thoſe who had ſail'd with him: ſo that before his death, which happen'd in 1506. there were above 1500 leagues of the coaſt upon the continent of *America* diſcover'd, *viz.* between cape *Hunduras*, in 17 deg. n. lat. and *Porto Seguro*, in the the ſame deg. ſ. lat. beſides a great number of iſlands, ſome of which are very large, and immenſely rich.

In the year 1506, *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinſon*, the uncle, already mention'd, undertook another voyage; ſailing to the iſland of *Guanaja*, formerly ſpoken of; and, inſtead of turning eaſtward, as *Columbus* had done, they held their couſe weſt, and

De Solis and Pinſon.

then ſouth-weſt, to the head of *Hunduras* Gulph, which at that time, they call'd *Baia di Navidad*. Then, turning north-eaſt, as the coaſt runs, they ſurvey'd a good part of *Jucatan*; but this laſt country was but little known, till *New-Spain* was diſcover'd, ſome years after.

By this time the Colony of *Spaniards* in *Hiſpaniola* made a conſiderable figure; ſo that the Vice-Roy of that iſland was in a condition to ſend out diſcoverers from thence. The firſt of theſe was *Sebaſtian d'Ocampo*, who was ſent, in 1507, to diſcover whether *Cuba* was an iſland, or part of the continent. He ſail'd along the north ſide of it, and ſtop'd at ſeveral places on the coaſt; coming to the port (ſince well known by the name of *Havana*) by him call'd *de Carenas*; he ſtaid there to careen. Sailing from thence, he doubled the weſt cape, now call'd *St. Anton*; and returning in an eaſterly courſe, he coaſted along the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and put into the port of *Xagua*, which is ſo large, as to be able to contain 1000 ſhips. Here he was receiv'd in a very friendly manner, and ſupply'd with partridges and good fiſh; and ſetting out from thence, came in a ſtraight courſe to *Hiſpaniola*, with the certain account that *Cuba* was an iſland.

Cuba *found to be an iſland.*

The year following, *John Ponce de Leon*, ſet out from *Hiſpaniola* to the iſland of *Boriguen*, ſince call'd *Porto-Ricco*, eaſtward of *Hiſpaniola*, about 15 leagues. This iſland abounds in gold, and has a good harbour, from which it takes its name of *Rich Haven*.

Porto Ricco *iſland.*

About the ſame time, *De Solis*, and *Pinſon*, ſet out again for *America*, upon the King of *Spain*'s account, with two caravels. The firſt land they touch'd on that continent, was *St. Auguſtin*, upon the coaſt of *Brazile*, in 9 deg. ſ. lat. from whence they coaſted toward the ſouth, trading with the natives where they could be receiv'd, till they arriv'd at the latitude of 40 degrees, on the *Magellanic* coaſt; from whence they return'd to *Spain*.

South America.

In 1609, *James Columbus*, ſon of *Chriſtopher*, inheriting now his father's poſt of admiral, ſent a colony from *Hiſpaniola*, to people *Jamaica*; *Eſquibel* ſailed thither with 70 men.

A colony ſent to Jamaica.

And now, ſo many countries being diſcover'd, and ſo many encomiums made upon the riches of them, many proofs of which, and the advantages accruing from them, the King of *Spain* had ſufficiently been appris'd of; he therefore began to think of peopling the moſt remarkable places, with his own ſubjects. In order to this, he iſſu'd Letters Patents to any that would undertake to ſettle in *America*, with large privileges to the adventurers.

Amongſt the firſt that undertook to people that country, directly from *Spain*, were *Alonzo d'Ojeda*, or (as *Martyr* calls him) *Alphonſus Fogeda*, and *Diego Nicueſſa*. Theſe two, having obtain'd, ſeperately, Letters Patents from the King, ſet out in different fleets for the continent. *Ojeda* touch'd at *Hiſpaniola*, and was there join'd by *De la Coſa*, who, with one ſhip had follow'd him from *Spain*; and they ſail'd from that iſland, with 300 men well arm'd, to *Carthagena*, (ſo nam'd by *Columbus*) upon the north-weſt coaſt of *Paria*, towards *Darien* Bay.

Letters patents granted to Ojeda, *and* Nicueſſa.

Upon his firſt landing, he fell upon the *Indians*, and deſtroy'd all that came in his way, upon pretence that his letters from the King authoriz'd him to that cruelty, in revenge of the oppoſition the natives of *America* had made againſt the Chriſtians before. Having had ſucceſs againſt the firſt that he encounter'd, he march'd with his little army farther into the country; and having taken ſome of the naked men, he ſpar'd their lives to be guides for him to murder their countrymen: but the *Indians* getting together to a conſiderable number, gave him ſuch a warm reception with their bows and arrows, and their wooden ſwords and javelins, that they kill'd *De la Coſa*, and about 50 *Spaniards*; *Ojeda* and the reſt being glad to retire to their ſhips.

The Spaniards *beaten at* Carthagena.

Whilſt things were in this melancholy ſituation with him, *Nicueſſa* arriv'd with five ſhips upon the ſame deſign of ſettling on the continent; having with him about 800 men. Upon their firſt meeting they were like to quarrel about territory; tho' neither of them had, as yet, a foot of earth he could call his own, in all *America*; but at laſt, they agreed that *Darien* ſhould be the bounds between them. When the agreement was made, they both reſolv'd, that the firſt thing to be done, was to revenge the ſlaughter of their countrymen. With this intention they join'd their forces, and uſing more caution than at firſt, they ſurrounded a village where the bulk of the *Indian* army was lodg'd; and ſetting fire to it, either kill'd or burnt all that were in it, except ſix children, whom they kept for interpreters, and ſome few who forced their way thro', or eſcap'd privately.

But getting new aſſiſtance revenge the loſs.

Having thus reveng'd *Coſa*'s death, *Ojeda* ſail'd farther up the coaſt of *Uraba*, in the *Terra-Firma*, and built a fort call'd *St. Sebaſtian*. But ſoon after, going into the inland country with a party, in ſearch

Ojeda *builds* St. Sebaſtian, *on the coaſt of* Uraba.

ſeach of gold-mines, of which he had an account, he was ſhot in the thigh with a poiſon'd arrow; which oblig'd him to leave his new garriſon, under the guard of an officer, and to ſail to *Hiſpaniola*, both to get his wound cur'd, and to procure more force; promiſing to return, or to ſend them recruits and proviſions in 15 days; which if he did not, they were at liberty to abandon the fort; as they did accordingly, at the time fix'd, being in ſcarcity of every thing. However, meeting at ſea with *Anciſus*, a friend of *Ojeda*'s, who was coming from *Hiſpaniola* to him with recruits of all things neceſſary, he perſuaded them to return to *Uraba*; but whether by chance, or deſign, they came to a convenient harbour, not far from the place where *Ojeda* and *Nicueſſa* had ſlaughter'd the *Indians*. Here they got a-ſhore, and found the *Indians* in arms. But one of *Anciſus*'s men, who had learn'd the language of the country from ſome captives he had known at *Hiſpaniola*, went to the natives; and being inform'd, that they were aſſembled to revenge the death of their countrymen, told them, that theſe were ſtrangers come upon their coaſt by chance; but that they belong'd to a nation which was able to deſtroy their whole country, if they us'd theſe people ill; for which cauſe, he adviſed them to lay aſide their arms, and make peace with them. This had the deſir'd effect; the *Indians* were quieted, and furniſhed the *Spaniards* with ſuch proviſions as they had.

He is wounded with a poiſon'd arrow.

The fort deſerted.

Anciſus, *newly arriv'd with proviſions, loſes them and his ſhip.*

After they had ſtay'd here ſome little time, they ſet ſail for *St. Sebaſtian*'s; but, unfortunately, *Anciſus*'s ſhip ſtruck upon a bank of ſand in the mouth of the harbour, and was loſt, together with all the proviſions, artilery, cattle, and other neceſſaries brought from *Hiſpaniola*; ſo that, of the whole cargo, they only ſav'd about twelve barrels of meal, and ſome few cheeſes and Biskets; the men got a-ſhore in the brigantine, and ſhip's boat; but when they landed, they found their fort demoliſh'd, and moſt of their houſes burn'd; ſo that finding no comfort in this place, they reſolv'd to go farther weſt; which they forthwith put in execution, and landed in the river of *Darien*, which is now reckon'd the Iſthmus that divides ſouth and north *America*; where the *Scotch* ſent a colony in 1698, at a great expence, for them; which was diſappointed, in a manner not very reputable for the authors; and which, I believe, moſt people now think ill judg'd; but this by the bye. Here the *Spaniards* had an encounter with the natives, and put them to flight, reſolving to ſettle their new colony on the banks of this river, being in 8 or 9 deg. n. lat.

They ſettle at Darien.

Whilſt theſe misfortunes befel the planters at *Uraba*, *Nicueſſa* had no better luck towards the weſt; for, having himſelf gone aboard a brigantine, for expedition, and order'd the large ſhips to follow him, he paſs'd *Veragua*, where he intended to ſettle; and having loſt the company of all his fleet in the night, ſail'd on weſtward, without knowing his error. The large ſhips, and the other caravels, enquiring of the inhabitants, as they coaſted along, arriv'd at the river *Veragua*, where they came to an anchor, impatiently expecting the return of the governor *Nicueſſa:* at laſt, his ſhip's boat came up to them, with three men in it, who had ſtole away from the captain; theſe men inform'd them, that *Nicueſſa* had loſt his ſhip, and was now in a miſerable condition, wand'ring a-foot, with a ſmall number of men, in want of every thing, hoping to find out *Veragua*, which he had gone to the north-weſt of, as far as cape *Gracias a Dios*, above 100 leagues in a ſtrait line, not allowing for the turn of the coaſt. Upon this intelligence, they ſent the three *Spaniards* back with one of the brigantines, to bring the governor, which they perform'd: but, upon his arrival, he did not like the place, and therefore ſail'd eaſtward, as far as *Porto-Bello*, over-againſt *Panama*; but his men being ſo fatigu'd with hardſhips, and want of good feeding, that they durſt not engage with the natives who appear'd againſt them; they coaſted ſome leagues farther eaſt, where he erected a ſmall tower, which he call'd *Nombre de Dios*, the *Name of God*, almoſt over-againſt *Carthagena*, on the oppoſite ſide of the Gulph of *Darien*. But famine, fatigue, and the *Indian* arrows, had now reduc'd his 800 men to 100.

Nicueſſa's *misfortunes.*

He builds the fort Nombre de Dios.

In the mean time the colony at *Darien*, went to pieces, in diſputing about its government; one *Nunez* ſetting up againſt *Anciſus*; and many expreſs'd a deſire to find out, and join *Nicueſſa*. Whilſt they were in this diſconcerted ſtate, and at the ſame time in want of all neceſſaries, *Roderic Colmenaris* arriv'd at *St. Sebaſtian*'s from *Hiſpaniola*; but finding neither fort nor countrymen, he order'd all his guns to be fir'd, and beacons to be lighted on the tops of the rocks. The guns being heard at *Darien*, were anſwer'd by Fires from thence; which being a guide to *Colmenaris*, he ſail'd thither, to the great joy of the colony. To him they communicated their deſign of ſending to *Nicueſſa*; and he, from the friendſhip he had for him, willingly came into it, and went with one of his own ſhips, and part of the proviſions he had, to look for him. After ſearching in ſeveral pla-

Diſcord among the Spaniards *at* Darien.

ces,

ces, he found him at his new fort, in a moſt miſerable condition, his men being reduc'd to ſixty; and both he and they little better than dead. They all embark'd together; but whether his temper was ſowr'd by his misfortunes, or that he was naturally haughty, he began to be ſo imperious at *Darien*, that the old colony forced him out; and, with 17, the only now ſurvivors of all that he brought to *America* with him, he ſet ſail from *Darien* about *March*, and was never more heard of.

Diſcord at Darien.

But after his departure, the contentions encreas'd among the *Spaniards* who remain'd; ſo that *Anciſus*, who had a deputation from *Ojeda* to command the garriſon in his abſence, was impriſon'd by *Nunez*; but being releas'd, would ſtay no longer among them; and therefore, refuſing the ſolicitations of many, who preſs'd him to ſtay, he ſet ſail for *Hiſpaniola*. The *Spaniards* of the garriſon finding him reſolute, ſent *Valdivia* and *Zamudius* to the Admiral, (young *Columbus*) to give him a true account of their affairs, and to beg relief; giving inſtructions to *Valdivia* to return from *Hiſpaniola* with proviſions; but that *Zamudius* ſhould go to *Spain*, to give the King an account of what had paſt, leſt *Anciſus* ſhould raiſe his majeſty's anger againſt them.

Theſe three ſail'd from *Darien* at the ſame time; and *Nunez*, together with *Colmenaris*, being in great want of proviſions, releas'd King *Careta*, whom they had taken priſoner without reaſon, and enter'd into a league with him againſt the other kings his neighbours. With their joint forces they march'd into *Poncha*'s dominions, and arrived at his palace; which they found abandon'd, but well ſtor'd with proviſions, and ſome gold wrought and engrav'd after their manner. From thence they proceeded to *Comogra*; the king of which they made peace with, by means of a relation of *Careta*'s, who was then with him. This King had a ſon of good underſtanding, who perceiving the *Spaniards* inſatiable thirſt for gold, gave them 4000 ounces of it carved; which, with a good quantity they got from other places, they weigh'd, in order to lay bye the King of *Spain*'s tax, and divide the reſt.

Great virtue in an Indian.

But the King of *Comogra*'s ſon, who was preſent, perceiving them to quarrel about the partition of it, ſtruck the ſcale with his foot, and ſcatter'd the gold abroad; telling them, that it was a ſhame for people to value gold above their own peace and quiet; and to make themſelves exiles from their own country, and endure ſo many hardſhips and inconveniencies, for traſh. But if they had ſuch a deſire of it, he would conduct them to a place where they might have as much as they pleas'd; but there was need of a greater force than they had, to ſubdue the great King *Tumanama*, diſtant from *Comogra* only ſix Suns, or ſix days journey. He affirm'd, that the King he had nam'd had all his furniture of gold; and, pointing towards the hills, he told them there was another ſea at the back of thoſe hills, with ſhips like their caravels.

The *Spaniards* liſten'd attentively to the ſpeech of the young *Indian*, which had been interpreted to them by three of their own number, who had learn'd the language at *Careta*'s court. They ask'd him, what certainty he had for what he affirm'd, and what courſe he would adviſe them to take, in order to conquer that country? To this the young man reply'd, that having had continual war with the kings on the other ſide of the mountains, they had often made ſome of their men priſoners, and likewiſe been captives to them; ſo that he had been certainly inform'd, both by his fathers ſubjects, who had either been priſoners, and eſcaped, or had been ſent on embaſſies upon ſafe-conduct; and likewiſe by his converſation with the people of that country, who had, from time to time, been priſoners at his father's court, of the truth of what he had ſaid; and he was ſo confident that his information was good, that he offer'd to be their guide, and was willing to have his hands tied during the march, and to be hang'd up on the next tree, if they ſhould find themſelves deceived by his words. But he told them, they muſt have 1000 men of their own nation, arm'd as themſelves were, whom his father's army ſhould accompany; and all the advantage he propos'd to himſelf was, the freeing his country from the oppreſſion of tyrants, and the invaſion of foreigners: a more noble end than getting gold, or enlarging dominions.

When they had ſtaid ſome time at *Comogra*, and promiſed the young gentleman to return with the 1000 men, they went back to *Darien*, where ſoon after *Valdivia* arriv'd with a ſmall caravel of proviſions from *Hiſpaniola*, (there having been no larger veſſel there) but he aſſur'd them, from the Admiral, that they ſhould ſoon be well ſupplied.

After they had ſpent the ſupply brought from *Hiſpaniola*, they ſent *Valdivia* back thither, with the King's tax of gold, amounting to 300 pound weight. And, the garriſon dividing themſelves, 100 went with *Nunez* in a brigantine and canoes, coaſting along weſtward in ſearch of food; and 60 went with *Colminaris* into the country; but the inhabitants

fled

fled before them every where, leaving gold and furniture, but no provisions, of which they were in great want. *Colminaris* came to one kingdom, whose king had his palace in the top of an high tree, who refusing to come down, the *Spaniards* began to cut the tree with axes, which making the chips fly about, the King and his two sons came down in a friendly manner, and promis'd to send people to gather gold for them; because they had none ready, it being in no esteem with them. Here they were entertain'd, and drank wine made of fruits of different kinds, which they kept in cellars at the foot of the tree. But when they were gone, the King descended from his palace, and retir'd to the mountains, with his whole family; not thinking any more of the gold he had promis'd.

A King's palace in the top of a tree.

Nunez and *Colminaris*, having spent some time in these excursions, return'd to *Darien*, taking what care they could of some plantations they had made there, by the assistance of such natives as they had taken prisoners, or else were sent by the Kings; who, to curry favour with them, made their people labour their ground. About this time they escap'd a dangerous conspiracy; which, had it not been discover'd, would have ended their labours and lives together.

The Kings their neighbours, who had fled their countries upon the *Spaniards* approach, happening to meet in the mountains, enter'd into a league together against the common enemy; and agreed upon a certain day, that all of them should meet, and fall upon the *Spaniards*; and in the mean time, they privately sent in good store of provisions for their army, to a village call'd *Tichiri*, not far from *Darien*. This Plot was discover'd by a gentleman, belonging to one of the Kings, to a sister of his, one of the most beautiful women of the country, who was *Nunez*'s prisoner, but well us'd. The brother's design in revealing it (at a private visit he made her) was, that she might get out of the way at the time appointed, for fear of danger. This woman, either from a love for *Nunez*, or out of fear, reveal'd the whole Plot. *Nunez* bid her send for her brother, which she did; who, being examin'd, readily confess'd the whole design. *Nunez*, upon this discovery, march'd immediately with 70 men to the palace of one of the chief confederates; but missing himself, he took his family; and, at the same time, *Colminaris* sail'd up the river with four of the largest canoes and 60 men, with the maid's brother for his guide, to *Tichiri*, where he hang'd the Governor of the place, and seiz'd all the provisions; and finding four more of the chief persons employ'd in the management of the design, he order'd them to be shot with arrows. These executions made the *Indians* quietly submit to the power of the *Spaniards*.

When they had thus luckily escap'd the danger, they resolv'd to send some of their number to solicite the 1000 men propos'd by the young *Comogrian*; and, after some debate, they pitch'd upon *Colminaris*, and *Quicedus*; who undertaking it, sail'd for *Hispaniola*; and touching at *Cuba*, found *Valdivia*'s vessel broken in pieces; and were inform'd by two *Indians*, that the whole crew had been destroy'd by the natives; but *Colminaris*, finding himself unable to revenge their death, departed from *Cuba*; and, after a tedious and dangerous voyage, arriv'd at *Hispaniola*, where he was inform'd of *Ojeda*'s death. They made no stay in that island, but having inform'd the Admiral of the state of their colony at *Darien*, set out for *Spain*, where they landed in *April*, 1513.

Some time after *Colminaris* and *Quicedus* left *Darien*, *Nunez*, being under some apprehension of the success of *Anciſus*'s accusation; as he was conscious that he had got himself into power at *Darien* by indirect means, he began to be afraid of the King's resentment; and, as the least that could happen upon that, his being superseded by a new Governor sent from *Spain*; he therefore resolv'd to attempt something that might make him considerable, and perhaps ingratiate him with the King, if he succeeded in his design. Being a man of an enterprizing genius, and romantic courage, he intended to try with 200 men, what was believ'd to be a dangerous undertaking with a 1000. And in order to this, he set out in *Sept.* 1513, with one brigantine, and ten canoes, and sail'd up the river to *Poncha*'s territory, who fled as formerly, upon the approach of the *Spaniards*. But *Nunez* having no mind to leave an enemy behind him so near *Darien*, sent messengers to him, chosen out of *Careta*'s subjects, offering him his friendship; which the other accepting, came to him, enter'd into an alliance, and gave him guides to conduct him over the mountains.

Nunez's bold attempt.

In his march he had the Kingdom of *Quarequa* to pass thro', where he was oppos'd by the King, with a number of his people in arms. The *Spaniards* stood the assault, and discharging their guns upon the enemy, so astonish'd them with the noise and smell of the powder, (a great many *Indians* being kill'd with the first fire) that they all turn'd their

backs and fled, not thinking their numbers sufficient to stand against people who carried thunder and light'ning about them. The *Spaniards* pursuing them, kill'd above 600 of them, together with their King; who indeed deserv'd this fate more justly than any of those whom they sacrificed hitherto; for he was a monster for unnatural lust, as they were inform'd, and saw evident signs of it at his house, which they rifled. There they found his own brother, and many other youths, the horrid subjects of his brutality, dress'd in such attire as the better sort of women wore in that country; about 40 of whom *Nunez* gave to a set of dogs, (which he made use of in the war against the naked *Indians*) who devour'd them, to the great joy of the meaner sort; who finding such exemplary punishment inflicted upon those wretches, came to him from all quarters, dragging along with them all such as they knew to have been corrupted by the sad example of the King's family, desiring him to give them for a prey to his dogs.

He punishes Sodomy.

Nunez proceeding on his march, with some guides of this country, on the 24th of *September* reach'd the top of the mountains, from whence, to their infinite joy, they had a view of the South-Sea; at which all the *Spaniards*, falling upon their knees, gave Thanks to God Almighty, and pray'd for success. Here they carved the King of *Spain*'s name on several trees, and put several heaps of stones together; that in case they should miscarry, there might remain a monument of their having been there. This done, they march'd down the hills towards the South-Sea; and coming to *Chiapes*, a kingdom on the side of the mountain, they were stop'd by the *Indians* assembled in arms; but this army was put to flight by the terrour of their guns; *Nunez* forbad any slaughter without necessity; so that there were only five kill'd, but many made prisoners; several of whom he releas'd in a friendly manner, and sent them in search of their King, whom he invited to come to him; which he did, and they enter'd into a league, and made presents to one another; the King giving the *Spaniards* gold, as the other Kings had done, and he, on the other hand, making the King a present of looking-glasses, hawk's-bells, *&c.*

They come in sight of the South-Sea.

Nunez being now near the coast of the South-Sea, whither the King of *Chiapes* offer'd to be his guide, sent for the guides, which he had from the north-side of the hills, and rewarding them for their trouble, dismiss'd them. In four days he arriv'd upon the shore, with his new Ally, and took possession of that ocean, in the King of *Spain*'s name; and passing a large river, in the gulph of *St. Michael*, and Bay of *Panama*, he beat the King of *Coquira*; and, after several messages, made peace with him, receiving from him 650 pound weight of gold. Here he would needs visit some of the islands, much against the inclination of the King of *Chiapes*, who told him the danger of going upon that sea, at that season of the year. After some difficulty, and being only able to land in one island, he was forced to come to land; when he marched to the Kingdom of *Tumaccus*, who coming against him with his army, shar'd the same fate with the other *Indians*; and, with great difficulty, was persuaded to come to *Nunez*; but coming at last, and making peace, he sent him 614 pound weight of gold, and 240 large pearls; and finding that the *Spaniards* were fond of the pearls, he sent some of his people to fish, who, in four days, brought 12 pound weight of such as they call orient pearls.

From hence *Nunez* would have gladly gone to the pearl island, which they told him was about 30 miles from the coast; but the Kings dissuaded him from it, upon the account of the season; so that he left the coast, and dismiss'd the King of *Chiapes*, intending to return to *Darien* by another route.

He had so good fortune in this expedition, that tho' he had many skirmishes with the *Indians*, he had not lost one man, nor receiv'd the least hurt himself. And the like good fortune attended him in his return, except his falling ill of a fever towards the end of his march. He visited several Kingdoms, and receiv'd the submissions of all the Kings as he pass'd, and had presents of gold from all; only he surpriz'd *Tumanama* (of whom the young *Comogrian* had given them an account); when he was made prisoner, *Nunez* pretended that he would put him to death; but, upon his humble submission, he releas'd him. Thus, in about six months, he came back to *Darien*; having pass'd thro' many rich countries, and discover'd the South-Sea, never seen by any *European* before. These discoveries reconcil'd him to the King of *Spain*; and tho' he was but of mean extraction, and had but an indifferent character before, his prudent conduct and courage so recommended him at the court of *Spain*, that he was made the King's Lieutenant in all that part of the continent.

Whilst *Nunez* was on the south side of the mountains, above *Darien*, preparations were making in *Spain* for a fleet, to convey *Peter Arias*, or, (as he

was

was call'd corruptedly) *Pedrarias*, to *Darien*, with the King's commiſſion, as Lieutenant and Commander in chief of that colony; and accordingly,

Peter Arias *ſent governor of* Darien.

In the beginning of *April*, 1514, *Pedrarias* ſet ſail with 17 ſhips, and 1500 men, from *Guadalquiver*, on the coaſt of *Andaluſia*; and having ſtop'd at the *Canaries* to water, held his courſe to the continent of *America*; and coming to the coaſt of *Paria*, he was attack'd, even in the bay, by the natives (whom they ſuppos'd to be of the race of the *Canibals*.) Theſe Savages ſeem'd to have no apprehenſion of the bulk or number of the ſhips; nor would they have been hindred from ſhooting their poiſon'd arrows; but by diſcharging the great guns, loaded with cartridge-ſhot; which, doing great execution, they took for thunder and light'ning, (of which they are much afraid) and made to the ſhore. The *Spaniards* purſu'd them in their boats, and landed 500 of their men, who march'd after the Barbarians, a good way into the country, and had ſome skirmiſhes with them; but they ſtill made off, and ſeem'd confounded at the report of the guns. The Governor cauſing the ſignal of retreat to be made, his men return'd, bringing ſome of the ſpoil of the country with them, which they had taken out of their houſes; ſuch as bracelets, collars, feathers of different colours, made into cloaks, and ſeveral odd trinkets. Having coaſted a great way to the weſt and ſouth-weſt, and touch'd at ſeveral places, they arriv'd at *Darien* the 18th of *June*; where they were receiv'd by the garriſon three miles out of town.

After ſome time had been ſpent in careſſing one another, the new Governor call'd an Aſſembly of the old garriſon, and of the officers he had brought with him; where having caus'd his commiſſion to be read, he told them of ſeveral articles, concerning which he had inſtructions to enquire; and, particularly with regard to *Nunez*. But, having heard of his behaviour in the ſouthern expedition, the diſcovery of the ſouth-ſea, and of the ſeveral places upon that coaſt; and that he had ſent a particular account to *Spain*, of the whole affair, he made no farther ſearch into his conduct otherwiſe; not doubting but that the importance of that ſervice would cancel any former errors; and he judg'd right: for, upon the King's being apprized of what he had done, and his being ſufficiently certified of the truth of his letters, his Majeſty immediately ſent him a commiſſion to be Admiral of the ſouth-ſea, with full power to build forts, and plant colonies, upon ſuch places on that coaſt as he ſhould think moſt proper; over all which he was made Governor.

Nunez *gets the government of the ſouth ſide.*

This happening ſoon after *Arias*'s arrival, *Nunez* gave him no trouble in the government of *Darien*; but, in concert with him, took the old ſoldiers of that garriſon, recruited with as many of thoſe of *Arias*, as made his whole army 400; and with thoſe ſail'd up the river, as far he could, paſs'd through the kingdoms of his former friends, to the coaſt of the ſouth-ſea, where he had been before; and there began to build forts, from place to place, as he found it moſt commodious; getting gold, by way of tribute, from all his neighbour regions, and employing the ſubjects of his confederates to aſſiſt his own men in building, and gathering gold.

In the mean time, the Governor of *Darien* did not behave with that prudence, and care, which were requiſite in a ſtrange country, and after a new conqueſt: for, he ſuffer'd his Lieutenant, *John Aiora*, (who was the moſt covetous man alive) to uſe the *Indians* moſt barbarouſly; exacting gold of them in ſuch a manner, as diſoblig'd all the Kings north of the mountains; ſo, that what they before brought of their own accord, as tribute, or exchang'd willingly for trifles, was, in a ſhort time, not to be purchaſed but by ſtrokes. In this the Governor acted very unpolitically, as well as unjuſtly; for, thoſe Kings being exaſperated, omitted no opportunity of cutting off the *Spaniards*, when they came in their way. The Lieutenant having amaſs'd a great treaſure to himſelf, by uſing the natives tyrannically, made an elopement from *Darien*, in a ſhip which he ſtole, as ſome believe, with the Governor's connivance; becauſe of the ſtrict friendſhip between him and *Gonſalvo Aiora*, the Lieutenant's Brother.

Arias's *Lieutenant diſobliges the* Indians.

Nunez *builds ſhips in the bay of* Panama.

Nunez having ſettled upon the coaſt of *Panama*, on the ſouth-ſea; and having occaſion for ſome brigantines, to ſcour the ſeas, and to viſit the iſlands thereabouts, for making farther diſcoveries, ſent to the north-ſide of the mountains, and had ſome timber fell'd there, which, with a vaſt fatigue, he brought over, drawn by his own men, with the help of the natives, together with iron, cordage, and all other neceſſaries brought from *Spain*; wherewith he built two ſmall veſſels to cruiſe along the coaſt.

Arias *and* Nunez *fall out.*

But theſe two Governors, notwithſtanding the mountains between them, were too near one another to be long friends: whether it was, that *Pedrarias* was willing to ſubject *Nunez* to his command, or, that he had no mind to let him govern alone, in a country ſo rich of gold

gold and peals; or, if there was any ground for *Arias*'s accuſing *Nunez* of a deſign to rebel, and to ſet up for himſelf, does not ſufficiently appear: but there being a plot laid to ruin him, *Arias* decoy'd him, upon ſome pretence or other, to *Darien*, where he clapp'd him up; and bringing an indictment againſt him, before a court of juſtice eſtabliſh'd there, it was ſworn, that he had propos'd to deſert the colonies already ſettled on the coaſt of *Panama*, and ſet up, independent of King or Government, in ſome place diſtant from thoſe already diſcovered; which being atteſted, and *Arias* bent upon his deſtruction, though *Nunez* poſitively denied the whole charge, he was condemn'd, and executed: a fate not deſerv'd by a perſon who had, in the latter part of his life, behav'd with ſo much prudence and bravery.

Nunez put to Death.

But *Arias* having it in his inſtructions from *Spain*, to make what diſcoveries he could on the continent, ſent *Badaiocius* with 80 men towards the weſt, who ſailed as far as *Gracias a Dios:* but, by the account our author gives of it, I ſhould rather think it was the port of *Conception*, or, *Porto-Bello:* for he ſays it is 180 miles from *Darien*, and, that there is a ſhort tract of land between that and the ſouth-ſea, not above 17 leagues: neither of which will agree to *Gracias a Dios*, which, in a ſtrait line, is above 350 miles from *Darien*, and 35 leagues from the neareſt part of the ſouth-ſea. Here *Badaiocius* was join'd by *Mercado*, who had been ſent out with 50 men, to diſcover the inland country, towards the weſt. They agreed to march over the mountains, towards the ſouth-ſea; which they did, plundering the Kings that fled, and receiving good quantities of gold from thoſe who receiv'd them friendly; ſo that they were laden with riches, and had got about 20 ſlaves to carry the gold, which they could not carry themſelves. But being too ſecure in their march, King *Pariza*, not far from the *Panama* coaſt, fell unexpectedly upon them, and almoſt cut them all off. The few that eſcap'd, got to *Darien*; but had neither gold nor ſlaves.

Badaiocius defeated.

The Governor, to revenge the ſlaughter of his men, ſent *Spinoſa* with a good force towards *Panama* Bay; who defeated *Pariza*, and kill'd as many as reſiſted; and getting ſome gold, he left *Ponce de Leon* with a ſmall force at *Panama*, and return'd to *Darien*: from whence he was ſent, two years afterwards, by the Governor, and built the city of *Panama*. *De Leon*, with the few forces which he had, and bad ſhipping, having only ſmall barks, coaſted toward the weſtern parts of the South-Sea, as far as *Nicoya*, in the province of *Nicaragua*, 140 leagues to the north-weſt of *Panama* Bay. But not having force ſufficient to ſubdue the people, whom he found in arms, he return'd to his poſt.

And reveng'd.

About this time, or a little before it, 1515, the King of *Spain* ſent *John de Solis* to diſcover more of ſouth *America*. He ſet ſail on the 8th of *October*; and, paſſing the Line, came up with *Rio de Janeiro*, on the coaſt of *Brazile*, under the Tropic of *Capricorn*; and from thence held his courſe ſouthward to cape *St. Mary*, about 36 deg. ſ. lat. where he landed, and took poſſeſſion in the King's name. From thence he turn'd up the *River of Plate*, with only one caravel; and, the people from the ſhore inviting him, landed with as many men as his boat could carry; where being decoy'd by the natives from the ſhore, they were ſet upon, and every one kill'd, notwithſtanding firing of the guns from the ſhip, to frighten them. After this ſlaughter, the barbarous people cut off their heads, arms, and legs, and roaſted the trunks of their bodies, and eat them, in ſight of their companions aboard. After this horrid ſight, the caravel ſail'd down the river, and joining the other ſhip, they both bore down to cape *St. Auguſtine*; where lading with *Brazile* wood, they return'd to *Spain*.

John de Solis ſails to ſouth America.

Is kill'd and eaten.

In 1517, *Hernandez de Corduba* was ſent by *Velaſquez*, then Governor of *Cuba*, to make new diſcoveries farther weſt. Having ſail'd 21 days, they came near land, and perceiv'd a large town; and immediately ſome canoes coming out to them, about 30 of the natives came aboard, wearing ſhort jackets without ſleeves, and a ſort of looſe breeches. The *Spaniards* treated them very civilly, and diſmiſs'd them. The next day 12 canoes came from the ſhore to them, on board one of which was one of their Kings; who invited the Captain, with theſe words, *Conez Cotoche*, which the *Spaniards* taking for the name of the place, gave that cape the name of *Cotoche*, being the north cape of *Jucatan*, over-againſt the weſt point of *Cuba*, in 22 deg. n. lat. The *Spaniards* going a-ſhore, were ſet upon by the natives, who lay in ambuſh for them; but they ſoon put them to flight. Here they ſaw temples of ſtone and lime, with idols in them. But finding no encouragement to ſtay, they return'd to their ſhips, and held on their courſe towards the weſt, as far as *Campeche*, on the weſt-coaſt of *Jucatan*, in 19 deg. Coaſting ſtill along, they landed to water at *Pontnochan*, where, the natives ſetting upon them, they loſt 50 men; the reſt eſcap'd, but were

Hernandez de Corduba.

Jucatan.

were much wounded. From hence they
Florida. ſtood northward for the coaſt of *Florida*, having burnt one of their ſhips for want of hands; going a-ſhore there for water, five men more were kill'd by the natives; but the *Spaniards* got the better, and brought off their water, ſailing
Herriera. directly to *Cuba*, where the Captain died of his wounds.

The Governor *Velaſquez*, liking the account they gave of the country, fitted out three ſhips, and a brigantine, with 250 men, under the command of *John de Griſalva*, with orders to make the ſame voyage; and, to that end, the ſame pilot was aſſign'd them: the Captain ſet ſail from *Cuba* on the 9th of *April*, and following the currents ſouth-weſt, came up with the iſland *Cozumel*, about 40 leagues ſouth of *Cotoche*, mentioned in the voyage of *Hernandez*: this iſland, *Griſalva* called *Santa-Cruz*; becauſe he arriv'd there the 3d of *May*, the feaſt of the invention of the croſs; but in our maps it retains the old name. Having ſtaid there three days, and receiv'd the civilities of the King of the iſland, they kept on their courſe weſtward to *Jucatan*; and coaſting on the north-ſide of it, they came to *Campeche*, where, at firſt, they were invited to land; but when thoſe that went aſhore, were near the town, the natives chang'd their minds, and bid them ſtop, with an imperious tone; but upon diſcharging ſome guns from the ſhips, the *Indians* fled; and the Captain hindering the *Spaniards* to purſue them, they went on board, and held their courſe ſouthward to a river on the ſouth part of the bay of *Campeche*, which they call'd the river of *Griſalva*. Here the natives came in great numbers to the ſhore, with breaſt-plates and targets of gold; and bows and arrows of heavy wood. Soon after, 100 canoes ſurrounded the ſhips, full of armed men; but upon hearing, by the *Cuba* interpreters, that the *Spaniards* wanted only to trade for gold, and deſign'd no violence, they retir'd; and their Cacique came on board, and arm'd *Griſalva*, with his own hands, *Cap-a-Pie*, with armour of beaten gold, curiouſly wrought; and was preſented in return of it, with cloth, linnen, and other things. Sailing from thence, and coming to three ſmall iſlands in the ſame Bay, they ſtop'd at the largeſt of them, which they call'd the Iſland of *Sacrifice*, becauſe they found the natives ſacrific'd Children to their Idols. There they were told, that ſome of the adjacent iſlands were peopled only with women, who admitted men to come to them once a year. Coaſting along, they came to *Pontonchon*, which borders upon *Mexico*. Here the capital city conſiſted of 15000 houſes. Adultery and Fornication was ſcarce known among theſe people; but when a man is married he may have concubines, or (which ſeems much the ſame) plurality of wives; but, if a marry'd woman is taken in adultery, her husband may ſell her, to the Prince only; from whom her relations may redeem her. The manners and behaviour of theſe people, and the country itſelf, were ſo agreeable, that the *Spaniards* ſpent many days in it, with pleaſure; but being bent upon farther diſcoveries, they left them, and coaſted along the whole great and rich Kingdom of *Mexico*, under the dominion of the famous *Montezuma*; in moſt places of which they were well receiv'd, and got abundance of gold; but when they approach'd one large City, they were forbidden to enter it, by an army of *Indians*; who fled at the *Spaniards* firing their guns. *Griſalva* having ſail'd almoſt round the Bay of *Mexico*, return'd to *Cuba*.

CHAP. III.

HERNANDO CORTEZ's *Expedition to* Mexico.

Extracted from Don ANTONIO DE SOLIS.

PERHAPS the Actions of *Cortez* may, by ſome, be thought of a nature too hiſtorical to find a place here; as being a ſort of digreſſion from our proper deſign: but there is ſomething ſo very entertaining in the relation, and of ſuch dependance upon what we have laſt treated of, that we judg'd we could not better pleaſe the Reader, than by giving a ſhort account of it in this place.

Tho' the *Spaniards* had made conſiderable diſcoveries upon the coaſt of *America*, as has been ſhewn; yet they had, hitherto, but very little of the country in poſſeſſion; for, tho' they had now conſiderable colonies in *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba*, *Porto-Ricco*, and *Jamaica*; the ſmall

garriſon at *Darien* (which about this time ventur'd over the mountains to the South-Sea) was all they could boaſt of in the whole *American* Continent. Nor can it be ſaid that they had, as yet, try'd the force of any potent *Indian* Monarch, having only encounter'd with little Kings, whom they call'd *Caciques*.

But by the laſt accounts (brought to *Cuba* by *Griſalva*, or *Grijalva*) *Velaſquez*, Governor of that large Iſland, was reſolv'd to purſue the diſcovery of the great dominions of *Montezuma*, the powerful Emperor of *Mexico*. But as he was an ambitious, as well as a covetous man, he determin'd to have that diſcovery made in his own name, that he might have both the honour and profit, if it ſucceeded. He was, therefore, in great doubt who to truſt with the execution of the deſign; for tho' *Griſalva* was his relation, he pretended to be very angry with him for not having made a ſettlement in that part of the Continent, notwithſtanding his own poſitive orders to the contrary; ſo that upon *Griſalva*'s return to *Cuba*, he reprimanded him publickly for that pretended neglect; and declar'd he would make choice of another perſon for a new voyage to *Mexico*.

There were, at that time, in *Cuba*, many perſons of diſtinction of the *Spaniſh* Nation, both for birth and valour. Many of theſe ſet up as candidates for this poſt; but the Governor's ambition making him jealous, he was afraid that ſuch as he knew qualify'd for the undertaking, might rob him of the credit and advantage.

Whilſt he was unreſolv'd whom he ſhould truſt, two of his moſt intimate confidents, the King's treaſurer, and the ſecretary, propos'd *Hernando Cortez*; but ſo artfully, that they did not give any great encomium of him; but ſpoke of him only as a perſon of courage, and one who had behavd well in inferior ſtations.

Cortez was a man of a good family, who having a natural inclination to arms, had come with good recommendations to *Hiſpaniola*, in the year 1504; but finding that iſland not to anſwer his warlike genius, becauſe the *Spaniards* were, in a manner, peaceable poſſeſſors of it, he took the firſt opportunity of going to *Cuba*, where he got great reputation; and after ſome ill uſage from the Governor *Velaſquez*, he was promoted by him to be *Alcade*, or chief Magiſtrate, of *St. Jago*, where the Governor had his reſidence: and they were then very good friends; ſo that the recommendation was well receiv'd, and an ample commiſſion (drawn by the ſecretary) was ſign'd by the Governor, to the great mortification of the other pretenders; who endeavour'd, but in vain, to divert *Velaſquez* from it. *Cortez choſen to ſend to Mexico.*

All things being prepared by the Governor, and *Cortez*'s own vigilence and intereſt, and his ſoldiers being embark'd, he took leave of *Velaſquez*, with great appearance of eſteem and friendſhip on both ſides; and going on board the *Capitana*, or Admiral-ſhip, he ſet ſail, with many perſons of diſtinction, for *La Trinidad*, another Garriſon of *Spaniards* in the ſame iſland. Many of his friends in this place, as ſoon as he had declared his deſign, offered to accompany him, which he accepted; and was here joined by 100 ſoldiers, beſides many gentlemen, who went as voluntiers.

But before he left this port, *Velaſquez* (having ſuffer'd his jealous temper to be enflam'd by thoſe who envy'd *Cortez* the honour of this command) ſent an expreſs to a kinſman of his, at that time *Alcade* of the place, to degrade him of his poſt of Captain-general, in a judicial way, by declaring that the governor had recall'd his commiſſion. But *Cortez*, having ſounded the inclinations of his ſoldiers, and finding they were reſolved to ſtand by him, went to the Alcade, and repreſenting the diſhonour that was put upon him, ſaid, that he could not anſwer for what his ſoldiers might do, if he ſhould attempt to affront him, by putting *Velaſquez*'s orders in execution. The Alcade, either from fear or generoſity, not only neglected the governor's meſſage, but wrote to him, deſiring him to deſiſt from his reſolution, it being both unjuſt and impracticable. *Endeavours us'd to ſtop him.*

Having thus warded the Blow, *Cortez* ſail'd with his fleet to the *Havana*, on the weſt part of the iſland. In this voyage, his own ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt, had like to have been loſt upon a rock; but by Providence, and his own management, he got clear, and arrived at *Havana*; where ſeveral other gentlemen liſted themſelves for the expedition. Here again, *Velaſquez* ſent orders to get him diſpoſſeſs'd of his command, and ſent back priſoner. This ſo provok'd *Cortez*, that he reſolv'd to bid him defiance, whatever was the event. In order to this, he ſent off (without diſguſting him) *Diego de Ordaz*, whom he ſuſpected, as being a relation to the governor, under pretence of taking in proviſions at a port near cape *St. Antonio*; and after he was gone, complaining to the ſoldiers of this repeated affront, they clamour'd ſo loudly, that the Alcade of the garriſon thought it the wiſeſt courſe to give them aſſurance that he would act nothing againſt their General; *He ſails to the Havana.*

ral, coming in Perſon to ſhew how much he reſpected him; and having thus made all things quiet, *Cortez* went on board the fleet, which, with the ſhip ſent off with *Ordaz*, conſiſted of eleven ſail; having diſtributed his ſoldiers into as many companies; putting a company, with their proper officers, on board each ſhip.

Arrives at Cozumel.

Thus, upon the 10th of *February*, 1519, he ſet ſail from the *Havana*, having given orders to the whole Fleet, that, in caſe of a ſeparation, they ſhould rendezvous at *Cozumel*, formerly mention'd, an iſland eaſtward of the coaſt of *Jucatan*, or *Yucatan*; and having likewiſe diſpatch'd advice to *De Ordaz* to join him, upon his arrival at *Cozumel*, he landed all his forces, which amounted to 508 foot, and 16 horſe; beſides 109 ſeamen and mechanicks, and two chaplains. Upon their going a-ſhore, the natives ſtood at a diſtance in companies, but without any act of hoſtility; and at laſt, ſome of the boldeſt among them came nearer; and finding that the *Spaniards* did not offer them any hurt, they enter'd the camp, and began, in a ſhort time, to be familiar with the ſoldiers: and the next day the *Cacique* came to viſit the General, who receiv'd him kindly.

In this interview a ſlight incident became of great uſe to the General afterwards; for, happ'ning to hear an *Indian* of the *Cacique*'s train pronounce the word *Caſtilla*, *Cortez* enquir'd what he meant by it? The *Indian* ſaid, by the interpreter, that the *Spaniards* reſembled ſome priſoners who were in *Jucatan*, from a far country call'd *Caſtilla*; but could inform him nothing farther; ſo that applying himſelf to the *Cacique*, and telling him he would ſend to reſcue them, he was by him rather adviſ'd to do it by way of ranſom, than by force; leſt ſuch an attempt might be fatal to the priſoners. *Cortez* took his advice, and diſpatch'd *De Ordaz* with his ſhip to *Jucatan*, with ſome of the *Cacique*'s people, who were to land, and carry a letter to any of the priſoners they could find; with inſtructions to *Ordaz* to return in eight days. But *De Ordaz* hearing nothing either of the priſoners, or of the *Indians* (whom he ſet a-ſhore) in the limited time, return'd without them.

In this iſland, *Cortez* made a bold ſtep, in letting his ſoldiers deſtroy the images of the idols he found in ſome of their temples; at which the *Cacique* and his people were confounded: but finding no extraordinary vengeance from Heaven upon the ſtrangers, for this diſreſpect to their Gods, they began to think meanly of their Deities, who could bear ſuch an affront. The General endeavour'd to give them ſome notion of the *Chriſtian* Religion, but did not ſtay long enough, nor was he well enough underſtood to make any conſiderable progreſs.

After ſome time ſpent in *Cozumel*, he purſued his voyage; but one of the ſhips firing a gun, and tacking about, ſtood in for the iſland; the reſt, by *Cortez*'s order, follow'd her; and coming to ſhore, they found the ſhip almoſt full of water: this ſtopp'd the fleet till ſhe was careen'd, which prov'd a lucky hindrance to *Cortez*; for juſt as they were ready to embark, they ſpy'd a canoe coming from the coaſt of *Jucatan*, in which was one of the *Spaniards* who was ſaid to be priſoner there, together with the *Cozumelians*, whom *Ordaz* had carried over. This *Spaniard*'s name was *Aguilar*, who had been eight years in ſlavery; having been, probably, one of *Nicueſſa*'s people, who had been upon that coaſt in a miſerable condition, about eight years before, as we have already obſerv'd. This *Aguilar* was of ſingular uſe to *Cortez* afterwards; becauſe he had learn'd the language of the natives: he ſaid, there was no other *Spaniard* alive in *Jucatan*, but one Sailor: who, being married to an *Indian* Woman, would not leave the place.

Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years priſoner in Jucatan, *comes to* Cortez.

Setting ſail a ſecond time, upon the 4th of *March*, they doubled cape *Catoche*, and coaſted along, till they arriv'd at *Tabaſco*, where *Griſalva* had met with friendly entertainment the year before. Here the General ſtopp'd to pleaſe the reſt, but did not deſign to ſtay long; having his head full of the dominions of *Montazuma*. However, he landed in this river (which bore the name of *Griſalva*,) tho' the *Indians* fought hard to oppoſe it; and afterwards engag'd again, to prevent the *Spaniards* taking the town of *Tabaſco*; which they did that night. The *Indians* were handled ſo roughly, that the next day there was not one to be ſeen. But *Cortez*, to be better ſatisfied, ſent out two of his captains, with 100 Men each, to ſearch the country. *Lugo*, one of the Captains, engag'd with a ſmall party, which lay in ambuſcade; but their number ſtill encreaſing, he found it difficult to keep his ground, till he was reliev'd by the other captain, *Alvaredo*; who, hearing the noiſe, came to his aſſiſtance; upon the ſurprize of which the *Indians* fled. In the *Spaniards* retreat to their quarters, they were attack'd by a freſh party of *Indians*; but *Cortez*, having had an account of their firſt engagement, remov'd towards the place with a ſtrong reinforcement; and, upon his appearing in ſight, the enemy again fled.

Cortez arrives at Tabaſco.

By

By ſome priſoners taken that day, they had intelligence, that all the neighbouring Kings had appointed to rendezvous at a certain place the next day, to fall upon the *Spaniards* at once. To be in readineſs for them, *Cortez* order'd his artillery and horſes to be brought aſhore. When he had drawn up his foot, he gave the command of them to *De Ordaz*, and himſelf, with the other captains, took horſe; and moving ſlowly with the artillery, went to the place which the priſoners had told him was to be the place of rendezvous; and about a league from their qnarters, they perceiv'd a great Army of *Indians* in full march towards them.

The arms of the Indians, and their manner of fighting.

This Army conſiſted of the natives of *Tabaſco*, and many other people of the adjacent countries, their confederates. For arms, ſome had bows and arrows, the bow-ſtrings being the ſinews of beaſts, or thongs of deer-skins twiſted; and their arrows headed with ſharp bones: others had darts, or Javelins, which they threw at a diſtance, or us'd like ſpears, as occaſion requir'd; their ſwords were long, and made of wood, with ſharp flints fix'd in them: ſome had clubs; others ſlings, out of which they threw ſtones with wonderful force and dexterity. Their defenſive arms (which were only us'd by their commanders) were coats of quilted cotton, ill-fitted breaſt-plates; targets of wood, or tortoiſe-ſhell; adorn'd with plates of ſuch metal as they could get: all the reſt were naked. They painted their bodies of different colours, and diſfigur'd their faces, to make them the more terrible; and, to add to their ſtature, they wore plumes of feathers on their heads. They uſed likewiſe, warlike inſtruments of muſick, ſuch as flutes, made of Canes; ſea-ſhells; and a ſort of drum made of the trunk of a tree, hollow'd, and cut thin; which, by being beaten with a ſtick, made a noiſe well ſuited to the ears of thoſe people. In ranging their Army for battle, they form'd their batallions in great numbers, without order; but had corps of reſerve, to make uſe of as occaſion offer'd; and in attacking, they made terrible outcries to ſtrike fear into their enemies.

This Army, to the number of 40,000, *Cortez* had now to engage; and therefore, riding chearfully amongſt his own few ſoldiers, he encourag'd them to the battle; but forgot not to take the advantage of the ground, and to place his artillery to the beſt advantage. He went aſide, with his fifteen horſe, to a wood, where he advanc'd ſo far, as to be able to flank the enemy at a proper time.

The *Indian* Army, coming within diſtance, firſt diſcharg'd their arrows, and other miſſive weapons, and then attack'd the *Spaniards* with great fury. But here great ſlaughter was made of them; for, as they advanc'd in cluſters, without due order, the artillery hew'd down whole companies at once: yet they ruſh'd on with precipitation, as being acted by rage and madneſs, rather than courage. *A battle with the Indians, who fight boldly,*

De Ordaz behaving himſelf like a valiant man, and a good ſoldier, animating his men, made havock of them; firſt with muskets and croſs-bows, and at leſs diſtance with ſwords; yet their numbers were ſo great, that it had been impoſſible to have ſtood the renew'd attack for any time, if *Cortez*, by falling upon their Rear, and treading them down with his horſe, had not ſo ſurpriz'd and diſ-ſpirited them, that they threw down their arms, to be at liberty to fly with greater ſwiftneſs. *De Ordaz* quickly perceiv'd the effect of this attack; and gueſſing the occaſion of their confuſion, purſued the advantage, and beat the fartheſt advanc'd back to the place which *Cortez* had clear'd of their companions; and the horſe and foot joining, after a ſmall reſiſtance, put the whole army to flight. *but are put to flight.*

Cortez would not let his men purſue the ſlaughter; having a mind to make peace with thoſe people, in order to proſecute his other deſigns: he therefore order'd them to take ſome priſoners, whom he might employ in the negociation of peace, and ſo ſounded a retreat. In this battle above 800 *Indians* were kill'd, aud a great number wounded; the *Spaniards* having loſt only two men, and ſeventy wounded. Tho' the *Spaniards* behav'd with a great deal of courage and bravery; yet, doubtleſs, the 15 horſe occaſion'd this ſo ſudden victory: for, the *Indians* having never ſeen horſes before, took the man and horſe to be one; and ſo believ'd that ſtrange monſters were let looſe to deſtroy them.

The next day, *Cortez* calling the priſoners, ſpoke kindly to them, made them ſome trifling preſents, and ſet them at liberty, to their infinite ſurprize and joy; for they expected to be treated as they treat their priſoners. This unexpected clemency had its deſign'd effect; many *Indians* coming, a few hours after, laden with Wheat, Fowl, and other proviſions, to make way, by that preſent, for the peace they were come to propoſe in the name of the principal *Cacique* of *Tabaſco*. Tho' the General was very deſirous of peace; yet, being inform'd by *Aguilar*, that it was the cuſtom of the country to ſend their principal people upon treaties of that kind, he refus'd to hear any propoſals from ſuch as were of the

the meaner ſort; bidding them tell their *Cacique*, that if he deſir'd his friendſhip, he muſt ſend perſons of greater account to treat with him.

The *Cacique* ſent, the next day, thirty *Indians* of quality, in their proper ornaments of plumes and jewels, to excuſe his fault, together with a preſent of the ſame kind as before. *Cortez*, with an affected gravity, receiv'd the ambaſſadors, and having reprimanded them, made peace with them; and the *Cacique* himſelf coming ſoon after, was well receiv'd. They ſent the General ſeveral preſents, but particularly one *Indian* woman of great beauty, whom *Cortez* afterwards converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and call'd her *Marina*; who did him much ſervice, by her good ſenſe, and prudent conduct: eſpecially by being able to interpret between him and the *Indians*, when ſhe came to underſtand *Spaniſh*, which ſhe ſoon acquir'd.

Cortez arrives at St. John d'Ulua.

Having quieted all things in this place, *Cortez* left his new ally, and ſet ſail for the *Mexican* dominions; paſſing by ſeveral places, where *Griſalva* in his voyages had formerly touch'd. At laſt the Fleet came to anchor at *St. Juan de Ulua*, on the ſouth coaſt of the Gulph of *Mexico*. Two canoes came immediately to them, without any ſign of fear; but, to *Cortez*'s great trouble, *Aguilar* did not underſtand the language of the *Indians* who came in them. Here the *Indian* woman (afterwards nam'd *Donna Marina*, being daughter to a *Cacique*, vaſſal to *Montezuma*) underſtanding their language perfectly well, it being her mother-tongue, told *Aguilar* in the *Jucatan* language, that the *Indians* in the canoes were *Mexicans*, and deſir'd an audience of the General, in the name of the Governor of the province. *Cortez* invited him on board; and, by his two interpreters, found that they were ſent (by *Pilpatoe* and *Teutille*, the one Governor, and the other General of that province, under *Montezuma*) to know his intentions, and to offer him aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his voyage. To this the General anſwer'd, "That he "came to that country as a friend, upon "affairs of great importance, for the "ſervice of their King, and his whole "Empire; and to that intent, he would "meet the two Governors from whom "they were ſent; and hop'd they would "treat him as well as ſome others of his "country had been treated the year be-"fore." And, entertaining them with ſome *Spaniſh* wine, and ſuch fare as he had on board, and giving them ſome trifles, he diſmiſs'd them in very good humour.

The next day, being *Good-Friday*, he landed all his ſoldiers, together with his horſes and artillery, and entrench'd himſelf; the natives, by *Teutille*'s order, bringing him proviſions, and aſſiſting the ſoldiers to make a ſort of huts, to ſhelter them from the ſun.

Upon *Eaſter-Day*, *Pilpatoe* and *Teutille* made him a viſit; and after Maſs was done, he treated them magnificently at dinner; when that was over, calling *Marina* and *Aguilar*, he told the Governors, by them, "That he belong'd "to a potent prince (naming CHARLES "of *Auſtria*) Lord of the Eaſt, who "had ſent him to their Emperor upon "an embaſſy, which was of the great-"eſt importance, not only to him, but "to all that were ſubject to him; but "that it was of ſuch a nature, that he "could not diſcloſe it to any one, till "he had an audience of the Emperor "*Montezuma* himſelf."

Has an interview with the Governors.

This ſpeech did not much pleaſe the two *Indians*; but having made their preſents to *Cortez*, which he receiv'd with a good grace, they told him, "That it "was not an eaſy matter to ſee the great "Emperor; and therefore they adviſ'd "him, as friends, to proſecute his voy-"age, and not to attempt an enterprize "which he would be diſappointed in." But *Cortez* was not to be ſo eaſily put off; and therefore, he made anſwer, (in a tone of voice a little rais'd), "That it "was not the cuſtom of Kings to refuſe "audience to the Ambaſſadors of other "Princes; nor was it the buſineſs of "Miniſters to oppoſe ſuch an interview, "without poſitive orders from their "maſter. That, for his own part, he "was determin'd not to ſuffer his Lord "to be affronted in his perſon; and "therefore, would not leave that coun-"try without ſeeing *Montezuma*; ſo "that all they had to do, was, to ac-"quaint their prince with his reſolu-"tion: for which he would allow them "ſufficient time."

When the interpreters had explain'd this reply to the two Governors, they durſt not oppoſe his intention; and therefore deſir'd him to wait the return of the meſſenger, whom they intended to ſend to *Mexico*; and, in the mean time, they would provide him with neceſſaries.

Here our author gives an account of of the *Indians* having drawn, in colours, the ſhips, ſoldiers, arms, and artillery of the *Spaniards*, interſpers'd with ſome characters, here and there, by way of explanation, which ſupply'd the place of letters, at that time unknown among them. Theſe repreſentations the Governor ſent to *Montezuma*; which ſhews that country not to have been ſo rude and free from invention, as the *Indians* had been repreſented before that time.

De Solis, B. 2. C. 1.

Cortez, being inform'd what they were doing, went to see the painters at work; and, being surpriz'd at their skill, resolv'd to give an opportunity of drawing them more to the life, by shewing them his army exercis'd. He therefore told *Teutille*, that he would entertain them with the military discipline of his country; and accordingly, mounting his horse, and drawing up his men, he made a sham fight, first discharging his fire-arms, and then his artillery; which struck a terror into the natives, and put the painters to much difficulty, to invent characters to represent what they saw.

Having thus given the Governors and People a terrible idea of the *Spanish* force; he spoke friendly to them, and made the two chiefs presents of such things as he judg'd proper: and when they were to dispatch their messengers to *Mexico*, he sent a present to *Montezuma*, consisting of several pieces of the brightest and most solid glass; a holland shirt; a cap of crimson velvet, adorn'd with a gold medal, representing St. *George*; and some tapestry chairs, much admir'd by the *Indians*.

Cortez's presents to Montezuma.

Tho' *Mexico* was 180 miles from *Vlua*, the return of the message came back in seven days; there being couriers bred to that employment, at convenient distances, thro' all the dominions of *Montezuma*. *Teutille* came to the *Spanish* General, with the answer; but first brought in a hundred *Indians*, laden with a present from the Emperor; consisting of fine cotton cloths; plumes, and other curious things, made of feathers of different colours, and shaded very artfully; bows, arrows, and targets, of fine wood of different sorts; two large plates emboss'd, the one of gold, representing the Sun; and the other of silver, in the figure of the Moon; with a considerable quantity of gold, jewels, precious stones, collars, rings, pendants, and other ornaments, of great value. Having deliver'd the present, which *Cortez* receiv'd in a suitable manner, he told him, by the interpreters, "That "his master, the great Emperor *Monte-* "*zuma*, had sent him these things, in "return for his present; and to shew "his value for the friendship of the "eastern King. But he had sent orders "to acquaint him, that it was not con- "venient, nor indeed possible, to al- "low him to go to his court, by reason "of the badness of the roads, and sa- "vage *Indians* by the way." But in a covert manner, he represented to him, that there was a secret reason, why *Montezuma* would not be seen by him at that time.

His present to Cortez.

To this *Cortez* made answer, "That "he had great regard for their Em- "peror, and should be sorry to be "oblig'd to disobey his commands; but "that he could not think of exposing "his own Sovereign to any dishonour; "and therefore found himself under a "necessity of insisting upon his first de- "mand; and should be sorry that any "unnecessary delay, or refusal, should "put him under the necessity of going "nearer *Mexico*, to solicite an audi- "ence." *Teutille*, finding him resolute, durst not contradict him; but, promising to send fresh messengers to obtain permission, he retir'd to his own post.

Whilst *Cortez* was labouring this point with the Governor and General, his own people had no small heart-burnings; for some of them, (boggling at the danger of the enterprize, of subduing such a vast Empire with a handful of men) plainly said, it was rashness to attempt it. And indeed, there seem'd to be a great deal of reason in their remonstrance: for, this large dominion was above 1500 miles in length from east to west; and, in some places, 600 broad; reaching from the north, to the south-sea: the country rich and populous; all subject to *Montezuma*, and govern'd by particular Kings, or *Caciques*, his vassals. The *Mexicans* had the reputation of being a warlike people; and *Montezuma* being of the blood-royal, (tho' not heir apparent) was, upon the death of his predecessor, chosen Emperor, from the experience and great opinion the *Mexicans* had of his valour and conduct; which had evidently appear'd in his youth.

Cortez was inform'd of these grumblings, and being resolv'd upon the conquest of *Mexico*, or losing his life; sent two ships (in which he employ'd those who were most discontented) to view the coast, under pretence of finding a more convenient harbour for his Fleet; giving them orders to return in ten days; that, in the mean time, he might have leisure to come to a resolution, what method was most proper to compass his design; and likewise confirm his own people in an entire obedience to his commands.

When the second message of *Teutille* arriv'd at *Mexico*, the Emperor was in great rage at the obstinacy of the *Spaniards*; and, in his first fury, resolv'd their destruction; but upon cooler thoughts, having consulted his council, he resolv'd to proceed with caution; being still determin'd to keep *Cortez* at a distance from him. The reason of this aversion to the *Spaniards*, is said to have been this:

Upon *Grisalva*'s arrival on the *Mexican* coast, the year before, several prodigies

digies happen'd in different parts of *Montezuma*'s dominions; (such as were said to have been seen at *Jerusalem*, before it was destroy'd by *Titus Vespasian*) Comets appear'd both by day and night; the great Lake of *Mexico* boil'd up, and overflow'd its banks, without any extraordinary Floods, or previous Rains: one of their temples took fire of itself, and burnt to ashes: voices were heard lamenting in the air, in different places; and their very idols foretold the destruction of their monarchy. All these our author (with whom F. *Joseph d'Acosta* agrees) tells us, as things believ'd and reported by the best authors. And both of them relate two more very remarkable prodigies, which happen'd to *Montezuma* himself. The first was;

Prodigies in Mexico.

D'Acosta Nat. Hist. of the Indies, translated by E. G. B. 7. c. 23.

Some Fishermen, near the lake of *Mexico*, having taken a Fowl of an extraordinary shape and size, presented it to the King, as a great novelty. It had on its head a shining plate, like a looking-glass, from which the Sun reflected a dim, melancholy light. *Montezuma* going near, to look upon it, saw, at first view of the glass, a representation of the Heavens cover'd with Stars; and, at a second view, an army of men coming from the east, killing and destroying his subjects. Many of his attendants, and some magicians, and priests, whom he sent for, saw the same; the bird standing quiet till they had seen the representation; but then it vanish'd out of their sight: leaving the Emperor and his retinue in the greatest consternation. The other prodigy was this:

A plain countryman, of an honest, good character, came to court; and, with much importunity, desir'd an audience of the Emperor; which having obtain'd, he told *Montezuma*, That he had been carried by a monstruous Eagle to a cave, (he knew not in what part of the world) where he was order'd by a voice, without seeing any body, to look upon the man who lay a-sleep on the ground; when looking about, he perceiv'd his Majesty, with a lighted torch in his hand. The voice then bid him take the perfum'd torch out of the sleeping Monarch's hand, and apply it to his thigh which was uncover'd, (*Acosta* says 'twas his face) but he being aw'd by the majesty of his king, was unwilling to obey; at which the voice, in a terrible tone, bid him do as he was commanded; which he then did. Upon which the voice said, *See how thy King sleeps, when the anger of heaven pursues him! go, and awake him, if thou can'st, and tell him, That enemies from the other part of the world are coming, to destroy his Monarchy and Religion.* After he had heard these words, the Eagle again took him, and carrying him through the air, left him where he was at first took up. "Thus, *said the man*, "I have perform'd the command of the "Gods: Awake, Sir, for your pride and "cruelty have provok'd them!"

Ibid.

Montezuma was struck with this relation; and the more, by feeling, at that instant, a stinging pain in his thigh (or face) where the man said he had apply'd the torch: and inspection being made, it had all the signs of a fresh burning.

[I own myself a mortal enemy to Superstition; and am not very credulous of prodigies; but, at the same time, am not yet arriv'd to that pitch of the *fine gentleman*, in the modern sense of our polite age, as to reject all belief of supernatural things. I know there have been tricks and cheats obtruded upon the world, both by Heathens and (nominal) Christians, with regard to pretended Revelations; but that is no more an argument against all Revelation, than one *lying* History invalidates the credit of all *true* ones. And, tho' I shall not vouch for the truth of all the circumstances in the prodigies said to have happen'd in *Mexico*, before its conquest by the *Spaniards*; yet I must own, there is nothing repugnant to my reason in believing, that a country, so long under the influence and dominion of the Devil, as that wretched people seem to have been, (from their abominable custom of human sacrifices, so plainly inconsistent with the nature of a good and benevolent GOD) should, before it was rescu'd out of the power of that enemy of mankind, have felt some strange convulsions; either as the last efforts of the devil, to retain his authority, and spirit up his old subjects, to prevent its fall by the power of Almighty GOD, who can send a good Angel to prepare people's minds for His gracious designs; or force even the Devil himself (tho' the father of lyes) to tell truth, when He pleases. —— The reader is to believe no more of it than he approves; tho' I could by no means omit taking notice of it, as being mention'd by the very best authors that have handled this subject.]

And,

Whether these Prodigies were true or false, it is certain they had great influence upon *Montezuma*'s temper and counsels: he was irresolute and changeable in his determinations; sometimes thinking to go at the head of his army, to make *Cortez* and his soldiers a prey to his own fury, and an acceptable sacrifice to his cruel Gods; at other times he was afraid that this handful of strangers were the people design'd by Fate to overturn his monarchy, and usurp his dominions; and therefore was unwilling to provoke them.

But

But his fix'd reſolution at this time was, not to ſuffer them to come to *Mexico*.

In the mean time, the two ſhips, which had ſailed to the north-weſt, return'd to *Ulua*; giving an account that they had diſcover'd *Quiabiſtan*, in a ſafe Bay, about twelve leagues off; ſo that *Cortez* had ſome thoughts of removing to it. But hearing that the meſſage was arriv'd from *Montezuma*, he ſuſpended his reſolution, till he ſhould know the import of it, which he ſoon did. For,

Teutille coming to viſit him, accompany'd with the principal officers of the *Indians*, deliver'd a new preſent from the Emperor, of the ſame kind with the former; but the orders which came along with it, were poſitive for the *Spaniards* leaving his dominions forthwith. To which *Cortez* anſwer'd, "That having "come ſo far, and from ſo powerful a "prince, he could not return without "making new inſtances for an audience; "ſince by the ſmall number of men "he had with him, it could not be ſu-"ſpected that he had any ill deſign." As ſoon as *Cortez* had thus declar'd himſelf by his interpreters, *Teutille* roſe up in the haſte, ſaying, "That hitherto "*Montezuma* had treated him as a "friend; but, if he perſiſted in his re-"ſolution of ſtaying longer in his do-"minions, contrary to his order, he "muſt expect to be treated as an ene-"my." After he had ſaid this, he left him, without ſo much as taking leave.

Montezuma orders the Spaniards to depart.

The Indians leave Cortez.

The next day, they found the cabins, where the *Indians* liv'd, all empty; and not a ſoul appear'd with proviſions, as uſual: which renew'd the complaints of the murmurers; at the head of whom was *De Ordaz*; who repreſented their diſcontents to the General in diſreſpectful terms; which he wiſely diſſembling, pretended to be willing to return to *Cuba*; and ſo gave it out; but having before prepar'd thoſe whom he truſted moſt (who had aſſur'd him the major part had no hand in the mutiny) as ſoon as they heard of this pretended reſolution, they ſtir'd up the ſoldiers, and join'd with them in a loud cry againſt it; telling *Cortez* (as had been concerted) that if his heart fail'd him, he might retire to *Cuba*; for their parts, they would ſtay, and chuſe ſome worthy man of their own number for their General. This affair was ſo well manag'd, that it ended in a declaration of ſettling on the Continent; and the mutineers, either out of ſhame or fear, made excuſes for their late behaviour.

Cortez artfully quells a mutiny.

Ambaſſadors from the Cacique of Zempoala.

After this diſorder was quieted, Ambaſſadors came from the Lord of *Zempoala*, a province not far from *Ulua*, telling the General, that their *Cacique* hearing of his great valour at *Tabaſca*, and having, for that reaſon, conceiv'd a great eſteem for him, had ſent to deſire his friendſhip. *Cortez* was glad of the propoſal, and readily accepted it; being inform'd that *Zempoala* was upon the road to *Quiabiſtan*; but he was better pleas'd, when, having ask'd, why they came no ſooner? they told him, that their *Cacique* would have nothing to do with the *Mexicans*, whoſe cruelties they deteſted. He found from theſe Ambaſſadors, that *Montezuma* was reputed a cruel tyrant; and that the obedience, which was paid by many provinces, was forc'd. Having treated theſe *Indians* courteouſly, he diſmiſs'd them; promiſing to pay the *Cacique* a viſit, to confirm their friendſhip.

Cortez makes a new Corporation.

But tho' *Cortez* deſign'd to leave this place, in order to a farther view, he call'd a council; and having prepar'd his confidents, he propos'd ſettling a corporation, and chuſing magiſtrates; which they did, appointing *Portocarrero* and *Montejo* Alcades (as he had before contriv'd) *Davila*, and the two *Alvarado*'s, together with *Sandoval*, were choſen *Regidores*, or Regents: they likewiſe made other officers, according to the cuſtom of *Spain*. This corporation afterwards ſettled at *La Vera-Cruz*. *Cortez* aſſiſted at this aſſembly as a private member of the corporation paying; all reſpect to the new Magiſtrates, for a good precedent to others.

The council of this new colony being aſſembled the next day, *Cortez* deſir'd to be admitted, to propoſe ſomething for the advantage of the community; and when he was receiv'd, making a ſet ſpeech, in which, "He ſhew'd the pre-"cariouſneſs of his own authority, as "having had it only from *Velaſquez*; "and ſince he had revok'd it, he thought "it proper to reſign it into the hands "of the council, who now repreſented "the regal authority, deſiring them to "beſtow it upon a fit perſon for the ho-"nour of the Emperor, their Sovereign; "and for the advantage and ſafety of "the corporation." When he had ended his ſpeech, he threw his commiſſion from *Velaſquez* upon the table, and kiſſing the batoon, gave it into the hands of the Alcades, and retir'd to his barrack.

Cortez reſigns his commiſſion.

This affair coſt no long debate (as he had either foreſeen, or concerted before) for, after having allow'd of his reſignation, they agreed to chuſe him General in the King's name, by their authority, till he could procure a commiſſion directly from *Spain*. But the Partiſans of *Velaſquez* grumbled unreaſonably, when it was not in their power to prevent it; inſomuch, that *Cortez*, now reſolving

And receives a new one.

to

to be obey'd, ſeiz'd *De Ordaz*, *Scudero*, and *De Leon*, and ſending them on board the Fleet, put them in irons; declaring, that he did ſo, becauſe they were diſturbers of the peace; for which, he intended to cut off their heads. But ſoon after, accepting the mediation of his friends, who had brought them to reaſon, he releas'd, and ſo reconcil'd them to him, that they continu'd faithful.

Having now ſettled all matters to his liking, he order'd the Fleet to ſail to *Quiabiſtan*; and, with his forces, himſelf went by land to *Zempoala*; where they arriv'd without any accident, and he was well receiv'd by the *Cacique*, whom he found to be a man of good underſtanding, but of an unweildy body. After the firſt ceremonies, and preſents made, *Cortez* enter'd into private converſation with him, by his interpreters; and having told him (on purpoſe to ſound his thoughts concerning *Montezuma*) that one reaſon of his coming to that country, was to redreſs wrongs, and to relieve the oppreſs'd; the *Cacique* complain'd of the tyranny of the Emperor; but withal ſaid, he did not complain to him, to engage him to eſpouſe his quarrel, againſt ſo powerful a prince; but to give him a caution not to truſt him. *Cortez* anſwer'd, that he did not fear the power of *Mexico*, having Heaven on his ſide; and therefore deſir'd him to acquaint all the *Caciques*, his neighbours, that if they were unjuſtly oppreſs'd, they might find him at *Quiabiſtan*, ready to redreſs their wrongs.

Cortez marches to Zempoala,

Having ſtaid but a ſhort time with this *Cacique*, he held on his march to meet his ſhips. Upon his arriving at *Quiabiſtan*, he found the town deſerted; but in a little time, ſome *Indians*, more bold than the reſt, appearing, and being well treated, told him, the *Cacique* had retir'd, becauſe he would not begin a war; but as ſoon as he ſhould be inform'd of the peaceable behaviour of their new gueſts, he would return, with all his people; which he did, bringing the fat *Cacique* of *Zempoala* to make his excuſe. From theſe two, *Cortez* had new complaints againſt *Montezuma*. But their converſation was interrupted by two or three *Indians*, coming in a great fright, and ſpeaking ſoftly to the two *Caciques*, they retir'd with precipitation, leaving *Cortez* alone; who immediately order'd a good guard for *Donna Marina*, to go and ſee what the matter was. He was ſoon inform'd, that ſix officers of *Montezuma*'s, who went about to gather in his tribute, were arriv'd with a great retinue; and, having ſeated themſelves in the town-houſe, had ſent for the *Caciques*, to reprimand them publickly for entertaining the ſtrangers, who were the Emperor's enemies; and had therefore demanded (beſides the ordinary tribute) twenty *Indians* for ſacrifice to their Gods.

And then to Quiabiſtan.

As ſoon as *Cortez* underſtood this, he ſent for the *Caciques*, and bid them ſeize thoſe Miniſters, and he would protect them; which, after ſome heſitation, they did, to the great joy of their own people, and put their necks in a kind of pillory, deſigning to put them to death; but *Cortez* would not ſuffer it, putting them under a guard of *Spaniards*; becauſe he had no mind to fall out with *Montezuma*, without farther provocation. In the night, he ſent for two of the priſoners, and told them, he deſign'd to ſet them at liberty; with this condition, that they ſhould tell their King, he had ſav'd them out of reſpect to him; that he would make it his buſineſs to ſave the other four, and make the *Caciques* ſenſible of their fault; and would do his Majeſty all the ſervice in his power. After this, he ſent a guard with them to his ſhips, and order'd one of the boats to land them in ſome place beyond the *Zempoala* limits. And when the *Caciques* (not knowing how far he was concern'd in it) told of their eſcape, the next day, he blam'd the negligence of the guard; and, in their preſence, order'd the other priſoners on board, for ſecurity; giving inſtructions that they ſhould be well us'd.

After this, the fame of the *Spaniards* civility, and love of liberty, together with their proweſs and courage; but above all, the report of their carrying Light'ning about them, brought about 30 *Caciques* to *Quiabiſtan*, who offer'd, all together, to bring 100,000 Men to the field, againſt *Montezuma*; and ſwore fealty to the King of *Spain*, and then return'd to their own country, to wait for orders.

Vera-Cruz built.

Near this place, the *Spaniards* choſe a place for their corporation to ſettle in; and built a city, under the name of *Vera-Cruz*, which it retains to this day, upon the ſouth-coaſt of the Bay of *Mexico*, about 19 deg. n. lat. Here, with the aſſiſtance of the *Indians*, they built a ſort of town.

A third Embaſſy from Montezuma.

When this city was finiſh'd, new Ambaſſadors came from *Montezuma*, with a freſh preſent, thanking *Cortez* for his generous deliverance of his officers; but deſiring him, at the ſame time, to leave the country of the rebels, that he might puniſh *them*, without breaking friendſhip with *him*; ſtill inſiſting, with a myſterious tediouſneſs, upon the difficulty of going to *Mexico*. To all this, *Cortez* reply'd, with great reſpect towards

Montezuma, excuſing the *Caciques*, his friends, and promiſing for their good behaviour. But withal he told them, he deſpis'd all the difficulties of his march to *Mexico*; nor could he tell his embaſſy to any but the Emperor himſelf: and then ſending for the four priſoners, he ſet them at liberty.

Theſe frequent embaſſies and preſents, from the proudeſt King in all *America*, rais'd the reputation of *Cortez* to a high degree; and, at the ſame time, leſſen'd the awe and dread formerly conceiv'd of *Montezuma*.

But here the *Zempoalans* put a trick upon him, and engag'd him to march 400 of his men, againſt ſome of their neighbours, upon pretence of their being *Mexicans*; but *Cortez* diſcovering the cheat, reprimanded the *Zempoalans*, and made peace between the contending parties.

As *Cortez* return'd from this expedition, he ſtop'd at *Zempoala*; where the *Cacique* made a ſorry excuſe for deceiving him, and offer'd him his niece in marriage; which *Cortez* declin'd, telling him, it was not lawful to marry one who was not a Chriſtian. But here his zeal for Religion prompted him to an action, which might have been of fatal conſequence. For, hearing there were human ſacrifices offer'd at one of their temples, the General, from a juſt horror to that impiety, ſent for the *Cacique*, and, ordering his men to follow him in order, went directly to the place. The prieſts, who had provided againſt any interruption, came to the gate of the temple, calling the *Indians* to protect their gods; at which a great number appear'd in arms; upon which *Cortez* made *Donna Marina* proclaim aloud, that upon ſhooting the firſt arrow, he would cut the throats of the *Cacique*, and all that were with him; and order his men to deſtroy the city with fire and ſword. The *Indians*, at their *Cacique*'s command, threw down their arms; upon which, he order'd the *Spaniards* to demoliſh the idol, and his altar; which they did, to the great conſternation of the *Indians*. But when they ſaw no judgment follow upon it, they ſaid *Cortez* was ſtronger than their gods.

Cortez deſtroys the idols at Xempoala.

Having return'd to *Vera-Cruz*, *Cortez* diſpatch'd the beſt of his ſhips to *Spain*, with all the riches he had gotten, and a particular account of what had happen'd; making the council alſo write of the injuſtice done him by the Governor of *Cuba*. Theſe diſpatches were truſted to *Portocarrero*, and *Montejo*, with particular inſtructions to keep clear of *Cuba*. This meſſage was near being diſcover'd to *Velaſquez*, by ſome of his party at *Vera-Cruz*, who had laid a plot to ſteal away, in one of the veſſels, to give him time to intercept the ſhip bound for *Spain*: but the matter being diſcover'd, two of the principal contrivers were put to death, and the reſt pardon'd. However, this attempt put him upon a thought (which he ſoon put in practice) of ſinking all the Fleet; having firſt taken out all that was valuable or neceſſary: by which means, he put his army under a neceſſity to conquer or periſh; and likewiſe augmented his number, by about 100 men, who were neceſſary to manage the Fleet.

He ſends a ſhip to Spain.

Things being thus diſpos'd, he reſolv'd upon his march towards *Mexico*; and, having left 150 men and two horſes at *Vera-Cruz*, under the command of *Juan d'Eſcalante*, a valiant man, and one he could entirely truſt; he march'd to *Zempoala*, where he muſter'd 500 foot of his own, and 15 horſe; and the *Cacique* of that place, having arm'd ſome of his forces to accompany him, he choſe out of them 400, of which number about forty were of the nobility, whom he treated like the *Spaniards*; but took them as hoſtages, for the ſecurity of the new church at *Zempaola*, and of a young *Spaniard*, his own page, whom he left with the *Cacique*, to learn the *Mexican* language, in caſe any accident ſhould befal his interpreters.

Has advice of the arrival of ſhips upon the coaſt.

When he was ready to march, *Eſcalante* ſent him an expreſs, with an account of ſome ſhips being ſeen upon the coaſt; on which, *Cortez* return'd with a ſmall party to *Vera-Cruz*; and ſeeing one ſhip at anchor, at a diſtance from the ſhore, he ſpy'd four *Spaniards*, who ſaid, they came in ſearch of them; one being a notary, and the others witneſſes, with a notification to *Cortez*, in the name of their Captain. This writing was, that *De Garay*, Governor of *Jamaica*, having obtain'd the King's Commiſſion, to diſcover and people the Continent of *America*, had ſent *Alonſo de Pineda*, who had already taken poſſeſſion of that land, on the ſide of the river *Panuco*, intending to make a ſettlement at *Naothlan*, at a ſmall diſtance from the place they were now in, had ſent him intimation, not to make any ſettlements that way. *Cortez* told them, he knew nothing of forms of law, but if their captain and he were together, they ſhould ſoon adjuſt the matter; for being ſubjects to the ſame prince, they ought to aſſiſt one another; but the notary ſtill inſiſting (with little reſpect) upon a direct anſwer to his notification, *Cortez* made them all priſoners; and making four of his men take their cloaths, and appear upon the ſhore the next day, whilſt

whilſt he, with the reſt of his company, lay conceal'd, a boat came towards the ſhore from the ſhip, with about a dozen men; and as they approach'd, the others retir'd, for fear of being known, making ſigns to them to land; but only three came aſhore; who were ſeiz'd by *Cortez*'s men; on which the boat went back to their ſhip, which ſoon weigh'd anchor, and made off.

Cortez ſeizes ſeven Spaniards.

This adventure being of too little conſequence to ſtop his march, he went ſtraight to *Zempoala*, with the addition of ſeven *Spaniards*; which he thought a ſeaſonable recruit.

Cortez marches to Zocothlan.

Upon the 16th of *Auguſt*, he began his march, and, for ſome days, met with no inconvenience, being well receiv'd where-ever he paſs'd; and tho' they found ſome trouble in paſſing the mountains, where they had no ſhelter againſt the rain, (being oblig'd to lie in the open air) yet the ſoldiers bore all with patience. After they had paſs'd the mountains, they enter'd the province of *Zocothlan*. *Cortez* ſent two *Indians* to the Cacique, who brought him back a civil meſſage; and, upon his advancing to that city, the Cacique came out to meet him; but *Cortez* ſoon perceiv'd that his civility was forc'd. In their converſation, this *Indian* extoll'd the power and greatneſs of *Montezuma*, in terms not very obliging to *Cortez*; which he, in ſome meaſure, diſſembled; yet he told him, that he knew little of the world, if he believ'd *Montezuma* to be the greateſt King of it; for that his Maſter had many Servants more potent than he was. But the greater he was, the ſtronger inclinations he had to make a league of friendſhip with him; which was the deſign of his march.

Here he ſtaid five days, and the Cacique, finding *Cortez* not at all frighted at his magnifying *Montezuma*, nor at the great number of human ſacrifices offer'd by him every year; but that he ſpoke with contempt of their gods; and declar'd, that the chief deſign of his coming, was to aboliſh that deteſtable practice of ſacrificing human blood; began to ſhew him reſpect, as ſomething more than man; and treated all his Army with more civility, and augmented their proviſions. However, this Cacique, being a tool of *Montezuma*'s, when he could not make any impreſſion upon him, by the greatneſs of that Monarch, reſolv'd to lead him into the ſnare, that was laid for him upon the road. To which intent, he adviſ'd him not to go by way of *Tlaſcala*, as being a bad road, and the inhabitants ſavage; but rather to march by *Cholula*. But the *Zempoalans*, who were with *Cortez*, warn'd him privately of the danger of that advice; telling him, that the *Tlaſcalans*, tho' a warlike people, were friends to the Caciques who hated *Montezuma*; whereas his troops were frequently quarter'd among the *Cholulans*. *Cortez* found a great deal of reaſon in what they ſaid; but concealing his deſign, left *Zocothlan*, and march'd to *Xacacingo*, thro' which he was oblig'd to paſs, which ever of the roads he took afterwards.

He ſends a meſſage to the Republick of Tlaſcala.

Having inform'd himſelf, from the *Zempoalans*, of the nature of the government of *Tlaſcala*, he found it was a ſort of Republick, made up of ſeveral States, every one of which ſent a deputy to reſide at that city; and that they had maintain'd their liberty by force of arms, with the aſſiſtance of the *Otomies*, the greateſt Barbarians of that part of the Continent. He therefore ſent four *Zempoalans* to this Republick, and, by his interpreters, gave them a meſſage, which he made them get by heart.

But has no return of it.

When the meſſengers were gone, *Cortez* ſtaid at *Xacacingo*, expecting their return; but being diſappointed of his expectation, he reſolv'd to march to *Tlaſcala*, taking the detaining his Ambaſſadors, as a ſign of war. To prevent their preparations, therefore, he immediately ſet out, with the conſent of the *Zempoalans*, whoſe advice he always deſir'd in this expedition. He had not march'd far in the territories of the Republick, till he was confirm'd in his opinion; for they encounter'd a body of 5000 *Indians* in arms, who boldly attack'd them; but the artillery being fir'd upon them, they fled; leaving about 60 dead upon the place. The next day, proceeding in their march, they diſcover'd a freſh body of the enemy, more in number than before; who, advancing with great haſte, but no order, ſhot their arrows before they came within proper diſtance, and retreated; but in ſuch a manner, that *Cortez* perceiv'd it was rather ſtratagem than flight; and therefore kept cloſe order in the purſuit; when coming to a plain, not far off, he found their Army drawn up, conſiſting of above 40,000 men: But the *Spaniards* remembring their victory at *Tabaſco*, were not diſcourag'd at their number. Therefore, marching down the hill in good order, they engag'd the *Indians*, who waited for their advancing, that they might ſurround them; which they did, by opening to the right and left, and running with fury on both ſides, and then contracting their circle, brought *Cortez*'s ſmall Army within it, and fell on with great bravery. The *Spaniards* put themſelves into a ſquare, to receive them on all

The Tlaſcalans *arm, and skirmiſh, with loſs.*

And are afterwards beaten.

all ſides, and made a moſt terrible ſlaughter.

Cortez charg'd with his few horſe, as he ſaw occaſion; and trod them down where-ever he went; and the artillery was ſo well manag'd, that not a ſhot was fir'd without doing great execution; which made them retire to ſome diſtance, ſo that *Cortez* made his forces enlarge their front; and, dividing his horſe to both wings, advanced upon them; who were ſo terrify'd at the Horſe, which they took for monſters, that they fled in great haſte, running down one another. *Pedro de Moron*, being mounted upon a ſwift mare, and purſuing too far, was ſurrounded by a company of the enemy who rally'd; and his mare being kill'd, they ſeiz'd his launce, and took him priſoner. They cut off the mare's head, and carry'd it with them; but *Moron*, who was but ſlightly wounded, was reſcu'd by ſome horſe, who came to his aſſiſtance.

They cut off a mare's head, and triumph with it, tho' beaten.

The greateſt part of the officers of the enemies Army were kill'd in the battle; ſo that their General *Xicotencal*, being afraid to engage again without officers, ſounded a retreat, after their manner, with horns, and a ſort of drums; on which they retir'd to the camp, in great triumph (notwithſtanding their loſs) with the mare's head carry'd before the General, which he ſent to *Tlaſcala*, where it was ſacrific'd to their gods; the fitteſt victim for ſuch deities, as our author well obſerves. A great number of the enemy fell in this battle, and only nine or ten *Spaniards* were wounded, and ſome *Zempoalans*, who behav'd to admiration. *Cortez* retir'd, with his forces, to an eminence, where were ſome houſes, and proviſions for that night.

The next day *Cortez* march'd out to view the country, with all his horſe, and 100 *Spaniſh* foot, and as many *Zempoalans*; having taken ſome priſoners in his march, he gave them their liberty, and ſent a civil meſſage to the *Indian* General, condoling the loſs he had ſuſtain'd, and offering peace; but threatening the deſtruction of their country, if they were obſtinate. The poor meſſengers return'd to *Cortez* wounded, and ill treated by *Xicotencal*, for having the impudence to carry him ſuch a meſſage; who bid them tell *Cortez*, that by Sun-riſing he would be with him, in order to carry him and his army alive, to make them ſacrifices to his gods.

Cortez, tho' he ſcorn'd his menaces, did not ſlight the intimation given him of the deſign'd attack; but put his men in order by break of day; and advancing half a league from his quarters, fix'd upon convenient ground, where he might fight to advantage. He plac'd his artillery in the flanks, and gave orders when, and at what diſtance to fire; keeping the horſe with himſelf, to give relief where-ever it was wanting. It was not long before the enemy appear'd, being no leſs than 50,000 ſtrong: as ſoon as they came to a convenient diſtance, the artillery began to play upon them; which made them halt a little; but, tho' many were cut off, before they came near enough to ſhoot an arrow; yet they arm'd themſelves with fury and madneſs, and attack'd the *Spaniards*; pouring in ſuch numbers upon them, that, notwithſtanding their courage and diſcipline, they were put in diſorder: But the *Indians* fell by hundreds; and when they were like to do miſchief, by breaking the ranks of *Cortez*'s Army (as if Providence had decreed their deſtruction) they fell to killing one another in the rear of the *Indian* army; which occaſion'd a general defection, and made even thoſe, who were like to have been conquerors in the front, turn their backs and fly: But *Cortez* kept his men from purſuing them. They found afterwards, that the lucky diſpute in the rear, had been occaſion'd by *Xicotencal*'s affronting a Cacique of his Army, by calling him coward; which he reſenting, engag'd the ſeveral leaders in a general quarrel.

A ſecond battle,

Wherein the Spaniards are put in diſorder.

The *Spaniards* could not learn the number of the ſlain, on the enemy's ſide; but they heard there was a vaſt multitude wounded. Of the *Spaniards*, only one was kill'd, and 20 wounded. But the accident of being diſorder'd in the action, made the *Spaniards* retire in confuſion; and ſome of the malecontents repreſenting to them what might have happen'd, had it not been for the accidental quarrel among the *Indians*, laid before them the danger they were in, by encountring with ſuch unequal numbers; ſo that a new mutiny was like to enſue.

Cortez let them ſpend their firſt reſentment without controul; but knowing the ill conſequence of murmurs, he call'd his men together, and, without upbraiding them for their fault, told them, "He had aſſembled them to have their "opinions openly, not in a clandeſtine, "and criminal manner. He ſaid, if it "was their intention to return to *Vera-Cruz*, after having defeated the *Tlaſcalans* (the only enemy between them "and *Mexico*) who, by a loſs of two "ſet battles, muſt ſue for peace, he was "ready to come into their meaſures; "and ſo give the *Zempoalans* and others, "who were their confederates, not on-

"ly

" ly a handle to deſpiſe, but to ſtarve " and deſtroy them."

This ſpeech had the deſir'd effect; for one of the principal mutineers, call'd out, " That the General had taught " them their duty, whilſt he ſeem'd to " ask their advice; and he now plainly " ſaw deſtruction in their retreat." Upon which, they all ask'd pardon, and deſir'd he would lead them to *Mexico*.

In the mean time, the people of *Tlaſcala* were in a divided ſtate; many of the chief of the Senate were for peace; but they, who obſtructed it, were the major part. They were aſtoniſh'd at the valour of the ſtrangers; and, becauſe they would not give way to the opinion of the vulgar, that they were Gods; their judgment of them was, that their valour was the effect of magick, and that the only way to conquer them, was by counter-charms. To this end, they aſſembled the Magicians and Enchanters; who, (after ſome magick performances) declar'd, with a very ſolemn air, " That " the ſtrangers being the offspring of the " Sun, all their valour lay in the influ- " ence of their father; but if they were " attack'd in the abſence of the Sun, " they would not be ſtronger than the " *Indians*." They adviſ'd the Senate, therefore, to fall upon them in the night, and make an end of them before Sunriſing. This advice was applauded by all, and neceſſary orders given for the execution of it; and ſo ridiculouſly credulous were theſe poor people, that they march'd, at the time appointed, againſt the *Spaniards*, with a full perſuaſion of finding them void, both of ſtrength and courage: *Xicotencal* bringing 10,000 men to execute this project.

The Indians, by advice of the Magicians, attack the camp by night.

Cortez had kept exact diſcipline in his ſmall camp, that he had notice, by his ſcouts, of their firſt motion, and was prepar'd to encounter them; receiving their approach in ſuch a manner, as ſhew'd they were fatally diſappointed in the expectation of finding the *Spaniards* diſ-ſpirited; the ſlaughter they made convincing them, to their coſt, that thoſe children of the Sun, could fight when their father was out of ſight, as well as when he was looking on. *Xicotencal*, tho' he ſaw himſelf cheated by the Sorcerers, yet behav'd like a gallant man: he led his men more than once to attack the ſmall works which the *Spaniards* had made to fortify themſelves, and they came on with ſuch fury, that many of them loſt their lives in the attempt; and when they had try'd, in vain, for a long time, to force the camp, their General ſounded a retreat. As ſoon as they retir'd, *Cortez* order'd out all his horſe, with a party of foot, to purſue them; which they did, till they were quite diſpers'd.

But without ſucceſs.

The city was in the utmoſt conſternation at this defeat of their forces, and hopes. The populace cry'd aloud for peace; and the Senate, aſham'd of their credulity, wreck their fury upon the Magicians, for having deceiv'd them. But when they had conſulted the preſent ſtate of their affairs; *Magiſcatzin*, who, from the beginning, had been for peace, repreſented to them, in ſuch lively terms, the miſchief that had already happen'd by their deſpiſing his counſel, and the utter deſtruction of their country, which was like to enſue: he ſhew'd, as he had hinted before, that theſe ſtrangers muſt be that cœleſtial Race, which tradition inform'd them was to alter the Government of their Country; and therefore concluded, that fighting againſt them, was flying in the face of Fate. This had ſuch an effect, that they immediately ſent orders to *Xicontencal* to make no more attempts upon the *Spaniards*, but to keep upon the defenſive; becauſe the Senate was upon a treaty of peace.

Xicotencal refus'd to obey thoſe orders, anſwering, with his uſual inſolence, *That he and his Army were the true Senate, and would take care of their country, when others abandon'd it*. His deſign was to make a ſecond effort by night; but, that he might do it to better purpoſe than formerly, knowing that the natives us'd to carry proviſions to to the *Spaniards*, which they exchang'd for baubles; he made forty of his ſoldiers, choſen for that employment, cloath themſelves like peaſants, to offer the *Spaniards* Fruit, Hens, and *Indian* Wheat; giving them orders to ſpy where their works were weakeſt. This they put in execution; but one of the *Zempoalans* having obſerv'd that they went ſlily about, taking particular notice of every part of the camp, gave information of it to *Cortez*; the pretended peaſants were ſeiz'd, and being examin'd ſeperately, confeſs'd the truth; telling him, that their General deſign'd to make an attack, that very night, with 20,000 men.

Having made this diſcovery, *Cortez* order'd ſome of the ſpies to have their hands cut off, and ſome their thumbs only, and ſo bid them go, and tell their General, that he was ready to receive him. This ſtruck a terror in the mind of *Xicotencal*; for he could not imagine that *Cortez* could have diſcover'd his deſign, but by inſpiration; and therefore was in ſuſpence how to behave. But he was ſoon determin'd; for deputies came to the Army from the Senate, with orders to him, to give up his command;

and to the officers and ſoldiers, not to obey him, upon pain of death. This broke the Army at once; and the Caciques, who were in it, return'd to their different countries.

The Senate ſend to treat with Cortez.

The Senate then ſent four of their number with a preſent to *Cortez*, to treat of peace, who were admitted to audience; and having made a ſorry excuſe for the war, and declar'd the addreſs of the Senate and People for peace; *Cortez*, putting on an air of ſeverity, gave them a doubtful anſwer, to make them more eager in their deſire; and ſent them back, with only telling them, that he would make peace with the Senate, according as their future behaviour deſerv'd it. This he did to gain time, and that he might recover of an indiſpoſition of body, under which he then labour'd.

Another Embaſſy from Montezuma.

About this time, another meſſage came from *Montezuma*, accompany'd with a preſent; his Ambaſſadors had inſtructions privately to obſtruct the peace, if they ſhould hear that it was propos'd; but the pretence of their coming was, to congratulate *Cortez* upon the victory he had obtain'd over their common enemy. *Cortez* receiv'd the Ambaſſadors, and treated them well; but delay'd to give them an anſwer, which they did not preſs for; having an inſtruction to ſtay with him, in order to break off the treaty, which they found was on foot, with the Republick; but *Cortez*'s deſign was to ſhew them how ſubmiſſive thoſe people were to him.

In the mean time, a new meſſage came from *Tlaſcala*, at the head of which was the General *Xicotencal*, attended by fifty gentlemen in decent equipage. As ſoon as he was admitted, he told *Cortez*, in a plain ſoldiery way, that he had ſtop'd the peace which the Republick had been deſirous of, when the firſt embaſſy had been ſent from *Zempoala*; and that his reaſon was, becauſe he believ'd him to be a favourer of *Montezuma*, and his tyranny; but now having a reſpect for him, as his conqueror, he was come to ſubmit himſelf, and deſire his friendſhip, for himſelf and his country; and therefore entreated him to bring his forces into the city, as if it were to his own; where he ſhould be provided with all neceſſaries, and be in as much ſafety as at home; offering to ſtay with the nobility, who were his attendants, as hoſtages for the true performance of what he promis'd. *Cortez* was pleas'd with this open, free ſpeech, and gave his word, that as ſoon as he had diſpatch'd *Montezuma*'s Ambaſſadors, he would return his viſit; refuſing to accept of any hoſtages for the word of a General.

The *Mexican* Ambaſſadors, having ſent an account to their King, of what paſt in the *Spaniſh* camp, he ſent a new preſent to *Cortez*, offering friendſhip with the King of *Spain*, upon two conditions, *viz.* that *Cortez* ſhould not make peace with *Tlaſcala*, nor pretend to go to *Mexico*. *Cortez* receiv'd the preſents, but delay'd the anſwer; and courteouſly entertain'd the Ambaſſadors.

In the mean time, the Senate being frighted at the delay of the *Spaniards*, came to the camp in a body, to ſolicite their coming to the town. *Cortez* receiv'd them as friends, and granted their requeſt, deſiring them to ſend ſome *Indians* to draw his artillery, and carry his baggage, which was done by break of day; and, raiſing his camp, he enter'd the city, to the great joy of all the people. He took *Montezuma*'s Ambaſſadors with him, and, for their ſecurity, lodg'd them near himſelf. *Cortez goes to* Tlaſcala.

Cortez had frequent converſations with the men of ſenſe among the *Tlaſcalans*, about Religion, but had no great effect; only he oblig'd them to ceaſe their human ſacrifices; ſo that, either convinc'd by his reaſons, or over-aw'd by his authority, they releas'd all the poor wretches, who had been appointed for victims.

But *Cortez* being now impatient to be gone, diſmiſs'd the Ambaſſadors of *Mexico*, after they had been witneſſes of the ſubmiſſion of the *Tlaſcalans*, whom *Montezuma* could never ſubdue; he bid them tell their prince all they had ſeen, and what intereſt he had with the Republick; which he would uſe for his Majeſty's advantage, if he would allow him an audience: which he hop'd he would not now refuſe, to one, who had behav'd with ſo much reſpect towards him. He had kept them with him ſo long, that he might not give *Montezuma* time to arm againſt him, before he began his march, which he deſign'd to do very ſoon after their departure. But before he had got every thing in order for that expedition, new meſſengers, and a new preſent came from *Mexico*, with permiſſion for *Cortez* to go thither, and deſiring him to paſs by *Cholula*, where the King had order'd quarters for him and his people. *Cortez* was pleas'd with this permiſſion, tho' he had reaſon to apprehend this quick change was not without ſome myſtery; and *Magiſcatzin*, and other wiſe *Tlaſcalans*, beg'd of him not to march by *Cholula*; aſſuring him that they were a perfidious people, and intirely in *Montezuma*'s intereſt; and when they could not prevail with him to go by another route, they order'd their Army to be ready to march for his defence;

but

but he refus'd that compliment, only he allow'd about 6000 of them to attend him.

Cortez begins his march towards Mexico, and arrives at Cholula.

Having taken leave of his friends at *Tlaſcala*, he march'd to *Cholula*, where the Cacique refuſing to receive the *Tlaſcalans*, they pitch'd their camp without the city, at *Cortez*'s deſire. He ſtaid here for ſome days, with all the appearance of friendſhip; but it was all diſſembled on the part of the *Indians* of the place; and their treachery came to *Cortez*'s knowledge in a wonderful manner.

There was a Lady in *Cholula*, who had taken a great liking to *Donna Marina*; ſhe came to her one morning, and taking her aſide, told her it was a pity that ſhe ſhould be thus a priſoner, and involv'd in the deſtruction, which *Montezuma* had prepar'd for the ſtrangers. *Marina*, believing there was myſtery hid under theſe words, pretended to lament her own captivity, and to be willing to eſcape; at which, the other told her, that if ſhe would be ſafe, ſhe muſt, that inſtant, go to her houſe; for that 6000 *Mexicans* in arms were already come into the town, at different times, and 20,000 more were at a ſmall diſtance, to ſupport them, at a time appointed; that the *Spaniards* were to be cut off, except a few, who were to be ſent to *Mexico* for ſacrifices. *Donna Marina* pretended to be pleas'd at the news, and leaving the Lady, under pretence of getting ſome neceſſary things, ſhe inform'd *Cortez* of the Plot; who ſeizing the Lady, and examining her, ſhe confeſs'd the whole affair. He immediately ſent for ſome of the Prieſts, and diſcovering all that he knew, as if he had known the deſign without being inform'd of it by any body; they taking it for granted that he had it by inſpiration, own'd the Plot; but to excuſe themſelves, they laid the blame upon *Montezuma*. *Cortez* had them confin'd privately, and ſending for the Cacique and Governor of the city, told them he would march by the break of day, and deſir'd they would provide *Indians* to carry his baggage, and furniſh proviſions for his march; as likewiſe 2000 men in arms, to accompany him; they had the ſoldiers in readineſs, but the other things came but ſlowly.

A Plot againſt Cortez diſcover'd,

Cortez having reſolv'd what to do, and giving private inſtructions to the *Tlaſcalans*, he ſent for the *Mexican* Ambaſſadors, and told them of the Plot, which he ſaid he had not only found out by his own ſpeculation and vigilance, but that the conſpirators had own'd it; for which reaſon he intended to puniſh them; but the rather, becauſe they had the impudence to accuſe the Emperor, as being privy to it, and authorizing it by his order; which was ſuch a calumny as they ought to die for. However, he kept them cloſe within their quarters, ſo that they could have no communication with the *Cholulans*.

At break of day, the ſoldiers, whom he had deſir'd, came to him, and were indeed more than the number demanded; but the proviſions and baggage-men leſs. He order'd the ſoldiers to be divided, and to retire to different places of his own quarters, where he ſhut them up; and then mounting his horſe, and drawing out his men, except ſuch as were neceſſary to guard his quarters, he appear'd in the ſtreet; and ſending for the Cacique, and principal men of the city, he told them that he had diſcover'd their Plot, and upbraided them for their treachery, and breach of hoſpitality; telling them that it was his intention to puniſh the conſpirators. The *Indians* hearing this, fled to the forces that were in the city, who came immediately to the ſtreet; but *Cortez* firſt falling upon the ſoldiers that had been ſent him in the morning, kill'd them all; and the ſignal being given, the *Tlaſcalans* enter'd, ſo that the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*, on the one hand, and the *Tlaſcalans* on the other, hem'd in the *Mexicans* and *Cholulans*, and made great havock. Numbers of people retir'd to the temples; whither the *Spaniards* purſu'd them, and when they refus'd to come out, they ſet one of the largeſt temples on fire, and burnt all that were in it.

And bloodily reveng'd.

Many have blam'd this day's ſlaughter, as well as many other actions of *Cortez*, as ſavouring much of cruelty; and indeed, for my part, I ſhall never be an advocate for violence and ſhedding of blood, it being as diſagreeable to my temper, as my character. But if the provocation was, as our author ſtates it, (and I have no authority to contradict him) I do not know how far men, enur'd to blood, will go when once enter'd; eſpecially if they have reaſon to believe there is no way to ſave themſelves, but by killing others. But ſtill that ſlaughter ought to ceaſe, when the reſiſtance is over. And our author ſays, that *Cortez* immediately proclaim'd a general pardon, and ſav'd even the Caciques, and chief men of the city; together with the Prieſts whom he had in confinement; tho' without doubt, all theſe were engag'd in the Plot, and, perhaps, the contrivers of it.

The next day, *Xicotencal* arriv'd at the city with 20,000 men, ſent by the faithful Senate, to *Cortez*'s aſſiſtance, upon the firſt intelligence of his danger: he receiv'd him with open arms; but perſuaded him to lead his Army back again,

again, as not having occaſion for them, and being very improper to give umbrage to *Montezuma*, with whom he was reſolv'd to continue in friendſhip, nothſtanding the provocations he had already receiv'd.

Having encourag'd the chief people of *Cholula* to bring back the inhabitants who had fled, and ſuffer'd all people from the neighbouring places to come and ſettle there; *Cortez* diſmiſs'd the *Zempoalans*, at their own deſire, making them preſents for their fidelity, and parting with them in the moſt affectionate manner. He ſent a preſent likewiſe to their Cacique, and letters to his lieutenant at *Vera-Cruz*.

Before he left *Cholula*, he had a freſh Embaſſy from *Montezuma*, congratulating his ſucceſs againſt the perfidious traitors; and repreſenting the indignation of the Monarch, for the villany of the attempt againſt him. *Cortez* diſſembled his knowledge of *Montezuma*'s being concern'd in it, and treated the Ambaſſadors well, without truſting them.

Cortez marches to Guacocingo.

At laſt, he began his march, and the Ambaſſadors with him; the firſt day he enter'd the Province of *Guacocingo*, where the chiefs of that, and the adjacent towns, came to him with proviſions; and, in private converſation, repreſented *Montezuma* as a cruel tyrant, cautioning *Cortez* to be upon his guard with him; for that he had laid an ambuſcade on the other ſide of the mountains, for his deſtruction; and that he might fall into it, had ſtop'd up the highway, leading to *Chalco*, and open'd another at the top of the hill, which was not practicable, but at the beginning, where it was ſmooth'd, in order to deceive them.

A new plot of Montezuma's *diſcover'd.*

With this caution, *Cortez* went on, and coming to the place, found it as it had been repreſented to him; the old road was barricado'd with ſtones and timber, and a new one made. He diſſembled his reſentment, and ask'd the Ambaſſadors the meaning of the two roads; who anſwer'd, that the beſt road was level'd for his march, and the other ſtop'd up, to prevent his going wrong. *Cortez*, without altering his voice or countenance, told them, they did not know his people; for they glory'd in overcoming difficulties. Then he order'd his *Tlaſcalans* to march, and clear the old road; which was done by them, and the natives of the country (who had accompany'd him), to the great confuſion and ſurprize of the Ambaſſadors, who look'd upon it as Divination. The *Mexicans*, who lay in ambuſcade on the other road, finding that *Cortez* had taken the old way, believ'd they were diſcover'd; and therefore made the beſt of their way to ſecure themſelves.

Montezuma, having intelligence of this laſt diſappointment, was quite diſſpirited; and inſtead of making uſe of his natural courage, (like *Saul* at *Endor*) had recourſe to Wizards; ſo that calling for his Magicians, and promiſing them great rewards if, by their enchantments, they deſtroy'd this new army; threaten'd them with death, if they fail'd in the undertaking. But tho' thoſe kind of people had cheated the ignorant multitude many times before, and perhaps had been deluded themſelves by the Devil, (whom Almighty GOD had permitted to exerciſe dominion over thoſe dark Heathens, for their puniſhment) could no longer keep up the cheat; but own'd that neither they, nor their Gods, could be of any uſe againſt *Montezuma*'s preſent enemies. They told him honeſtly, that their enchantments had no force; and they perceiv'd that their Gods had no longer any power. This gave the finiſhing ſtroke to *Montezuma*'s hopes; but, tho' he now gave all for loſt, the remains of his former greatneſs of mind appear'd in ſome meaſure; for he is reported to have ſaid, upon this repreſentation of his Magicians: *What can we do if our Gods forſake us? Let the Strangers come, and let the Heavens fall upon us: But it ſhall not be ſaid that we ſhall abſcond.—To turn our backs would be diſhonourable.* And added a little after, *I only lament the old men; women, and children, who cannot defend themſelves.* Theſe were ſentiments (as our author juſtly obſerves) worthy of a King, boldly to encounter calamities, which he ſaw was unavoidable; and to expreſs a compaſſion for the miſeries of his ſubjects, more than for his own.

Monte-zuma loſes all hopes.

By this time *Cortez* was near the Lake of *Mexico*, where the Prince of *Tazeuco*, nephew to *Montezuma*, came to meet him, on the part of his uncle; and brought him on his way to his own city, by the ſide of the Lake; but *Cortez* did not ſtop at *Tezeuco*, having a mind to arrive at *Mexico* the next day, in good time. The Prince therefore held on his way, to acquaint the King of the approach of the *Spaniards*; and *Cortez* proceeded to go to a place upon the Lake, three leagues beyond *Tezeuco*, marching his Army by a cawſey of 20 foot broad, of ſtone and lime; but he was ſtop'd ſhort at *Quitlavaca*, by the exceſſive civility of the Cacique of that place, who preſs'd him to lie there that night. This Cacique, tho' very near *Mexico*, was no friend to *Montezuma*, and gave *Cortez* the ſame account he had heard from others, of his tyranny

Cortez enters the Lake.

and

and luſt. He inform'd him of the prodigies that had been ſeen, which had diſ-ſpirited the King, and given great hopes to his oppreſs'd vaſſals; and bid him be of good courage, for he would undoubtedly conquer that country; he told him, the cawſey from thence to *Mexico* was much larger, and eaſier than what he had paſs'd; and he would not want friends to eſpouſe his quarrel, when he thought fit to break with *Montezuma*.

Cortez having lodg'd that night at *Quitlavaca*, march'd the next day to *Itztacpalapa*, where he ſtaid, that he might be able to enter *Mexico* in good time. Here the Cacique, who was a near relation of *Montezuma*'s, entertain'd him nobly; and ſhew'd him his gardens, which were laid out in a beautiful manner. But whether it was his relation to the King, or the nearneſs of this place to the Court, the *Spaniards* obſerv'd that the inhabitants of this place ſpoke with the utmoſt reſpect of *Montezuma*.

The next morning early, *Cortez* purſu'd his march; and approaching the famous, and long wiſh'd-for City, he was met by above 4000 of the Nobility, and officers of the court, ſent to attend him. After they had made their appearance, they all fell back on both ſides, to let him paſs between them; which he did to the end of the cauſey, where were two forts, and a draw-bridge, to defend the entrance of the city; all which he paſs'd without the leaſt oppoſition.

But here it muſt be own'd, that a ſingular Hand of Providence appear'd in favour of *Cortez*'s deſign; which infatuated *Montezuma* to that degree, that, tho' it was much againſt his inclination, to admit the *Spaniards* into *Mexico*; yet he never thought either of breaking the cawſey thro' the Lake, nor of pulling up the draw-bridge, which he could have eaſily done, and ſo have put him to a full ſtop; and by ſpoiling the cawſey behind him, have hem'd him in, and ſtarv'd him with all his people; nor did they venture, with all their force, to attack 450 *Spaniards*, and about 6000 *Indians*.

Cortez *enters* Mexico.

As ſoon as he had paſs'd the bridge, and enter'd the city, *Montezuma* came in perſon to meet him, carry'd upon the ſhoulders of his favourites, in a chair of ſolid gold, which ſhone thro' the ſeveral party-colour'd feathers, with which it was adorn'd; with a canopy over him of feathers and ſilver, held up by four of his principal nobles, and preceded by a company of 400, in a very handſome dreſs, all of one livery. As ſoon as he approach'd. *Cortez* lighted from his horſe, as the King did from his chair, and the followers of *Montezuma* ſpread a carpet upon the ground for him to tread upon. *Cortez* made him a profound reverence, which the *Mexican* King (departing from his dignity, to the aſtoniſhment of his own people) return'd, by putting his hand to the ground, and then moving it to his lips; being the ſign, by which the *Indians* expreſs their greateſt homage.

Is met by Montezuma.

This Prince was not above 40 years of age, of a middle ſize, well made as to his perſon, tho' he ſeem'd rather to be of a delicate, than robuſt Conſtitution; he had a Roman Noſe, and a Complexion fair, (for an *Indian*) with a lively Eye, and a majeſtic Preſence. He had on, a mantle of the fineſt cotton, which being ty'd on his ſhoulders, cover'd his body; the train of it ſweeping the carpet on which he walk'd. It was ſtudded with jewels of gold, pearls, and precious ſtones, to an unweildy quantity; with a crown of gold on his head, round behind, and ending in a point before, almoſt in the ſhape of a helmet. On his feet, he wore ſhoes of gold, ty'd about his ancles with ſtraps, ſtudded with the ſame mettal, almoſt after the manner of the *Roman* Buskins.

Cortez had put, over his coat of mail, a chain of glaſs, curiouſly hung together, in imitation of diamonds and emeralds; which he took off, and put upon *Montezuma*'s ſhoulder; which the nobles would have prevented, thinking it a liberty not allowable to go ſo near their King; but he check'd them, and took the preſent, ſhewing ſuch a value for it, that he put it amongſt his choiceſt jewels; and in return, he order'd a collar to be brought of crimſon ſhells, ſet together with ſuch art, that, at every one of them, hung four crabs of gold, which he himſelf put about *Cortez*'s neck; another inſtance of his great condeſcenſion. Their ſpeeches, at the firſt interview, were ſhort, and to the purpoſe; and *Montezuma*, giving orders to the two Caciques of *Tezeuco* and *Itztacpalapa*, to accompany *Cortez* to his lodging, he mounted his chair, and return'd in the ſame manner as he came.

Cortez was accordingly conducted to one of the royal palaces, where he had ſufficient accommodation for his Army; and having view'd all the avenues of it, he plac'd his guards, as he found moſt convenient; not ſhewing any appearance of diſtruſt, and yet making himſelf as ſecure as he could.

After he and his people had been magnificently ſerv'd at dinner, *Montezuma* did him the honour of a viſit; *Cortez* went to the court of the palace

to receive him, and ſtopping at the entry to his appartment, with a profound reverence, the King paſs'd by him, and took his ſeat with an air of negligence, mix'd with majeſty, ordering a chair for *Cortez*; and, at the ſame time, made a ſignal for his attendants to retire to the wall on each ſide, *Cortez* doing the like to his. When the interpreters were come, and *Cortez* was going to begin his ſpeech, *Montezuma* interrupted him, and ſpoke to this effect:

Monte-zuma's *ſpeech to* Cortez.

" That he thought proper to tell him, " (before he deliver'd his embaſſy) that " they muſt lay aſide the prejudices, " which they might probably have con- " ceiv'd of each other. That perhaps, " in his journey to *Mexico*, he might " have convers'd with ſome of his ene- " mies, who had repreſented him as a " cruel, tyrannical King; and with others " of his friends, who, to flatter him, " had made him more than mortal. He, " for his part, own'd frankly, that he " had heard many contradictory ac- " counts of him, and his army; ſome " repreſenting them as Gods, come to " that country for the benefit of man- " kind; whilſt others painted them as " cruel maſters, who had no other view " but to ſtrip them of their gold, and " to ſhew their ſuperior force by oppreſ- " ſion, and injuſtice. He ſaid, he was " now undeceiv'd; and ſaw, that there " had been a good deal of exaggeration " on each ſide. He was, on the one " hand, convinc'd that they were men, " tho' their country had communicated " a ſuperior ſtrength to them; that thoſe " large deer, which they had tam'd, and " had taught to carry them, were only " inſtances of the docility of animals; " and their arms, which ſeem'd to carry " thunder, he believ'd to be a human " invention, to compreſs the air, and " let it out with the greater noiſe; and " the fire, which was contain'd in thoſe " barrels, was only a ſecret of magic, " which they had not as yet come to " the knowledge of. On the other hand, " he found by his behaviour, and polite " manners, and by the report of his " ſervants, that they were courteous " and liberal, pious and religious; and " that their reſentments were founded " upon reaſon. As, therefore, he had " laid aſide the prejudices he had con- " ceiv'd of *them*, he adviſ'd *Cortez* to " diveſt himſelf of the wrong impreſſions " that had been given of *him*, and not " to judge of his actions, until he had " heard his reaſons; and then, perhaps, " he would make a juſt difference be- " tween due chaſtiſement of rebellious " ſubjects, and tyrannical oppreſſion of " the innocent." With regard to the deſign of his embaſſy, he told him, " That they were not ignorant, that the " great Prince, who had ſent him, was " deſcended from their ancient *Que- " zalcoal*, Lord of the ſeven Caves of " the *Navatlaques*; and lawful King of " the ſeven Nations, which gave the " beginning to the *Mexican* Empire. " That they were ſufficiently inſtruct- " ed, by Prophecy, that one of his po- " ſterity was to come from the Eaſt, " (whither he had gone to make new " conqueſts) who ſhould reform their " Government; and that their coming, " in his time, and in the manner they " appear'd, ſeem'd to agree exactly with " the tradition they had; and therefore " he deſir'd him to ſpeak his mind freely, " and that all reſpect ſhould be paid to " his maſter's propoſals."

Cortez, having matter enough ſuggeſted to him from this ſpeech, anſwer'd the King to the following purpoſe:

" That he own'd himſelf infinitely " oblig'd to his Majeſty, for the honour " he had done him; and the favourable " opinion he had conceiv'd of their na- " tion. That he was ſenſible of the " miſrepreſentations of both ſides; and " therefore had given no credit, either " to his Majeſty's enemies or flatterers. " That looking upon him as a great " Prince, and one that would liſten to " reaſon, he had been ambitious to come " into his preſence, in the name of his " Sovereign, who was the greateſt Mo- " narch of the eaſtern world, to offer " him the friendſhip of that Prince; not " to claim his dominions as his own, by " vertue of thoſe ancient rights, which " he had mention'd; but to open a cor- " reſpondence between the two Monar- " chies, and to free the *Indians* from " their errors. That whatever right " his Maſter might claim by their tra- " dition, yet he deſign'd only to make " uſe of his authority, to gain credit to " what he was to propoſe for their ad- " vantage." *His anſwer.*

Then he repreſented to him the errors of their Religion; ſhew'd that there was but one GOD, who made and governs all things. That the Gods they worſhip'd in *Mexico*, were enemies to mankind, and ſought their deſtruction; which he only hinted at, to the King, at that time, hoping to have an opportunity, at more convenient interviews, to convince his reaſon. He likewiſe ſpoke of himſelf, and the *Spaniards*, after ſuch a manner, as to keep up the notion the *Indians* had of their being invincible, without attributing immortality to them. He ſpoke of their horſes, and fire-arms, in a way which ſerv'd to keep up the terror they had conceiv'd of them, without

out saying any thing against truth. He concluded his speech by telling him, that the chief part of his embassy was, to set him and his subjects right in religious worship, as the solid foundation of friendship and alliance between the eastern and western Empires.

Montezuma reply'd, "That he accepted the offer of his Monarch's "friendship, as the descendant of *Quezalcoal*; but said, at the same time, "that all Gods were good; and that the "God, *Cortez* had mention'd, might "be as he describ'd him, without any "prejudice to his." And thus he left him, with all assurance of good treatment, without bringing himself under any obligation, as to Religion.

The day following, *Cortez* sent to desire an audience, which was readily granted; and he, with three of his chief officers, and six favourite soldiers, with their arms, were conducted to the royal palace; which (if it answer'd the description our author gives of it) was not unworthy the greatest Monarch, in a more polite part of the world. It was of such an extent, that it had thirty gates opening to as many different streets. The principal front was of Jasper, black, red, and white, curiously dispos'd, and well polish'd; and took up one whole side of a large parade. Over the gate, in a large shield, were *Montezuma*'s arms, which were a Griffin, half Eagle and half Lyon, with its wings extended, and a Tyger in his talons. They pass'd three courts (built like the front, and all square) before they came to the King's apartments; where they found the rooms large; the floors were cover'd with mats of different work, the walls with hangings of cotton, interwoven with rabbets furs; and the inner-room with hangings of feathers, beautify'd with lively colours, and diverse figures. The roofs were of Cypress, Cedar, and other fragrant wood, with different *Foliages* and *Relievo's*: and so artfully nich'd, that, without the help of nails, the planks, in the cieling, supported each other.

Montezuma's *Palace.*

They were receiv'd, in the several rooms, as they pass'd, by a number of officers, in their different posts; and, at the door of the anti-chamber, by the nobility and magistrates. Having enter'd that room, they found *Montezuma*, with all the ensigns of royalty about him. At *Cortez*'s approach, he advanced some steps, and as *Cortez* saluted him with a low reverence, he laid his hands upon his shoulders, and cast an obliging look upon the other Captains; and retir'd to his chair of state; ordering chairs for *Cortez* and his attendants.

They enter'd into a very familiar conversation; *Montezuma* asking many questions concerning the manners and polity of the eastern Countries, in which he shew'd good understanding and parts. And then turning the discourse, to the dependency of his Empire, on the descendants of their first King; he express'd great satisfaction, that the Prophecy, concerning the coming of the strangers to *reform* their Government, was fulfil'd in his reign. In this conversation, *Cortez* industriously, and dexterously brought in the Topic of Religion; and, in giving him an account of the customs of his country, he drew a short sketch of the Rites of the Christian Religion, and artfully exclaim'd against human sacrifices, as contrary to the nature of GOD, and detestable in itself.

Montezuma was in a great straight how to behave, between his regard to *Cortez*, and supporting his authority, which he believ'd depended upon his maintaining his own Religion. He seem'd to agree, that there were absurdities in some parts of it; but custom had so reconcil'd him and his subjects to it the very worst Rites, that he neither desir'd, (nor indeed did he think it safe) to make any alteration; yet he went so far, as to forbid any of the human sacrifices to be brought to his tables; but left his subjects at liberty to follow their old custom. He had frequent conversations with *Cortez*, and his first Chaplain; but continu'd still fix'd to his own Gods, without any disrespect to the Christian Religion.

Motezuma *carries* Cortez *to the great Temple.*

One day he took them along with him to the great Temple, and having consulted his Priests, whether it was lawful to suffer them to enter, he took them in, and officiously shew'd them the several parts of it, explaining the use of every thing they saw. *Cortez* was so transported with zeal for his Religion, that he desir'd leave to *set up the Cross of* CHRIST *before the Images of the Idols; and then he should judge for himself, whether his Gods deserv'd respect or contempt.* The Priests were enrag'd at this proposal, and *Montezuma* was in the utmost confusion: However, recollecting himself, he told *Cortez, That at the least, he ought to shew the Temple the respect due to his person*; and immediately went out, to oblige them to do the same; which they did, and retir'd to their own quarters: yet he was so complaisant to the *Spaniards*, as to send his own master-builders to fit up a Chapel for their worship; at which he and his Ministers were often present.

Hitherto the correspondence was kept up between the *Spaniards* and *Mexicans*, without any sign of enmity; the latter taking all imaginable pains to entertain their

their new guests, as agreeably as they could; and the former behaving themselves as friends, and living among them, with as much freedom, as if they had been at home. But now we must change the Scene, their affairs took a quite different turn; and, instead of friendship, till now kept up between them, there was nothing but diffidence and dissention; the occasion of which, we are now to relate.

[But, before I begin, I must enter my protest, and declare that, tho' I have a very good opinion of *Cortez*'s courage, and am willing to follow our Author, (as far as common sense and right reason will lead him) in excusing things, which other Authors have condemn'd; and which some of his own nation have very much blam'd him for; because I look upon them to have been done out of necessity, and only against private people, and by the publick approbation of their Sovereign, and done, in a manner, in *Cortez*'s name; yet in the part of his history we are now entering into, I can by no means approve his conduct, as having put more than one insult upon SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY, (for which I own I have a sacred regard) in the person of *Montezuma*; and as having done it, under pretence of friendship and confidence; and by the pretended authority of his Master, the King of *Spain*, who ought to have taken his head for it, notwithstanding his success; since by his behaviour, he not only expos'd his name to reproach, but obstructed the progress of the Christian Religion among the *Indians*, by giving them so abominable an instance of the hypocrisy and insincerity of the first professors of it, who had appear'd among them. I only speak my own opinion, which I don't expect every body should approve.]

Whilst *Cortez* was thus chearfully entertain'd at the Court of *Mexico*, there came Letters to him from *Vera-Cruz*, by two *Tlascalan* Soldiers, in the disguise of *Mexicans*; giving him an account, that *John d'Escalante*, his Lieutenant at that garrison, (having heard that *Qualpopoca*, the *Mexican* General, was come with an Army to harrass some of *Cortez*'s Confederates, because they refus'd to pay tribute to *Montezuma*) had sent a very civil message to him, desiring him to forbear any military execution, till he had fresh orders from *Mexico*; because it was not probable that the King would insist upon treating the friends of the *Spaniards* ill, when he treated the *Spanish* General with so much civility and generosity. *Qualpopoca* return'd a surly insolent answer to this message, *viz.* "That he knew his Master's orders sufficiently, and likewise how to put "them in execution, in spite of any "opposition that could be made against "him." *Escalante* taking this as a direct challenge, took the field with forty *Spaniards*, and 2000 mountainard *Totanaques*, against 4000 *Mexicans*, carrying two pieces of cannon with him. The Armies met, and engag'd with much resolution; but, in a little time, the enemy gave way, retiring in great disorder: *Escalante* pursu'd the victory with his forty *Spaniards*; but his *Indians* could not be prevail'd upon to follow, having all deserted him, as if they had been beaten. But he pursu'd them to the nearest towns, and set fire to them, to dislodge the *Indians*, which he did; and engag'd them afresh, till he quite broke, and forced them to take shelter in the woods. But himself, and seven of his *Spaniards*, were so wounded, that they dy'd in three days, one of them, taken in the pursuit, and kill'd by the *Mexicans*, and the rest at *Vera-Cruz*.

An engagement at Vera-Cruz,

Where Escalante is kill'd.

This intelligence coming to *Cortez*, in a Letter from the Council, made him very uneasy; which was increas'd by a secret intimation he had, some days before, that the head of a *Spaniard* had been sent to *Montezuma*, which he had order'd to be conceal'd. This making *Cortez* believe, that *Qualpopoca* had orders for what he had done, gave him great trouble. He retir'd to his apartment, and consider'd all the difficulties and dangers he was expos'd to; and when he came to a resolution in his own mind, he call'd his officers, and such as he had the greatest confidence in, representing their present situation, and bidding them speak their minds freely. They were divided in their opinions, as one may well imagine, in so critical a juncture. Some propos'd, that they should desire a passport from *Montezuma*, to return to *Vera-Cruz*; others, that they should steal away privately; others again were for staying at *Mexico*, without seeming to know of the misfortune which happen'd to their garrison, till they should either hear from *Spain*, or could be handsomely dismiss'd by *Montezuma*.

Cortez holds a council of war.

Cortez answer'd all their proposals, by shewing the inconveniencies of them: to desire a passport, was to shew their weakness, that they could not depart without the assistance of the *Indians*: to steal away, was a dishonour he could not submit to; besides, that was putting it in *Montezuma*'s power to stop the passes, and get them cut off by numbers, now the *Indians* had found by experience that they were not immortal. And to stay at *Mexico*, without taking notice of the affront they had receiv'd,

was

was the way to loſe their credit with their friends, and to oblige them (for their own ſafety) to join with the *Mexicans* againſt them. He therefore told them, "There was no way left but "one, which, tho' it might ſeem de- "ſperate, was the only ſafe one, if "it ſucceeded; which was to get *Mon-* "*tezuma* into their hands, and keep him "priſoner in their own quarters; which "would at once terrify the *Indians*, "and ſecure themſelves (by having his "perſon in their power) from any at- "tacks, which might be made upon "them, by his ſubjects." And to take off the apprehenſion of any danger, he repreſented the conſtant courſe of Providence, which had attended them in the whole conduct of the Expedition. He enlarg'd upon this Topic, with ſo much zeal and fervency, that he brought the whole council into it; it being agreed to, and the conduct of it left to his prudence.

Which concludes in determining to make Montezuma *priſoner.*

A ſtrange Reſolution! which, were not the fact ſo recent, and atteſted by all who have writ upon this ſubject, might paſs for the moſt extravagant piece of *Don Quixotiſm*, that ever fill'd a Romance. That a handful of men ſhould think of ſeizing a powerful Monarch in his own palace, ſurrounded with guards, and in ſuch a populous city as *Mexico*; where he was abſolute, and either fear'd or lov'd ſufficiently, to oblige the whole inhabitants to take arms, ~~to revenge~~ the leaſt affront offer'd to their Sovereign; and that they ſhould effect this without the leaſt oppoſition, is the moſt amazing inſtance of proſperous temerity that is related in Hiſtory.

When this bold ſtep was once concluded upon, *Cortez* was reſolv'd to put it immediately in execution. And to that end, (having given orders to all his people to be ready, without any noiſe) about the ordinary hour of viſiting the King, he himſelf, with three of his Captains, went to the palace, giving inſtructions to thirty pick'd ſoldiers to follow at a diſtance: *Montezuma* receiv'd them as uſual; and *Cortez* beginning his complaint, with a becoming reſentment, told him all he had heard from *Vera-Cruz*; at the ſame time, laying the whole blame upon the General; becauſe, he pretended, he could not bring himſelf to believe his Majeſty was any way concern'd in it.

Montezuma was ſurpriz'd at this ſpeech, but deny'd his having had any hand in it; which *Cortez* ſaid he believ'd; but added, that he could not ſatisfy his companions; nor indeed could the *Mexicans* be brought to think ſo juſtly of his Majeſty's innocence, unleſs he would, without any diſturbance, go to his quarters, as of his own accord, in the ſight of all his attendants; and there remain, till it ſhould appear evidently, that *Qualpopoca* had acted without orders. This, he told him, would not only ſtifle the juſt reſentment of the great eaſtern Monarch; but would vindicate his own honour, which, at preſent, was under ſome eclipſe: and to perſuade him to comply with this inſolent propoſal, he promis'd, upon his honour, that his Majeſty ſhould be treated in the *Spaniſh* quarters, no otherwiſe than in his own palaces.

The King was ſtruck (as he well might) at this boldneſs; and giving *Cortez* to underſtand that he knew the meaning of it, told him, "That Princes of his "rank did not uſe to go quietly to pri- "ſon; nor would his ſubjects ſuffer it, "tho' he were ſo mean as to ſubmit to "it." But *Cortez* ſtill inſiſting upon it, he offer'd to ſend for his General, and all the officers concern'd in that action, and deliver them up into the hands of the *Spaniards*, to be chaſtis'd as they ſhould think fit; and to give his own Sons to *Cortez* for hoſtages. This was a condeſcenſion, as ample as a reaſonable man could deſire; and I can not forbear ſaying, that if *Cortez* had been that man of honour, which he pretended to be, and had not had other views, than the dignity of his Maſter, and the ſafety of himſelf, and his Army; he would not have preſs'd a Sovereign, (who had treated him like an equal, rather than as an Ambaſſador) in his own dominions, and in his own palace, to do an action ſo unbecoming his royal dignity; nor have put him to the mortification of ſeeing himſelf attended by *foreign Guards* in his own houſe. Such actions may have the ſanction of power; but no unprejudiced perſon can ever think them juſtifiable.

Cortez rejected all his propoſals, being reſolv'd to carry his point; and *Velaſquez de Leon*, inſolently bawl'd out, *Let us either ſeize, or kill him.* Poor *Montezuma*, being ſurpriz'd at this indecency, which he had not been accuſtom'd to, ask'd *Donna Marina* what the Captain had ſaid; and ſhe (being artful enough of herſelf, and well inſtructed by *Cortez* before-hand) pretending to be afraid of being underſtood by the *Spaniards*, told him, that *he run a great hazard of his life, in not complying with their deſire. That he ſaw they were aſſiſted by a ſuper-natural Power; and therefore ſhe, as his dutiful and loyal ſubject, beg'd of his Majeſty to go with them, where ſhe could aſſure him of being well us'd; and added, that his life was not ſafe if he refus'd.*

The King truſting too much to one, who pretended *loyalty*, and having too great an opinion of the power of his enemies, and too low an eſteem for his faithful ſubjects, ſuffer'd himſelf to be overcome; or, perhaps, his evil Genius prompted him to ſubmit to what he then thought was unavoidable; ſo that he told *Cortez*, *He would truſt himſelf to his conduct; ſince it was the will of the Gods, he was determin'd to ſubmit to it.* Then calling for his chair, and ordinary attendance, he was carry'd in proceſſion to the *Spaniſh* quarters; giving out, that he was going thither to divert himſelf with them for ſome days; ordering every thing with a chearful air, towards his own officers, as if he had really gone of his own accord.

Which was executed.

Thus was the greateſt Monarch of this new world, diveſted of his royalty, by a deſpicable handful of men, under the influence of a bold Uſurper: and *Montezuma*, who had ſhew'd himſelf (in former times) a man of courage and reſolution, was now diſ-ſpirited ſo far, as to ſuffer himſelf to be conquer'd, without ſtriking one ſtroke for Sovereignty; tho' he had an army that would have ſtuck by him, had he given proper orders, and truſted himſelf to their protection.

When he arriv'd at the palace where *Cortez* held his quarters, he retir'd to an appartment which was immediately furniſh'd from his own wardrobe; and was allow'd his own ſervants, who us'd to be about him; and the nobility likewiſe had free acceſs to him; but (under pretence of not incommoding him) their number was limited, too many not being allow'd to be with him at once: and all the avenues to the palace were guarded by *Spaniards*.

Theſe proceedings, gave the *Mexicans* ſufficient ground to believe their King was a priſoner, tho' he took all the pains imaginable to conceal it; and the *Spaniards* ſhew'd all the outward regard to him, and behav'd with as much reſpect as they had formerly done; *Cortez* demanded an audience, with much formality, every time he went to viſit him; and the other Captains kept their diſtance as uſual. But a little time wore out the novelty of his captivity; and both he and his ſubjects made it ſo familiar to them, that tho' he was one of the ſtricteſt exacters of *punctilio* and *decorum*, (which indeed is neceſſary to ſupport royal dignity) and his ſubjects were renown'd amongſt the *Indians* for their martial temper; yet neither he, nor they, made the leaſt attempt to releaſe him, or to chaſtiſe the *Spaniards* for their inſolence.

Upon his firſt confinement, *Montezuma* had given orders to one of his Captains to bring *Qualpopoca*, and his Officers, priſoners to *Mexico*; and, in twenty days, he return'd with them, who had deliver'd themſelves without reſiſtance, upon the ſight of the royal Signet. As ſoon as they were brought before *Montezuma*, he ſent them to *Cortez*; who held a council of war upon them. They own'd that they had invaded the *Indians*, who were in confederacy with the *Spaniards*; that they had fought againſt the garriſon of *Vera-Cruz*, and kill'd a *Spaniard*, whom they had taken priſoner; and all this without ſaying one word of any commiſſion from their King. *Cortez*, and his council, condemn'd them to be burnt, for having kill'd a *Spaniard* in cool blood: and reſolving to put that rigorous, extravagant ſentence in execution, run out yet into a greater piece of barbarity, than he had ever attempted. For, *Qualpopoca*, when he ſaw the *Spaniards* in earneſt in their deſign of putting him and his companions to that cruel death, alledg'd, (or *Cortez* pretended he alledg'd) the King's Commiſſion for what he had done. And therefore *Cortez*, going to the King's appartment, with two or three of his Officers, with the uſual grimace of reſpect in accoſting him, he bid *Donna Marina* tell him, "That "he had condemn'd his General, and "other Officers, and they were now "going to execution; but ſince they "had accus'd his Majeſty, as an accom-"plice of their crime, it was but juſt "he ſhould expiate for thoſe ſtrong pre-"ſumptions, by ſome perſonal pen-"nance." And ordering Fetters to be brought, he ſtood by till they put them upon *Montezuma*, and then retir'd to his own appartment; forbidding admiſſion to any of the King's Miniſters.

Cortez condemns Qualpopoca, and his officers to death.

And puts the King in CHAINS.

Montezuma was ſo confounded at this outrage, that he could neither ſpeak nor move. His ſervants threw themſelves at his feet, bewailing his misfortune in fruitleſs tears. When he recover'd from his aſtoniſhment, he gave way, at firſt, to his rage; but ſuddenly recollecting, that it was to no purpoſe, he compos'd himſelf, and with a ſtaid Majeſty expected his Fate.

Cortez haſten'd the execution of thoſe he had condemn'd; and had it perform'd publickly, without the leaſt oppoſition; as if the *Mexicans* had been render'd inſenſible, by ſome ſuperior Power; ſo great an aſcendant the genius of *Cortez*, and the unaccountable ſucceſs of his raſh actions, had over their ſpirits, that they beheld this execution with a ſilence, which amaz'd even the *Spaniards*.

Qualpopoca, and other officers burnt alive.

As ſoon as the execution was over, *Cortez* return'd to *Montezuma*, and with

a chearful air, and courteous bow, told him, "That the traitors were puniſh'd, "who had dar'd to blemiſh his character; "and that his Majeſty himſelf had ſuf- "ficiently comply'd with his obligation, "by ſubmitting to the divine Juſtice, "in that ſhort intermiſſion of his liber- "ty." And then order'd his fetters to be taken off, for which *Montezuma* was very liberal in his acknowledgments. And now *Cortez*, by a new grimace, offer'd him his liberty, which he was well aſſur'd he would not accept of; for he had often heard him declare, that he would never return to his palace whilſt the *Spaniards* continu'd in *Mexico*. This reſolution had been artfully inſtill'd by *Cortez*, who had given inſtructions to his miſtreſs and confident *Donna Marina*, to inſinuate to the King, during his confinement, that he would loſe his character among his ſubjects, if it ſhould be known that he accepted of liberty from foreigners. This ſhe had often inculcated, with ſo much addreſs, that he continu'd fix'd in his reſolution, not to return home. However, he anſwer'd *Cortez*'s offer in a way that ſhew'd he deſerv'd better treatment, than he had hitherto met with. He thank'd him for his kind intention of giving him his liberty, but told him, "That there was "now a neceſſity for his continuing "with them, for their ſafety; becauſe "he foreſaw, that upon his return, his "nobility and miniſters, would urge "him to take up arms againſt them, to "revenge the affronts he had receiv'd." *Cortez* thank'd him for his care of them; and they both reſted ſatisfy'd in their opinion of having deceiv'd each other.

All matters being now quiet at *Mexico*, *Cortez* allow'd the King, at his own requeſt, to viſit the Temples, and the Palace where his Wives and Concubines reſided, with other houſes of pleaſure; but *Montezuma* always deſir'd ſome *Spaniards* to accompany him; whom he pitch'd upon himſelf, to prevent the ſhame of their being put upon him againſt his inclination. But before he went to the great Temple, which he viſited firſt, *Cortez* had prevail'd with him to forbid all human ſacrifices, which he did by a publick Edict. Whether that was univerſally obey'd, is not certain; but at leaſt it was comply'd with in publick.

Several Authors ſay, that, about this time, the *Spaniards* demoliſh'd all the Idols of *Mexico*, and that there was ſuch a tumult in the city, that things were like to fall into the utmoſt confuſion; but our Author (*De Solis*) thinks they were miſinform'd. I ſhall not pretend to determine whether he or they be in the right, as to the fact; but I muſt own, I think our Author's reaſon againſt it, drawn from the prudence and moderation of *Cortez*, is not ſufficient to invalidate the truth of what others affirm; for after what we have related, I can ſay but little of his moderation; and ſince he ſeems to have had an enthuſiaſtic aſſurance of ſucceſs in his whole conduct, why that ſhould have left him, in what he look'd upon as the immediate cauſe of GOD, I can not account for. The Reader may take which ſide of the queſtion he pleaſes.

Cortez *builds two brigantines.*

Cortez had nam'd *Sandoval* for his Lieutenant at *Vera-Cruz*; but not thinking it proper to part with ſo good an officer, he ſent a ſoldier there as his deputy. He likewiſe order'd to be brought from *Vera-Cruz*, ſome ſails, cordage, and other things neceſſary, for building a couple of brigantines, to command the Lake, in caſe of any accident. When they were launch'd, *Montezuma* went aboard with *Cortez*, to ſee the manner of their ſailing; the *Indians* having, before that, had no notion of ſhips moving without oars. All the King's canoes were made ready againſt the day appointed; the King himſelf thinking that his light veſſels would get the better of the *Spaniſh* heavy brigantines; but he was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, when he ſaw them, by the help of a brisk gale of wind, leave all the canoes aſtern of them, only by ſpeading their canvas, and turning the helm a little to one ſide; which the *Indians* took for conjuration.

In the mean time *Cortez*, who was very vigilant in every thing, which contributed to his chief deſign, had, in ſeveral converſations with *Montezuma*, and his nobles (who now viſited him without reſerve, when they verily believ'd, by the freedom their King had of going where he pleas'd, that he ſtaid in the *Spaniſh* quarters by his own free inclination) inform'd himſelf of the extent of the *Mexican* Dominions; the number of the Provinces, Mountains, Rivers, and Mines; the diſtance between the Seas; the Ports and Bays; and every thing that was neceſſary to give him a diſtinct idea of the country, and the ſtrength of it. This he artfully ſeem'd to enquire into, only to gratify the curioſity of his Maſter, who lov'd to ask many queſtions concerning foreign countries. *Montezuma* was ſo far from being upon the reſerve in queſtions of this nature, that with a frankneſs void of deſign, he order'd his painters to bring him the maps of the different Provinces upon cloth; and ſent ſome of his officers along with thoſe employ'd by *Cortez*, to view the diſtant Cities or Ports commanding a free admiſſion for the *Spaniards*

niards into all places where they ſhould incline to go.

A Plot againſt Cortez diſcover'd.

About this time, a Conſpiracy broke out, by which was pretended the deſtruction of the *Spaniards* only, but, in reality, the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. It was ſet on foot by the Cacique of *Tezeuco*, the King's Nephew; who being a youth of ſpirit, could not brook the ſupine negligence of his uncle, in letting the *Spaniards* get ſuch footing in his dominions; but, being naturally ambitious, he was in hopes, if the ſword were once drawn in earneſt, he ſhould be able to cut out his way to the Empire. In order to accompliſh this deſign, he had ſeveral interviews with the Caciques his neighbours, ſome of whom were his Relations. He repreſented to them the weakneſs of *Montezuma*, in letting himſelf be kept priſoner by *Cortez*; and the inſolence of the *Spaniards*, in treating him with ſo much indignity. He ſhew'd how eaſily they might be deſtroy'd, notwithſtanding their boaſted ſtrength, if they would all unite againſt them. This Prince ſpirited up three or four others, ſo that they agreed to bring their forces together againſt an appointed time, and to fall upon the *Spaniards* unexpectedly. The Cacique of *Matalcingo*, who was preſent, propos'd to lay the matter before *Montezuma*, leſt his life might be in danger, from making an attempt upon *Cortez*, whilſt he had the King in his power. However, this was over-rul'd, and they diſpers'd to proſecute the deſign.

This Plot was diſcover'd to the King, and to *Cortez*, almoſt at the ſame time: and they ſought out each other to diſcloſe the ſecret. *Montezuma* was the firſt who ſpoke of it, in terms of great reſentment againſt his Nephew *Cacumazin*. *Cortez* deſir'd leave to march out to *Tezeuco* to chaſtiſe him; but *Montezuma* abſolutely refus'd it, telling him, that if he would leave the matter to him, he would cruſh the Plot, without any diſturbance; and he was as good as his word: for in a ſhort time, he brought his Nephew priſoner to *Mexico*, with a deſign to proceed againſt him as a traitor; but *Cortez* adviſ'd him to keep him priſoner, and to give his Province to his brother, as the next in line; by which policy, he made the new Cacique his friend, and gain'd a vaſt reputation for clemency, among the *Mexicans*; the other Caciques, engag'd in the conſpiracy, coming to him to beg his intereſt with the King to forgive them; which he did, and thereby render'd all things eaſy and quiet in *Mexico*.

But *Montezuma*, now thinking it time to rid himſelf of the *Spaniards*, ſummon'd all the Caciques, his vaſſals, who were near *Mexico*, to come to him about an affair of the greateſt conſequence. When they arriv'd, he call'd a general council of the Caciques and Nobles, to which he invited *Cortez*, whom he had before acquainted with part of his deſign, *viz.* "The acknowledging the "King of *Spain* (as the deſcendant of "*Quezalcoal*) Sovereign of *Mexico*; "and to oblige the States of the Em- "pire, by his own example, to own "themſelves his Vaſſals; and to pay "him Tribute." This was, at once, anſwering all that *Cortez* could pretend to demand; and that being done, he reſolv'd to inſiſt upon his leaving his dominions; but this part of his deſign, the King kept ſecret in his own breaſt. *Cortez*, who was pleas'd to find him condeſcend ſo far, gave him thanks for the propoſal, and accepted of it in his Maſter's name; giving an account of it to his Captains, as a thing of the utmoſt importance for the honour and advantage of *Spain*.

Montezuma calls a meeting of the States.

When the Council was aſſembled, *Montezuma* open'd it with a ſpeech, ſetting forth. "The great affection he bore "to them, and his conſtant care to pro- "mote their intereſt; and deſired them "to depend upon his word, that he "would propoſe nothing to them, but "what was for their advantage; having "conſulted with his Gods in the affair, "for what he had now call'd them to- "gether." After this preamble, he gave a ſhort account of the origin of the *Mexican* Empire; the great actions of *Quezalcoal*, their firſt Emperor; the Prophecy he left them at his departure for the conqueſt of the Eaſt, *That a deſcendant of his ſhould be one day their Sovereign*. Then he added, as a matter paſt all doubt, "That the King of *Spain* "was the perſon ſo foretold; and there- "fore that they were oblig'd to acknow- "ledge his right by blood, which had "hitherto been exercis'd only by ele- "ction. That had that great Prince "come to *Mexico* in perſon, he would "have been the firſt that ſhould have "ſtrip'd himſelf of all the dignity he "poſſeſs'd, and have laid the Crown at "his feet; either to leave it abſolutely "to his diſpoſal, or to receive it as a "gift from his hand. But ſince he had "only ſent his Ambaſſadors, he was re- "ſolv'd to ſhew them an example of "obedience, to the will of the Gods, "by owning the authority of the heir "of *Quezalcoal*; and to that end, he "had prepar'd, as an acknowledgment, "the richeſt jewels of his treaſury; and "he hop'd they would follow his ex- "ample."

The

The King could not finiſh this ſpeech without great concern; and ſhedding ſome tears; but *Cortez* reliev'd him in ſome meaſure, by telling him, "That "it was not the intention of his Sove- "reign to diſpoſſeſs him of his royal "dignity, nor to make any innovation "in the Government: and therefore he "only deſir'd they would, in that aſ- "ſembly, ſettle the right of Succeſſion "in his Poſterity."

The whole aſſembly was confounded at *Montezuma*'s propoſal, ſo very different from his known temper and character; they continu'd in a profound ſilence, till the King's firſt Miniſter, taking upon him to ſpeak for the reſt, ſaid, "That the whole aſſembly reſpected "King *Montezuma*, as their Lord and "Sovereign; and therefore would rea- "dily follow any orders he ſhould pleaſe "to give, or any example he ſhould ſet "them; as being perſuaded that his Ma- "jeſty had well conſider'd every thing "before he propos'd it; they having no "ſurer inſtrument, than his voice, to "inform them of the will of the Gods."

The King of Spain *declar'd Sovereign of* Mexico.

The whole aſſembly agreed to this declaration; and *Cortez* procur'd this ſubmiſſion to *Don Carlos*, Emperor of the Eaſt, and King of *Spain*, to be perform'd in as authentic a manner, as was uſual in that country, for Vaſſals to their Sovereigns: ſo far did their ſuperſtitious, whimſical notion, of his being deſcended from *Quezalcoal*, prevail both with King and Council.

When this great affair was thus finiſh'd, *Montezuma* ſent his preſent, for the King of *Spain*, to *Cortez*; conſiſting of ſeveral curioſities in gold, many precious ſtones, ſome that he us'd to wear for ornament, and others kept in his treaſury for grandeur; figures of animals, birds, and fiſhes in gold, of excellent workmanſhip; a great number of ſtones, call'd *Chalcuits*, of the colour of *Emeralds*, and in vaſt eſteem among the *Mexicans*; and ſeveral pictures made of feathers, artfully put together, and imitating the life in a ſurprizing manner. The Caciques and Nobles ſent their preſents to the King, and he convey'd them to *Cortez*. Theſe conſiſted of different curioſities in gold, by which they ſhew'd, at once, their obedience, and their vanity. Theſe preſents were ſo conſiderable, that, beſide the jewels, and ſome curioſities which they would not deface, they reckon'd of melted gold 600,000 pound weight in ſubſtantial bars; out of which, they laid bye the fifth part for the King, and *Cortez* was allow'd one fifth of the remainder, to defray the publick charge; and the reſt was divided among the officers and ſoldiers at *Mexico* and *Vera-Cruz*.

But *Montezuma*, having perform'd all that he had promis'd, ſent for *Cortez*, and with a reſolution, which he had not made ſhew of for ſome time, told him, "That he had now perform'd all the "parts of his embaſſy, and had anſwer'd "his expectetion in every reſpect. He "therefore deſir'd that he would prepare "to depart; for his ſubjects began to be "uneaſy at his long ſtay." *Cortez* was ſurpriz'd at this diſcourſe, and more at the firmneſs with which the *Mexican* King deliver'd it. However, he ſoon recollected himſelf, and told *Montezuma*, "That he was reſolv'd to have in- "timated his departure to his Majeſty "in a few days; but having loſt his "ſhips (as his Majeſty had heard) before "he left *Vera-Cruz*, he was under a "neceſſity of begging permiſſion to ſtay, "till he ſhould have ſome built there, "for tranſporting him and his men to "his own country." *Montezuma* generouſly told him, "That he did not "expect, nor deſire him to go, with- "out providing the means for his de- "parture." And immediately gave orders for cutting and carrying timber to *Vlua*. But *Cortez*, wanting to protract the time, gave orders to his chief Carpenter to make no haſte in building, but to find excuſes for the delay.

Monte-zuma preſſes the departure of the Spaniards.

But now there happen'd an accident, that had like to have unhing'd his whole Scheme. *Montezuma* gave him notice, that he had intelligence from *Vlua*, that there were eighteen ſail of ſhips off that coaſt; and ſhew'd him the figure of them, painted after the *Indian* manner; telling him withal, "That he ſuppos'd they "were from his country, and he might "take the opportunity of going home "in them." *Cortez* made anſwer, "That if they were deſign'd for any "part of *Spain*, he would depart im- "mediately."

A Spaniſh Fleet appears upon the coaſt.

But in a ſhort time, he had Letters from *Vera-Cruz*, that thoſe ſhips belong'd to *Velaſquez*, the Governor of *Cuba*; that on board them were 800 men, ſent by him to oppoſe *Cortez*'s conqueſts in that country.

The Reader may remember, that *Velaſquez* had endeavour'd to ſtop *Cortez*'s expedition to the coaſt of *Mexico*, at his firſt ſetting out from *Cuba*; and when he was diſappointed of that deſign, he ſent repreſentations, much to his diſadvantage, to the Court of *Spain*; and had procur'd for himſelf the King's Commiſſion for being Lieutenant of all the Colonies to be planted in that part of *America*; and whilſt the perſon who had ſolicited this Commiſſion, waited at *Seville*, for a ſhip for *Cuba*, *Portocarrero*, and *Montejo* arriv'd there from *Cortez*.

tez. As ſoon as *Velaſquez*'s agent heard of it, he apply'd to the commiſſioners for trade at *Seville*, and claiming the ſhip and cargo, as his maſter's, procur'd an embargo to be laid upon her, only allowing their Captains to purſue their journey to court; where they attended two years without getting matters ſet in a true light.

Sent by Velaſquez againſt Cortez.

Velaſquez having obtain'd this Commiſſion, ſent out this new Fleet, with 800 *Spaniſh* foot, 80 horſe, and 10 or 12 pieces of cannon, under the command of *Narvaez*, with ſecret orders to ſend *Cortez*, and all that ſhould adhere to him, priſoners to *Cuba*. He was to take poſſeſſion, in *Velaſquez*'s name, of all that was already conquer'd. Thoſe who had the direction of the King's chamber of audience in *Hiſpaniola*, and the other iſlands in thoſe parts, ſent their Auditor *De Ayllon*, to divert *Velaſquez* from ſo unwarrantable a deſign; and if he were obſtinate, to command him, in their name, to disband his forces; and promiſe him juſtice againſt *Cortez* in a judicial way. But all his arguments and threats were loſt upon the Governor; wherefore the Auditor embar'd with the forces; as did likewiſe *Velaſquez*'s Secretary, ſo much *Cortez*'s friend. This was the Fleet of which *Montezuma*, and the Letters from *Vera-Cruz*, gave *Cortez* an account.

Narvaez arriving near *Vera-Cruz*, ſent ſome of his people aſhore, for intelligence; who happening upon one or two ſtraggling *Spaniards*, carry'd them on board. They gave the Captain a true telation of all the progreſs *Cortez* had made, and of the garriſon to which they belong'd. *Narvaez* ſent one of his Chaplains, *Ruis de Guevara*, to *Sandoval*; (whom *Cortez* had lately ſent from *Mexico*, to ſuperſede the deputy, formerly mention'd, againſt whom he had many complaints). The Chaplain took with him a Notary, and three ſoldiers for witneſſes. *Sandoval* being aſſur'd, by his centinels, that no more were landed but thoſe four, order'd the gates to be kept open. The Prieſt deliver'd his credentials; and told the Governor, "That *Narvaez* was come to chaſtiſe "*Cortez* on the behalf of *Velaſquez*; "and therefore he did not ſuppoſe that "he would oppoſe it, in the perſon of "one who came with ſufficient autho-"rity and power." The Governor made anſwer, "That *De Narvaez* was "his friend, and a man of that pru-"dence, and loyalty, that he was per-"ſuaded his chief conſideration would "be the King's intereſt. That, in the "preſent poſture of affairs, he ought "to join *Cortez* with his forces, with-"out engaging the King's ſubjects in a "civil war, upon private quarrels, to "the great diſadvantage, if not utter "ruin, of the common cauſe. But if, "contrary to his good opinion of him, "*Narvaez* ſhould go on, and make any "attempt againſt *Cortez*, he and the "garriſon, which he commanded, were "reſolv'd to die in his defence." The Prieſt, who had not that peaceable temper which his character requir'd, fell out into an indecent paſſion, calling *Cortez* rebel and traitor; and telling *Sandoval*, that he, and all who adher'd to him, deſerv'd no better title.

Sandoval deſir'd him to be a little more moderate, and to conſider what it was that made him bear ſuch language. But the other abating nothing of his fury, order'd the Notary to publiſh his orders: the Governor ſtop'd him ſhort, letting him know, "That he "would hang him up, if he publiſh'd "any orders in his garriſon, which were "not immediately from the King." This diſpute run ſo high, that *Sandoval* order'd them all into cuſtody; and, upon ſecond thoughts, ſent them under a guard to *Mexico*.

Sandoval ſends the meſſengers priſoners to Cortez.

Cortez was in great perplexity how to behave in this troubleſome affair. To think of marching againſt *Narvaez* had ſeveral inconveniencies attending it. The inequality of their forces, which was ſo much the greater, by his being oblig'd to leave a guard at *Mexico*, to defend his treaſure; and to keep *Montezuma* ſtill in dependance; beſides, he riſque'd the loſing all the fruit of his former ſucceſs. To ſtay till his enemy ſhould march to *Mexico*, was to give the *Mexicans* a pretence to arm, and then he ſhould have a ſuperior army of *Spaniards* to contend with in front, and endleſs numbers of *Indians* to attack him in the rear. To offer to make any accommodation with *Narvaez*, he found was impracticable, from the obſtinacy and churliſhneſs of his temper, incapable of being wrought upon, either by the conſideration of the intereſt of Religion, or Loyalty. Theſe reflections diſturb'd him to a great degree; however, he endeavour'd to put the beſt face upon it that he could.

They are releas'd, and well us'd by Cortez.

When the priſoners arriv'd at *Mexico*, *Cortez* having intelligence of their coming, by a Courier, went out himſelf to meet them; he immediately order'd their fetters to be taken off; and embraced them with much affection; ſeem'd to reſent the indignity offer'd to the Chaplain, whom he careſs'd after a more than ordinary manner, telling him, "He "would chaſtiſe *Sandoval*, for the little "regard he had ſhewn to his perſon and "dig-

" dignity." And bringing them to his quarters, he treated them, and eſpecially the Clergyman, with ſo much civility, and juſtify'd his conduct with ſuch plauſible reaſons, that, in four days, he diſmiſs'd them, with very different ſentiments of *him*, from thoſe they had brought with them.

And ſent back to Narvacz.

In the mean time, he told *Montezuma*, " That this new Fleet belong'd to " his King, and the Captain was come " with a new Embaſſy to his Majeſty; " but that he would endeavour to per- " ſuade him to return, and deſign'd to " go with them himſelf; having receiv'd " his full diſpatches; his Majeſty's ge- " neroſity having left no room for new " demands." He told his ſoldiers, " That *De Narvaez* was a man of ho- " nour, and his particular friend; and " tho' *Velaſquez* had acted out of re- " venge, and private pique to him; yet " he was perſuaded, the Captain would " conſult the King's intereſt; and he " did not doubt, but he ſhould have his " forces to recruit his own, to make " the Conqueſt of *Mexico* ſecure."

But, tho' he thus gloſs'd the matter to *Montezuma*, and his own ſoldiers, he ſpoke his mind freely to his Captains; laying all the difficulties before them, and asking their advice, after the uſual manner; propoſing the affair to them ſo, as he led them into his own ſcheme, without ſeeming to dictate to them. They agreed to make ſuch offers to *Narvaez*, that if they came to an open rupture, the fault ſhould appear to be his. But at the ſame time, they prepar'd for war. He ſent meſſengers to the Republick of *Tlaſcala*, to raiſe forces; and having found, by ſome of his own people, whom he had ſent to view the mines of *Chinantla*, that the *Indians* of that country had no affection for the *Mexicans*; he order'd the ſame ſoldiers back to that place, to diſpoſe the Cacique to levy 2000 men to join him, in caſe he ſhould have occaſion for them.

Cortez *ſends his Chaplain to treat with him.*

He then proceeded to put in execution, what he had concerted with his Captains; and pitch'd upon his firſt Chaplain, Friar *Bartholomeo d'Olmedo*, as his meſſenger to *Narvaez*; and writ Letters by him, not only to that Captain, but to the Auditor *d'Ayllon*, and his friend, the Secretary *Duero*. He welcom'd *Narvacz*, to that country, in very civil terms; took notice of their former friendſhip, and intimacy; told him the ſtate of his affairs at *Mexico*, the martial diſpoſition of the *Indians* there, and conſequently the danger of giving them ſo much as a hint of any miſunderſtanding between them. He deſir'd him to give him a particular account of the nature of his Commiſſion; telling him, that if he had orders from the King, he would give up his Staff to him; but if he had only a Commiſſion from *Velaſquez*, he ought to conſider well before he occaſion'd any hindrance to the King's intereſt, and the publick good, for private quarrels. He aſſur'd him, that he deſign'd to reimburſe that Governor all the expence he had been at, in the Fleet which had brought him from *Cuba*; and to divide with him, not only the Profit, but even the glory of the Conqueſt; And concluded his Letter, by telling him, " That if he would come to ſuch " reaſonable terms, as *Father Bartho-* " *lomeo* ſhould propoſe to him, he would " religiouſly obſerve them; but if he " would needs try his ſtrength, he " would endeavour to ſhew him, that " he knew as well how to defend as to " propoſe."

Narvaez was, by this time, come to *Zempoala*, where he was, at firſt, receiv'd, by the fat Cacique, with all the friendſhip, which he thought due to one whom he believ'd a friend to *Cortez*; but his behaviour ſoon undeceiv'd him; for he found that he had pillag'd the jewels and furniture, which *Cortez* had left at his houſe; and allow'd his ſoldiers to commit ſeveral acts of rapine and robbery.

In the mean time, his Chaplain *Guevara* return'd from *Mexico*, and ſpoke ſo well of *Cortez*, that *Narvaez* thruſt him from his preſence with great diſreſpect; bidding him *go back to* Mexico, *ſince the artifices of* Cortez *had ſuch an impreſſion upon him.* But the Chaplain had better ſucceſs with the officers and ſoldiers, to whom he gave ſuch an idea of the *Mexican* General, that they would gladly have chang'd maſters.

Olmedo arriv'd ſoon after *Gevara*; and with great eloquence (after having deliver'd his Letters) ſhew'd him the ill conſequences of a rupture between him and *Cortez*; and aſſur'd him, that his competitor would come into any reſonable ſcheme for carrying on the King's intereſt; which would likewiſe redound to *Velaſquez*'s advantage, as having been the firſt promoter of it. To this *Narvacz* anſwer'd, " That *Velaſquez* could " could not in honour treat with a Re- " bel, whoſe chaſtiſement was the chief " deſign of his expedition." He added, " That he knew how to do it, without " asking advice of ſuch, as being equally " guilty with him, deſerv'd to be treat- " ed as Traitors, as he was." The Friar deſir'd him, very calmly, " To think " well what he was going to attempt; " for before he could march to *Mexico*, " he would find Armies of *Indians*, " (who

" (who were *Cortez*'s Confederates) to " oppoſe his deſign; and if he ſhould " arrive there, he muſt not only fight " *Cortez*, whoſe forces were reſolv'd to " live and die with him; but likewiſe " the whole force of the *Mexican* Em- " pire."

But finding that all that he could urge had no effect upon *Narvaez*, he went to the others, for whom he had brought Letters; and then among the officers, many of whom were his acquaintances; where he had better reception; and a great number were ſo convinc'd of the reaſonableneſs of what he had propos'd, that they began to be very cool to the ſervice they were engag'd in. But *Narvaez* being inform'd of it, call'd for him, and giving him very injurious language, would have confin'd him, had not the Secretary interpos'd; however, he order'd him to depart from *Zempoala* that moment. The Auditor coming, at the ſame time, gave his opinion, " That " a general council of the officers " ſhould be call'd, to determine what " anſwer ſhould be given to *Cortez*, who " ſeem'd to be inclinable to peace." *Narvaez* heard this propoſal with much impatience; and, to cut off all hopes of peace, order'd the Cryer to proclaim *Cortez* a Traitor; offering a reward to any who ſhould bring him dead or alive. Which contempt of his advice (as being veſted with the regal authority) the Auditor *Ayllon* not being able to bear, commanded the Cryer to deſiſt; and told *Narvaez*, " That he ſhould not ſtir a " foot from *Zempoala*, upon the pe- " nalty of his head; nor employ the " forces in any expedition, without the " conſent of the whole Army." At the ſame time, he order'd the officers not to obey his orders; and enter'd his proteſt againſt all his proceedings, with ſuch authority and reſolution, that *Narvaez*, mad with rage, order'd the Auditor to be ſeiz'd, and put on board a ſhip, to be ſent, forthwith, back to *Cuba*. This inſolence, towards a perſon of *Aylan*'s character, loſt *Narvaez* the good opinion of his own people, and did *Cortez* more ſervice than all his own care and management could have done at that juncture.

Upon the return of *Friar Olmedo* to *Mexico*, the General found there was no good to be done by treaty; and therefore he prepar'd to take the field: and being encourag'd by the account the Father gave him, of the good inclinations of the officers of the other party, he went to acquaint *Montezuma* with his departure, and the reaſon of it. But the King prevented him, by letting him know, " That he had been adviſ'd from " ſeveral parts, that the new forces had " no good intentions towards him; but " ſince the two Generals headed two " diſtinct Armies of the ſame King's " Subjects, one of them muſt be a Re- " bel." *Cortez* was a little ſurpriz'd at *Montezuma*'s intelligence; but quickly recollecting himſelf (with a preſence of mind peculiar to him) he made anſwer; " That it was true, that this new Army " had come with bad intentions towards " him, and that their Commander had " very imprudently given himſelf a li- " berty in threat'ning him; but he " would not, for that, call him a Rebel; " but modeſtly ſaid, he was miſinform'd: " for, having been ſent by a Governor, " who liv'd in a very remote Province, " he was a ſtranger to the late meaſures " taken at the King's court; and there- " fore believ'd that this embaſſy, which " he had had the honour to bring to his " Majeſty, belong'd of right to him- " ſelf. But as ſoon as he ſhould be in- " form'd better, by his ſhewing his com- " miſſion, he did not doubt, but the " new General would yield his preten- " ſions, and that his Army would ſub- " mit to him. In order, therefore, to " prevent any falſe ſtep the other Ge- " neral might be apt to take, thro' ig- " norance, he deſign'd to march to " *Zempoala*, with the greater part of " his forces: but his principal deſign " was to diſpoſe them to return home, " and to prevent their marching farther " into his Majeſty's dominions; which " were now under the King of *Spain*'s " protection; and he would not ſuffer " them to be harraſs'd by troops, which " were not under ſuch diſcipline, as the " *Mexicans* had experienc'd his to be."

Montezuma, who had been adviſ'd of the irregularities committed by the *Spaniards* at *Zempoala*, approv'd of his deſign; but thought it raſhneſs in *Cortez*, to venture himſelf with ſo ſmall a force; and therefore offer'd to furniſh him with an Army, whoſe officers ſhould receive their orders from him only; which he urg'd with ſuch affection, and open-heartedneſs, that there was not the leaſt appearance of fraud in it. But *Cortez* civilly refus'd his offer; not from any ſuſpicion of the King, but from his diffidence of the *Mexicans*.

Having appointed the time for his march, he left fourſcore *Spaniards* in *Mexico*, under the command of *Alvaredo*, with ſtrict charge to ſhew the utmoſt regard to *Montezuma*; but withal, to keep him in their own quarters: and having recommended a ſtrict obedience to *Alvaredo*, and firm union amongſt themſelves, he order'd his forces to march; he himſelf going to take leave of

of the King, to whom he recommended the care of his *Spaniards*, assuring him that *Alvaredo* would have no less regard for his Majesty's service, and shew him the same respect as he had done. *Montezuma* press'd him to accept of an Army to assist him; or if he would not take them with him, at least to wait for their coming, before he engag'd with such unequal forces, as he heard the *Spaniards* of *Zempoala* were. In the mean time, he promis'd not to stir from *Alvaredo*'s quarters till he came back. And he kept his promise so religiously, that tho' he might have prevented much mischief by going to his own Palace, he would not remove. All which steps of this unhappy Prince, shew, that he deserv'd a better Fate than happen'd to him.

Cortez *leaves* Mexico.

Cortez march'd out of *Mexico*, with only 250 *Spaniards* in his Army, and took the way to *Tlascala*, where he arriv'd without any thing remarkable. The Senate came out to welcome him; and here he was join'd by *Sandoval*, and the garrison of *Vera-Cruz*, according to the instructions he had sent him. *Sandoval* brought seven of *Narvaez*'s soldiers with him, who had deserted upon the confinement of *d'Ayllon*, and told all that had past. He likewise sent two of the garrison, in disguise of *Indians*, to *Zempoala*, to reconnoitre, who brought an account of the careless manner of keeping guard there.

Notwithstanding all these accounts, *Cortez* sent *Olmedo* a second time to propose terms; and when he could not prevail, and *Velasquez de Leon* had shew'd him a Letter from *Narvaez*, inviting him to come over to him, he dispatch'd *De Leon* to use his utmost efforts for an accommodation. *Narvaez* receiv'd this last messenger (as being a Relation to the Governor of *Cuba*) very kindly; but when he found him firmly attach'd to *Cortez*'s interest, he neglected him; insomuch, that at an entertainment, to which *De Leon* was invited, several injurious expressions were made use of, which he prudently pass'd, without taking notice of them. But when some of the company utter'd reflecting words against *Cortez*, he could in honour bear it no longer; but said, with a becoming warmth, "That it was not good manners to speak ill of his General before his face: but if any one durst say, that either *Cortez*, or any of his party, were not loyal Subjects to the King of *Spain*, he wish'd they would say so before fewer witnesses; and he would undeceive them after what manner they should chuse." The company remain'd silent for some time, till a young Captain of *Velasquez*'s name, and likewise his Relation, answer'd, briskly, "That he was not worthy of "the Name or Blood of *Velasquez*, who "would take a Traitor's part." Upon which *De Leon* gave him the *Lye*, and drew his sword to chastise his insolence; but the company interposing, prevented the quarrel; and *De Leon* was desir'd to return to *Cortez*; which he did immediately, taking *Olmedo* along with him.

But to no purpose.

De Leon *sent to offer terms to* Narvaez.

Narvaez's officers exclaim'd against the treatment that had been given to *De Leon*; but chiefly that they had not so much as heard his proposals. This came to be talk'd of with so much heat, that *Narvaez* was oblig'd to send his Secretary *Duero* to *Cortez*, to excuse the rudeness offer'd to *De Leon*, and to desire to know the substance of his message. *Cortez* receiv'd his old friend with great demonstrations of kindness. They had many conferences together, and *Cortez* made such offers for peace, that *Duero* saw plainly, that nothing but the obstinacy of *Narvaez* could hinder it: he therefore propos'd an interview between them, which *Cortez* agreed to; and *Duero* return'd to *Zempoala* to dispose the other to it. After much difficulty, he was prevail'd with, and the time and place appointed; *Cortez* and *Narvaez* giving it under their hands, that they would appear with only ten friends on either side. But as *Cortez* was preparing himself for the interview, he receiv'd a secret message from *Duero*, intimating that *Narvaez* had laid an ambush, either to kill or take him; and the same intelligence he had from different quarters. This baseness so exasperated *Cortez*, that he writ to *Narvaez*, telling him, "That "he had discover'd his mean treachery, "and therefore would have no farther "correspondence with him, but by the "sword."

An ambuscade laid for Cortez

Upon this discovery, *Cortez* conceiv'd so low an opinion of his adversary, that he march'd directly towards *Zempoala*, and stop'd short within a league of it, by the River of *Canoes*; which *Narvaez* having intelligence of, took the field with precipitation, rather than diligence; where his forces were drawn up, by the care of his officers, without much regard to his orders. He march'd about half a league from the city, and made his men halt in a large field, where he might engage *Cortez* with advantage; and there he staid the whole day, foolishly expecting that an experienc'd General would, with a force so much inferior to his, attack him in such a place. Here he amus'd himself, by distributing the spoils of his enemy, not as yet conquer'd; and, in his own imagination,

diſpos'd of all the Treaſure of *Mexico*. But night coming on, and abundance of Rain falling, his ſoldiers (not accuſtom'd to fatigue) began to murmur aloud; and the officers, being, for the moſt part, but little inclin'd to the expedition, ſolicited a retreat to their quarters. *Narvaez* himſelf, who bore a ſhare in the hardſhip, not being averſe to the propoſal, return'd to *Zempoala*. However, that he might make ſome ſhow of care in his office, he made all his Army keep together, lodging them in two Temples, which were contiguous to one another; and having ſent ſome horſe to ſcour the neighbourhood, and planted two centinels at the chief avenue of the town, he laid himſelf to ſleep in great tranquility.

Duero ſent a truſty meſſenger, to give *Cortez* an account of their diſpoſition; but rather with an intention that he ſhould give his people reſt, than imagining he would make any attempt. But *Cortez*, believing this a ſeaſonable juncture for attacking them, made his little Army paſs the River, which they did, up to the middle; and then drawing them up, he told them the occaſion of his march, the careleſneſs of the enemy, and the great probability of ſucceſs, if they exerted their wonted courage. Then he told them how their forces were poſted; which, to them, who were well acquainted with the place, was of great importance. They all, with great chearfulneſs, began the march. Before they came near the city, he form'd them in three bodies, the firſt, conſiſting of 70 ſoldiers, with their officers, was commanded by *Sandoval*, for the firſt aſſault; the ſecond, of the like number, was given to *Chriſtoval d'Olid*; and the third he commanded himſelf, being accompany'd by ſome of the braveſt officers he had. He order'd *Sandoval* to attack the ſtairs of the great Temple, and ſo to make himſelf maſter of the artillery planted there. *De Olid* was to make his way to the tower, in which *Narvaez* was lodg'd; and *Cortez* himſelf was to ſupport them both, as occaſion ſhould offer. But the march was to be perform'd with the greateſt ſilence, till the aſſault was begun; and then the drums were to beat, to ſtrike the greater terror. In this manner they march'd with a ſlow pace, that they might not be tir'd when they ſhould come to action.

Cortez *marches to* Zempoala *by night.*

After he had march'd about half a league, the ſcouts came back with one of *Narvaez*'s centinels, whom they had taken; but told their General, that the other had eſcap'd: and they were inform'd afterwards, that he had made great haſte to give the allarm to his own party, which it was impoſſible to prevent. However, he arriv'd ſo little a time before *Cortez*, and was ſo little credited by *Narvaez*, (who thought it impoſſible that ſoldiers could march in ſo dark and ſtormy a night) that the allarm given was of no great uſe to them; ſo that *Cortez* was at the gates of the Temple before he found any enemies to oppoſe his paſſage; and whilſt they were diſputing within doors, whether they ſhould believe the centinel's intelligence, or not, *Sandoval* began the aſſault. Thoſe of *Narvaez*'s party, who were moſt alart, run to the defence of the ſtairs, and firing two pieces of cannon, made the reſt find that the allarm was not a falſe one. But *Sandoval*, being ſupported by *d'Olid*, and afterwards join'd by *Cortez* himſelf, carry'd on the attack with ſuch vigour, that after ſome oppoſition, they took poſſeſſion of the artillery, and mounted the ſtairs ſword in hand.

And attacks Narvaez *in his quarters.*

Narvaez being at laſt arm'd, made his appearance, and engag'd in the thickeſt of the battle, when one of *Sandoval*'s ſoldiers gave him a thruſt in the face with his pike, and ſtruck out one of his eyes, at which he fell down, ſaying, *I am a dead man.* At the fall of *Narvaez* his ſoldiers were in the utmoſt conſternation, and retiring to the towers, ſhut themſelves up, without offering to fire one ſhot. *Cortez*'s party call'd out *Victoria*, and made the names of *Don Carlos* and *Cortez* reſound thro' all. And a very ſmall accident contributed greatly towards the diſ-ſpiriting of the other party. Some of them looking over the battlements of the Temple, ſpy'd lights for a long tract of ground, and very numerous, which having ſhew'd to their companions, they concluded they were matches, which *Cortez*'s Army, not as yet arriv'd, carry'd in their hands; and ſeeing them ſo far extended, believ'd he had got a vaſt Army of *Indians* arm'd with muskets; whereas they were indeed only ſmall flies, very common in *Italy*, which, for the light they give in the night, the *Italians* call *Luccioletti*.

Narvaez *wounded and taken priſoner.*

Cortez gave orders to have *Narvaez* kept with great care; who, coming to his ſenſes in a ſhort time, found his legs in chains, and himſelf in great agony with the pain of his wound. But *Cortez*, conſidering that the approach of the day would diſcover the ſmallneſs of his party, and perhaps put his enemies upon exerting themſelves, out of mere ſhame to have been overcome by ſo few, order'd a general pardon to be proclaim'd to all who would ſurrender; and very advantageous conditions were offer'd to all who would join his Army; and freedom to return to *Cuba*, with all their effects, to ſuch as would not liſt themſelves

ſelves under him. And, at the ſame time, to give the greater force to his Proclamation, he made the artillery be turn'd againſt the towers where *Narvaez*'s people were. This had the deſir'd effect, both his friends of that party, and his enemies coming out in crowds, and delivering up their arms; which he receiv'd, even from thoſe he knew to be inclin'd to him, to prevent ſuſpicion.

His men ſurrender.

Sandoval had been very careful of *Narvaez*, and had gotten his wound dreſs'd; and, when matters were a little ſettled, *Cortez* made him a viſit, but without deſigning to make himſelf known, leſt it might put him in diſorder. But the reſpect paid him by the ſoldiers, diſcover'd him; and *Narvaez* in a churliſh manner, ſaid to him, "Be thankful, "Captain, and value yourſelf upon the "good fortune you have had, in ma- "king me your priſoner." To which *Cortez* reply'd, "Thanks be to GOD "for all things; but, without vanity, "I do aſſure you, friend, that I account "this victory, and your impriſonment, "among the leaſt conſiderable actions, "which have been tranſacted in this "country."

The only enemies now remaining unconquer'd, were the two Captains, *Salvatierra*, and *Diego Velaſquez*, who being the chief Partiſans of the Governor of *Cuba*, next to *Narvaez*, had encourag'd a party of the ſoldiers to ſtick by them, to keep out one of the towers, and refus'd to ſurrender. *Cortez* order'd two pieces of cannon to be diſcharg'd againſt the tower, but gave private inſtructions that they ſhould be directed for the top of the buildings, that they might not hurt thoſe in the tower. The firſt fire brought the greateſt part of the ſoldiers, who defended the place; and they coming to ask quarter, left the entry open; which *Velaſquez de Leon* taking the advantage of, with a ſmall party of his men made good the paſſage; and ſeiz'd the two Captains, which compleated the victory. In this ſcuffle, *Cortez* had only two men kill'd, and ſome wounded; and on the other ſide, they loſt a Captain, an Enſign, and fifteen ſoldiers; but had a greater number wounded. *Narvaez* and *Salvatierra* were ſent to *Vera-Cruz*, with a ſufficient guard; but young *Diego Velaſquez* continu'd priſoner with *Velaſquez de Leon*, who, notwithſtanding the affront he had receiv'd from him at the entertainment in *Zempoala*, treated him very honourably, and had his wounds carefully look'd to; which probably he did not ſo much from a conſideration of conſanguinity, as from his own noble and generous mind.

Cortez having a conſiderable number of true friends in *Narvaez*'s party, they now openly declar'd for him; and the reſt of the priſoners perceiving, at the appearance of day, what a ſmall number they had been vanquiſh'd by, conceiv'd a great eſteem for *Cortez*, upon the account of his courage and conduct, and the utmoſt contempt for *Narvaez*; ſo that after the example of thoſe who favour'd *Cortez* all along, they liſted themſelves under his command, and not one ſingle perſon offer'd to return to *Cuba*.

Narvaez's whole Army liſt themſelves under Cortez.

The Cavalry, who had been abroad all the night, follow'd the ſame example; ſo that *Cortez* had now all that he had wiſh'd for in this expedition. He found himſelf at the head of above 1000 *Spaniards*, with a ſquadron of horſe, and eleven ſhips, with ſeven brigantines, under his command; his enemies in his power; and the Governor of *Cuba*'s laſt effort againſt him diſappointed: ſo that he was now in a condition to purſue his deſigns at *Mexico* with more vigour than before. The *Zempoalans*, and eſpecially their Cacique, celebrated his victory, as if it had been the ſaving their State; and the Caciques of the neighbouring Provinces ſent their compliments of congratulation to the *good Teales*, or *gentle Gods*, (for ſo they call'd the *Spaniards* of *Cortez*'s Army) and preſents to the officers and ſoldiers.

Things being thus happily conducted, *Cortez* reſolv'd to begin his march for *Mexico*; but that he might not give umbrage to *Montezuma*, by taking his whole Army with him, he thought of ſending *D'Olid* and *D'Ordaz*, each of them with 200 men, upon different expeditions. But whilſt he was preparing to put this in execution, a meſſenger arriv'd from *Montezuma*, giving an account of an inſurrection at *Mexico*, in ſpite of the King, and deſiring his ſpeedy return. *Alvaredo* gave him the ſame notice by his Letters, telling him, that the King had never offer'd to remove from him; but that the ſeditious had attack'd their quarters in great numbers; and therefore preſs'd him to come, or ſend to his relief, with all expedition.

An inſurrection at Mexico.

This intelligence ſoon determin'd *Cortez*; ſo that, with all convenient haſte, he began his march, with 1000 foot, and 100 horſe; (having firſt brought his ſhips on ſhore, and depoſited the ſails and rigging at *Vera-Cruz*, where he left one *Roderigo Rangel* to command as deputy to *Sandoval*.) He was receiv'd at *Tlaſcala* with great joy, and took 2000 *Tlaſcalans* along with him to *Mexico*; where he arriv'd without any oppoſition; and was welcom'd both by *Montezuma*, and *Alvaredo*, as their deliverer. And tho'

Cortez marches to the relief of his people in that city.

tho' ſome Hiſtorians ſay that *Cortez* treated the King with great contempt at his return, I can not but approve of our Author's reaſons to the contrary: for, as *Montezuma* had religiouſly kept his word, (a noble quality in a Prince!) and as *Cortez*, for all his force, had occaſion to make uſe of his intereſt to ballance the power of the Rebels, it is not likely that the General (who certainly was a man of prudence, as well as courage) would ſhew an unſeaſonable contempt of him at this juncture.

The reaſons of the inſurrection.

But here it is neceſſary to look ſomewhat back, and give an account of the reaſon of this mutiny, of which our Author honeſtly owns, that thoſe who have related the ſtory, differ much in their repreſentations. Some writers lay the blame upon *Montezuma*, whom they tax with having, under-hand, ſpirited up the *Mexicans* to rebel, after *Cortez*'s departure, in order to releaſe him from his confinement. Others put it upon the prieſts, who, as they ſay, blew the coal, to reſcue their Religion from the danger it was in, by the intereſt the *Spaniards* had with the King; as appear'd from the diſlike they had ſhew'd to human ſacrifices, and the Edict they had procur'd againſt that practice. Our writer, tho' a *Spaniſh* Biſhop, lays it at the door of *Alvaredo*, who had juſtly provok'd the *Mexicans*, by a barbarous maſſacre of a great number of their nobility, upon a day of publick feaſting. And others are of opinion, that it was a pure inſtinct of loyalty, which induced the ſubjects of *Montezuma* to riſe againſt the *Spaniards*, in order to reſcue their King out of their hands. A noble deſign, if it was the real one! for who could bear to ſee their *lawful natural Prince* diveſted of his ſovereign authority, and ſubject to foreigners, without endeavouring to reſtore him to his juſt dignity? It is not unlikely but there may be ſome truth in every one of theſe accounts, except the firſt, (for it appears from ſeveral circumſtances of the ſtory, that *Montezuma* adher'd ſtrictly to his word, and did all that was in his power, to quiet the ſedition, even to the loſs of his life.) The prieſts were undoubtedly very active in this inſurrection; being apprehenſive, not without reaſon, of the deſtruction of their Religion, ſhould the *Spaniards* prevail. As to the maſſacre, our Author does not deny it, tho' he excuſes it, by making the *Indians* the aggreſſors; and ſays, that *Alvaredo* had diſcover'd a conſpiracy form'd to cut him off, upon that publick feſtival. But it ſeems very odd that he ſhould have conceal'd this from *Montezuma*, whom he does not once accuſe to *Cortez*, as being acceſſary to the ſedition; and it looks as ſtrange, that he ſhould not have produced the Arms, which our Author ſays he found conceal'd, to excuſe his violence, in ſome meaſure.

But whoever were the aggreſſors, it is agreed upon by all, that *Alvaredo*, with fifty of his men, fell upon the nobility at their publick feſtival, which he himſelf had conſented to let them ſolemnize; and where they were aſſembled without arms, and in ſuch a careleſs manner, for plotters, that he catch'd them half drunk, and half a-ſleep. This maſſacre, (for it can be call'd no better) without giving any reaſon for it, rous'd the ſpirits of the *Mexicans*, and made them take arms; and what made it look worſe in the *Spaniards*, was their having ſtrip'd the ſlaughter'd nobility of all their rich jewels, with which they had adorn'd themſelves for that ſolemnity; ſo that the whole city was in an uproar in a moment. *Alvaredo* retir'd to his quarters, after this execution, taking all the care he could to keep himſelf and his men ſecure; which it had been impoſſible for him to have accompliſh'd, had not the report of *Cortez*'s return oblig'd the *Mexicans* to retire, in order to concert meaſures to carry on their deſign; which they reſolv'd to proſecute, to the utter extirpation of the *Spaniards*.

An engagement with the Mexicans.

Cortez having been inform'd by *Alvaredo* of all theſe proceedings, blam'd him for his ill conduct; but not being able to help what was paſt, and finding that none of the *Mexicans* appear'd in the ſtreets; ſuſpecting that they were hatching ſome ſecret deſign; the next day he ſent out *d'Ordaz* with 400 ſoldiers (*Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans*) to patrole thro' the principal ſtreets. When this party had march'd a good diſtance from the quarters, they perceiv'd a number of the enemy in arms,, who were ſent, as appear'd afterwards, to decoy them to a greater diſtance. *D'Ordaz* having a mind to take ſome priſoners, for farther information, purſu'd that party into a large ſtreet, where he was attack'd, of a ſudden, by a whole army of *Mexicans*; and, at the ſame time, vaſt multitudes getting together behind him, fell upon his rear, with a fury equal to that of the enemy he had in the front. The Captain immediately form'd his rear into another front, and fought both armies with great courage; but finding himſelf very uneqal to the engagement, and there being no poſſibility of ſending for aſſiſtance, he preſs'd hardeſt upon that ſide next the quarters, and retreated fighting, tho' he was much gall'd by a third enemy from the windows in the ſtreet. But the *Spaniards* fire-arms made

made great havock amongſt them, and at laſt oblig'd them to keep at ſuch a diſtance that he got back to *Cortez*, with the loſs of eight of his party, ſeven of which were *Tlaſcalans*; but he himſelf, and many of his *Spaniards* were wounded.

The Mexicans purſue the ſpaniards to their quarters. but are repuls'd.

The *Mexicans* purſu'd him to the very gates, but the firſt diſcharge of the Artillery put them to flight, with a terrible Slaughter. Yet they rallied again, but without the reach of the Cannon.

Soon after, their numbers encreaſing, they determin'd to aſſault the quarters on all ſides; which they did with ſuch undaunted reſolution, or, to ſay better, with ſuch blind rage, that, notwithſtanding their falling by hundreds, with the diſcharge of the great Guns, they preſs'd on towards the gates with intent either to force them or die. But the *Cortezians* made ſuch havock among them, without their being able to force an entrance, that, at laſt they retir'd to the croſs ſtreets, where they kept together till the night diſpers'd them; and keeping cloſe for ſome days, they afterwards appear'd at a diſtance, attempting to burn the Palace in which the *Spaniards* lodg'd, by ſhooting arrows with artificial fire faſten'd to them, which gave the beſieged ſome trouble to extinguiſh.

A new engagement.

Cortez perceiving that they kept a looſe for fear of the artillery, divided his forces into three bodies, and ſallied out upon them, falling upon them from three different ſtreets at the ſame time. The *Mexicans* ſuſtain'd the firſt charge with great bravery; but at laſt the guns and other arms of the *Spaniards* got the better of their wooden arms, and the courage and bravery of the diſciplin'd Soldiers, who were courageouſly ſupported, and nobly imitated by the *Tlaſcalans*, bore down the over-grown multitude of the ill-govern'd Mob; ſo that after ſeing the ſtreets ſtrow'd with heaps of dead *Indians*, they fled, with great precipitation: and *Cortez*, being ſatisfied with the victory, order'd his army to retreat: having loſt about ten or twelve of his men, and as many being ſlightly wounded. But he began to be uneaſy at the obſtinacy of the *Mexicans*, perceiving that they would tire them out with their numbers, and frequent skirmiſhes; which, tho' they were always attended with prodigious ſlaughter on their ſide; yet a ſmall loſs and conſtant fatigue to his little army, was of great concern to him. conſulting therefore with *Montezuma*, and his own Captains, he made a ſally ſome days after, with almoſt his whole force, thinking to have terrified them into a peace; the *Mexicans* did not avoid the encounter, but engaged with their uſual fury;

The Indians flee.

but in their behaviour that day there was more policy, and better diſcipline than formerly. They retreated often, and rallied again in the moſt advantagous places; they ſhot their arrows, and level'd their other weapons at thoſe parts of the *Spaniards* bodies which were not defended by their armour; and engaged with leſs confuſion than ordinary. *Cortez* himſelf was ſhot in the left hand with an arrow, and many of his men were likewiſe wounded, and about forty of them kill'd, moſt of which were *Tlaſcalans*. Yet they repuls'd the enemy at laſt, and retir'd to their quarters.

Cortez was in the utmoſt impatience at this laſt diſappointment; for he now ſaw, that tho' the *Mexicans* were repuls'd they were far from being ſubdu'd. Nor was *Montezuma* in better humour than he: he had ſeen the Engagement from the Battlements, and had obſerv'd the Cacique of *Itztapalapa* very induſtrious in encouraging the *Mexicans* to the attack; and was very jealous of his own authority, fearing leſt that Cacique ſhould uſurp his Crown. He therefore thought it obſolutly neceſſary to diſmiſs the *Spaniards*, that he might ſupport his dignity by going among his own ſubjects; and, in order to accompliſh his deſign, he came to *Cortez*, and repreſenting the preſent ſtate of their affairs to him, ſhew'd him how impracticable it was to ſet matters right by any other way; and therefore beg'd he would depart, and leave him to quiet the *Mexicans* by his preſence, which he could not pretend to do, whilſt they remained in the City, This agreeing with *Cortez*'s own opinion, he readily anſwer'd the King, that he would obey him, but advis'd him to ſend a meſſage to the Rebels to perſuade them firſt to lay down their arms, that he might be ſure by that ſubmiſion, that they would return to their duty.

A new aſſault

But before this conference was ended the allarm was ſounded in the Palace, and *Cortez* going to ſee what the matter was, found the *Mexicans* had made a freſh attack; which the *Spaniards* repuls'd with vigor. As ſoon as *Montezuma* was appriz'd of it' he ſent *Donna Marina* to the General, to let him know that he deſign'd to ſhew himſelf to the enemy, and endeavour to diſperſe them; which when *Cortez*, approv'd he dreſt himſelf in his robes of ſtate, and went to the Battlements; where, before he appear'd, one of his retinue call'd out loud to the *Mexicans* below, *to prepare themſelves to ſee the King with due reverence.* Upon *Montezuma's* appearance, they made a full ſtop, and many of them laying down their arms, bow'd their knees, and others fell flat to the

ground. The King making a ſign with his hand, told them "That he took the "preſent inſurrection as a token of their "loyalty and regard for him, as being "deſign'd to releaſe him from what they "reckon'd a confinement, tho' they "were miſtaken. But now, having finiſh'd "all that he had to negotiate with the "Strangers, he had determin'd to diſmiſs "them, and they had readily complied "with his Commands, and were prepar- "ing to be gone: and he hop'd he "ſhould not find leſs reſpect from his "own natural ſubjects than from the "*Spaniards*; and therefore he expected "they ſhould immediately lay down "their arms, and come into his preſence "as they ought to do: that he might "then declare the pardon which he en- "tended to pronounce to all in gene- "ral."

Montezuma appears to quiet the Mexicans

This Speech had ſuch an effect upon many of them at firſt, that they ſtood in deep ſilence; but as there was a party among them who either had choſen, or were upon the point of chuſing a new Emperor, thoſe Rebls advanced; and call- ing *Montezuma* coward, and old Wo- man, renounced his authority, and ſhot at him; and one threw a ſtone, which unluckily hitting him in the head, made him fall to the ground, without ſenſe or motion; tho' two *Spaniards*, by *Cortez*'s orders, had cover'd him with there Buclers to skreen him from the arrows of the *Mexicans*.

And is wounded.

Upon ſeing him fall, the beſiegers gave over the aſſault; either ſhocked with horror of having killed their King, as they believ'd; or elſe to conſult what was next to be done. The King was carried to his apparment, where *Cortez* with the utmoſt concern caus'd his wound to be dreſs'd. The Surgeons found the skull fractured, which they applied remedies to according to the beſt of their skill; but whether it was that the brain was hurt, or that the diſdain of being ſo us'd by his own Vaſſals, put him into a violent fury, as ſoon as he recovered the uſe of ſpeech, and knew the ſtate he was in, he tore off the bandage, and utter'd all that his rage could dictate of reſentment againſt the Rebels. Nor could all that *Cortez* could ſay to him moderate his Paſſion, but he continued in attempting every thing in his power to make an end of his life. In this frentic condition he continued three days; often calling to *Cortez* to take vengeance of his enemies, and then gave up the Ghoſt.

of which he dies.

Thus died the great *Montezuma*, Em- peror of *Mexico*; a Prince endowed with many excellent qualities, and great ver- tues, political and perſonal: and, perhaps, the vices he is charged with, in both theſe capacities, were owing rather to the cuſtoms of his country. and the pre- judice of his education, than to his na- tural temper or acquired habits. And the good underſtanding he ſhew'd upon ſeveral occaſions, inclines me to believe, that, if proper meaſures had been taken with him; had his authority been left uninvaded, and his Royal dignity pre- ſerved intire: had the *Spaniards* con- vinced him by their behaviour (as they ought to have done in good Policy, as well as in Chriſtianity) that they were more earneſt to bring him into a right way of Worſhip, and to teach him a more rational Religion, than they were to cramp his Soverignty, and to poſſeſs his treaſure; it would not have been ſo hard a task to have converted and baptiſed him. He owned many of the errors of his own Religion, and was not blind to ſome of the beauties of Chriſtianity; but he was not ſo far enlighten'd as to loſe his Em- pire for Religion; nor was it the way to propagate the Goſpel in that Country to precipitate his converſion, after they had him priſoner; and perhaps their en- croaching upon his authority, and the un- accountable ſtep of putting him in Chains, gave him a worſe opinion of the Chri- ſtian Religion, and of the profeſſors of it, than the prejudices of his education had been able to do. As to the averſion he ſhewed to Baptiſm after he had receiv'd the wound of which he died, I rather attribute it to a diſturbed brain, than to obſtinacy; and therefore, tho' I can- not ſay he was a Chriſtian, or ſaved in the covenant of grace; yet I dare not join with our author, in giving *the eter- nal poſſeſſion of his Soul to the Devil.* What allowance infinite mercy may give to ſtrong prejudices, and native Igno- rance, I do not pretend to determine; that is like to be a ſecret till the laſt Judg- ment, and as ſuch I leave it.

Cortez was much concerned at his death; and indeed he had reaſon: for he now wanted one of the greateſt ſupports he had towards bringing his deſign to bear. However, he concealed his trou- ble as well as he could; and picking out ſix of *Montezuma's* atendants he ſent them with the corps to the Rebels, together with offers of peace; at the ſame time threatning to burn the City if they conti- nued obſtinate. Upon their appearance in the ſtreet with the corps, the *Mexicans* flock'd about them; and throwing away their arms, ſhewed demonſtrations of ſorrow; tho' they they had by this time choſen another Emperor, as the *Spaniards* were afterwards informed: ſo that their grief ſeems to have been rather a re- ſpect to the Regal authority, than any affection

Cortez ſends the Body to the Mexi- cans

affection to the Perſon of *Montezuma*. They ſuſpended all Hoſtilities for ſome time; carrying the Body to the place appointed for the burying place of their Kings. He left behind him four ſons and three daughters. Two of his ſons were with *Cortez*, and were afterwards kill'd by the *Mexicans*; another of them was converted (after the entire conqueſt of *Mexico*) and baptiſed, and known by the Name of *Don Pedro de Montezuma* to whom the King of *Spain* gave an Eſtate in new *Spain*, and the title of *Count de Montezuma*, which decended to his heirs. His ſiſters likewiſe turned Chriſtians, and married *Spaniards*.

They make a new attack upon Cortez's *quarters.*

As ſoon as the *Mexicans* had performed the funeral rites, they returned to the aſſualt of the *Spaniards* quarters, by order of their new Emperor who was the Cacique of *Itztapalapa*. In order to make good their Enterprize, they took poſſeſſion of a Tower in the neareſt Temple, which was ſo high that it commanded a part of the quarters from which they diſcharged their arrows, and other miſſive weapons upon the Garriſon; whilſt the others, in great multitudes, ſtorm'd the Palace in other places. *Cortez* ſent Captain *Eſcobar* to diſlodge them from the Temple, who was more than once repuls'd by great pieces of Timber, half burnt, thrown down ſtairs, upon them. In the mean time, *Cortez*, with his troops, went thither; and finding the oppoſition made againſt *Eſcobar*, he alighted; and being obliged to have his target faſtened to his wounded Arm, joined *Eſcobar*, and led them, in ſpite of all oppoſition. up the ſtairs, putting all to the ſword who came in his way, without ſo much as loſing one man. But when he came to the top of the Battlements, where the nobles were, he run the greateſt riſque of his life that he had done during the war; for two brave youths having found that his armour was proof againſt all their weapons, reſolved to devote their lives to the ſervice of their Country; and therefore, coming up without Arms, to *Cortez*, as if they had been going to deliver themſelves priſoners, they ſeiz'd him both at once with a deſign to throw themſelves and him over the Battlement. But, with great difficulty he diſengaged himſelf, and they went over by themſelves, and periſhed by the fall. The nobles were ſo obſtinate that none of them would yield, but periſh'd every man; and *Cortez* ordered the *Tlaſcalans* to ſet fire to the Temple, and all the Towers and Houſes contiguous to his quarters. This order being given, which they executed, he mounted his horſe, and taking a launce in his hand, rode to the place where the greateſt power of the *Mexicans* where engaged againſt the *Spaniards*; there he trod them down with his horſe, and diſperſed them where-ever he came; but purſuing a little too eagerly, he found himſelf in a ſtreet alone, encompaſs'd by a great number of thoſe that fled, who now began to rally; he had the preſence of mind to turn ſhort into another ſtreet, and treading down all that oppoſed his paſſage, got thither where he found a company of the enemy dragging away his friend the Secretary *Duero*, who, by the ſtumbling of his horſe, had become their priſoner. *Cortez* attack'd them with his launce, and gave *Duero* time to draw a dagger, which they had overlook'd in diſarming him, with which having killed thoſe who were next to him, he recovered his horſe and launce; and joining *Cortez*, they cleared their paſſage to their own Party. This lucky advanture the General reckoned among the moſt fortunate accidents of his life; ſince he had ſaved a friend from ſo imminent danger,

Cortez in danger.

But defeats the enemy.

The *Mexicans*, being defeated on all hands, retir'd; and *Cortez* did not think fit to purſue his victory. He now ſaw it was impracticable, without more forces, to ſubdue the often recruited numbers of the enemy, who ſeemed to be obſtinately bent upon his diſtruction, He therefore determined to leave *Mexico* for that time. But while he was laying the Scheme for his retreat, the enemy deſired a Hearing, to which he conſented. The Deputies being come, propoſed, in the new Emperor's Name, that the *Spaniſh* forces ſhould retire to the coaſt where their great Canoes (ſo they called the ſhips) lay, and promised a ceſſation of Arms for a reaſonable time, to perform their march. *Cortez* accepted the propoſal, telling them "That he did not intend to ſtay "longer; having nothing more to do, "ſince they had murdered the great "*Montezuma*, whoſe friendſhip had kept "him ſo long in the City. That it was "not fear that made him remove; for he "knew his Arms ſufficient, not only do "diſtroy their City, but to extirpate their "whole Race, and to overturn their Em-"pire; but he had compaſſion upon them, "and was unwilling farther to chaſtiſe "them for their obſtinacy; and there-"fore he would depart as ſoon as they "had agreed to ſome articles neceſſary "fot his ſecurity in the march." This anſwer agreeing to their deſign of protracting time, the Deputies went away ſatisfied. The plot of the new Emperor being to delay the concluding the Truce, till *Cortez*'s proviſion ſhould fail; and in the mean time to block up the palace, and ſtarve the *Spaniards*.

A Treaty of peace.

deceitful on the Mexicans *ſide.*

Whilſt

Whilſt *Cortez* was deliberating about his march, he had intelligence that the enemy were making Ramparts in ſeveral Places, and breaking the bridges in the cauſey, leading towards *Tlaſcala*. This put him upon making a bridge of Beams, ſtrong enough to bear his Artillery, which he deſign'd to carry with him, and remove from place to place, as he ſhould have occaſion; and to give the enemy no time to do much miſchief, he reſolv'd to begin his march that very night, and made the diſpoſition accordingly. To amuſe the *Mexicans*, he ſent one of his priſoners, that evening, to aſſure them, that he was preparing for his march, and deſir'd only eight days to get all things ready. Before he left the Quarters, he brought out all the Gold and Jewels, and deliver'd the King's fifth part (to the Commiſſioners appointed to receive it) in what was moſt portable: and gave ſome lame horſes to carry it, and ſuch other part of their riches, as could be conveniently carry'd; adviſing the Soldiers not to overload themſelves at this juncture, promiſing to come back to recover what they ſhould now leave behind them. Notwithſtanding this caution, there being no abſolute order not to take above ſo much, many of the Soldiers, eſpecially thoſe who had been of *Narvaez*'s Army, loaded themſelves ſo, as to be render'd unable either to fight or flee; which coſt many of them their lives.

All things being now in order, about midnight, *Sandoval* march'd out, with profound ſilence, leading the Van, with his own company, and the choice of the *Tlaſcalans*; having the bridge of beams along with him, and twenty horſe. They march'd, without being diſcover'd, to the firſt bridge; and laying down the portable bridge, in the place of that the *Indians* had broken down, the Vanguard march'd over ſafely. After them he had placed the body of the Army, together with the artillery and baggage, and his *Mexican* priſoners: and the rear-guard follow'd, commanded by *Alvaredo*; *Cortez* himſelf, with 100 choice men, to be employ'd as he ſhould find it proper, march'd ſometimes in one diviſion, ſometimes in another.

Cortez marches out of Mexico.

Before the Rear-guard were all got over, the enemy had taken the allarm; and tho' the *Spaniards* march had been ſo much ſooner than they expected, yet they had laid their deſign with ſo much foreſight, that they attack'd them upon the firſt advertiſement of their retreat. The Lake, on both ſides of the cawſey, was, in a moment, full of arm'd canoes, and the body of the *Mexicans* purſu'd in the Rear of the *Spaniards* with great order, and with ſo deep ſilence, that *Cortez*'s Army felt their arrows before they heard any noiſe. *Alvaredo* fronted thoſe who purſu'd him, and a terrible battle began. The canoes landing their men upon the cawſey before the *Spaniards*, attack'd them in front, and they were ſhot at from the Lake on both flanks. At the firſt allarm, *Cortez*, who had paſs'd the firſt canal with *Sandoval*, came back to reinforce his Rear, and order'd the artillery, now uſeleſs, to be thrown into the canal, to have the paſſage free for the retreat. The *Spaniards*, both in Front and Rear, made ſuch havock of the unarm'd *Indians*, that, at the ſecond canal they threw their bodies into the water, and ſo made a bridge of them for the foot to paſs, leading the horſes by the bridles, thro' the water, to the next cawſey. *Alvaredo* made his way over one of the canals, by a deſperate leap, with the help of his ſpear, his horſe having been kill'd under him; which place is ſtill call'd *El ſalto d' Alvaredo*, *Alvaredo's Leap*. But *Cortez* was much troubled, by the noiſe of ſome *Spaniards* at a diſtance, towards the city, calling upon GOD, as in the agonies of Death: he endeavour'd to go to their aſſiſtance, but found it impracticable; for the *Mexicans* had remov'd his bridge: ſo that he had the mortification to hear their Cries, when he could not relieve them.

Is attack'd by the Mexicans,

The *Spaniards* had receiv'd the *Indians* ſo warmly on all hands, that, after a prodigious ſlaughter, they retir'd before day; at the appearance of which, the Army gain'd the firm Land. Here they reſted, and very luckily; for ſeveral Soldiers, both *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans*, who had been in the Rear-guard, and had thrown themſelves into the Lake, when they could not otherwiſe eſcape, came and join'd them. They gave an account of the laſt diviſion of their body's being entirely cut off, and with them *Velaſquez de Leon*, who fought bravely to bring them off, but periſh'd, without being able to effect it. He was greatly lamented by *Cortez*, and the whole Army. In this retreat, they loſt 200 *Spaniards*, 1000 *Tlaſcalans*, all the artillery, 46 horſes, and all the *Mexican* priſoners, who were kill'd in the dark, without being diſtinguiſh'd from *Spaniards*. *Cortez* lamented much the loſs of *Montezuma*'s Sons, the eldeſt of whom he deſign'd to have made uſe of as a rival to the new Emperor. But their death was, at preſent, of ſome advantage to him; for the *Mexicans* coming to ſtrip the Dead as ſoon as day appear'd, and finding the bodies of the young Princes, for whom they had a ſingular veneration,

But gets to firm land, with ſome loſs.

ſent

ſent to acquaint their Emperor with it; who, affecting a great concern, made the Army halt, and began the funeral ſolemnities, carrying the bodies to the burying-place of their Kings, with the uſual pomp; which gave *Cortez* time to breath, and refreſh his wearied men.

When they had reſted ſome hours, upon the ſide of the Lake, *Cortez* proceeded in his march towards *Tlaſcala*; but ſo ſlowly, becauſe of the wounded, that before they could arrive at any place of ſecurity, the *Mexicans*, join'd with the people of *Tacuba*, and *Eſcapuzalco*, the countries thro' which he march'd, gave a new attack to his Army. He was well aware of the fatigue they had undergone; and therefore, perceiving a large building not far off, upon an eminence, he order'd them to retreat to it; but ſo, that they retir'd fighting: this they happily effected, and found it very commodious, having a large court, ſurrounded with a wall flank'd with towers. It was a Temple built for the worſhip of the Sylvan Gods. Here they remain'd in ſafety, the enemy not daring to attack the wall, eſpecially the night coming on; at the approach of which, they drew off, and took the road to *Mexico*. In memory of this Temple's having been an *Aſilum* to them at this time, they afterwards erected a Hermitage in this place, and call'd it *Our Lady of Refuge*. Here they ſlept ſome hours; but with good care of their guards; changing their centinels often, that all might be refreſh'd.

Is purſu'd.

But *Cortez*, believing that they ſhould be purſu'd the next day by the enemy, brought his Council of War to a reſolution of marching that night, in order to fatigue the enemy by a long march the next day, before they could get up to them; this was undertaken, and executed accordingly, meeting with no oppoſition, but from ſome pickeerings of the natives, which was of no great conſequence. But having ſtaid a day at a village, which they found forſaken, but ſome proviſions left, he proceeded two other days in his march, thro' a rocky, barren country, where the Army ſuffer'd much by hunger and thirſt, having nothing to eat but herbs and roots; and ſo much they were put to it, that one of the wounded horſes dying, his fleſh was a moſt acceptable regale to thoſe who were in greateſt neceſſity. The next day, they came to a village, where the inhabitants brought them proviſions very chearfully; but, as they march'd out of it, *Donna Marina* (who, by wonderful good luck, had eſcap'd in the firſt battle) heard ſome of the *Indians*, who follow'd to gaze at them, call out aloud, *Go on Tyrants! you ſhall ſoon arrive at the place of your execution.* This hint made *Cortez* march with the greater caution; and as they march'd up a hill, which overlooks the valley of *Otumba*, they perceiv'd ſome ſtraggling companies of arm'd men at ſome diſtance. But as ſoon as they had reach'd the top of the hill, they ſaw a greater Army in the plain, than they had ever ſeen before. And indeed this was the whole force of *Mexico*; which, by a well-concerted march, in different parties, and by different roads, thro' the mountains, had got the ſtart of the *Spaniards*, being reſolv'd to cut them off, to prevent their reaching the *Tlaſcalan* territories.

This Army was compos'd of all the Nobility of *Mexico*, and of the tributary Caciques, who had been order'd to prepare their forces upon the firſt forming the deſign againſt *Cortez*, tho' they could not come together till now.

The whole Power of Mexico *take the Field againſt* Cortez.

The Royal Standard of the Empire, which never came into the field, but upon extraordinary occaſions, was now brought out; and the Captain-General, who alone was truſted to carry it, (being ſurrounded by the choiceſt men they had, and carry'd in a fine rich Litter, upon men's ſhoulders) had the charge of it, having it fix'd by his ſide. The form of this Standard was a net of maſſy gold hanging on a pike, and crown'd with a plume of party-colour'd feathers. The other Caciques had their proper Standards in their diſtinct Armies; the whole Army together, cover'd a vaſt plain. *Cortez*, ſeeing ſuch a powerful enemy before him, obſerv'd the countenances of his men, and ſeeing them chearful and lively, took it for a good Omen; ſo that he only ſaid, *Our preſent ſituation is ſuch, that we muſt conquer or die. It is the cauſe of our* GOD, *and he will fight for us.* He had no time for more; for the enemy was ſo near, that his own Soldiers were impatient for the battle. He had extended the front of his Foot as far as his ſmall number would allow, and flank'd them with ſome Horſe, keeping always a few about himſelf, to ſuccour thoſe places that had moſt need.

When the Signal was given, the *Spaniards* diſcharg'd their muſquets with ſo good an aim, that they did great execution among the *Mexicans*, who advanced in groſs, without due order; and then falling in upon them with their launces and ſwords, they hew'd them down by companies. But the *Mexicans* were ſo reſolute, notwithſtanding their want of diſcipline, that they attack'd fiercely; and when the *Spaniards* ſlew great numbers, freſh men always fill'd up the places of the ſlain; making their number

They engage.

ſupply their ignorance in the art of war. But the horſe trode down whole battallions at once; and terrify'd the enemy more than the fire-arms. *Cortez* was ſeen every where, encouraging his men, both with his words and example: for, being bravely ſeconded by his ſmall troop, he mow'd the *Mexicans* down where-ever he came. The *Tlaſcalans* fought as if they had thirſted for *Mexican* Blood; and having been now ſomewhat inur'd to the *Spaniſh* diſcipline, they bravely ſeconded their Maſters in the Battle.

But *Cortez* conſidering, that notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the valour of his people, and the ſlaughter they made; yet their ſtrength could not hold out to kill ſuch a multitude; but that they muſt fall down of themſelves, for mere fatigue, was reſolv'd to try one experiment to ſhorten the work. He remember'd to have heard, in his converſations with *Montezuma*, that the fate of the day, in time of battle, depended much upon the Royal Standard; and therefore he form'd a deſign to make himſelf maſter of it: to this end, riding up to *Sandoval*, *Alvaredo*, *D'Olid*, and *Davila*, he bid them follow him, and ſecure his Rear; and, taking a little turn, to that part of the enemy's Army, which he judg'd, by his eye, to be the ſhorteſt road to the Standard, he fell in with his horſe upon them, with ſuch violence, that he bore down all that oppos'd him; and coming to the centre, where the Captain-General was, encompas'd with a great crowd of Nobles, who guarded the Standard (as it had been the *Palladium* of the Empire) *Cortez* ſpur'd on his horſe, and with the firſt puſh of his launce, laid him all along in the Litter; which *Juan de Salamanca*, a private Gentleman of *Cortez*'s troop, perceiving, diſmounted, and taking the Standard from the Litter, deliver'd it to *Cortez*; for which the Emperor, *Charles* V. afterwards gave him, for his Creſt, the Plume of Feathers which was on the top of the *Mexican* Standard.

Cortez takes the Royal Standard,

Cortez ſoon ſaw that he had not been miſinform'd; for no ſooner did he make his appearance with the Standard in his hand, but all the Enſigns of the whole *Mexican* Army ſtruck their Colours; and that whole Multitude, throwing down their Arms, fled with great precipitation: ſo that, of 200,000 men, of which that Army conſiſted, there was not one to be ſeen in the field of battle, in a very ſhort time, except the ſlain, which are ſaid to have been about 20,000. The *Spaniards* having made dreadful havock in the purſuit; which, tho' it might be thought cruel upon another occaſion, ſeems to have been juſtifiable, at this time; conſidering how often thoſe *Indians* had rally'd again after being defeated. It is incredible how ſuch an obſtinate Fight could have been of ſuch continuance; and yet that ſo few fell on *Cortez*'s ſide; for, except ſome *Tlaſcalans*, who were kill'd, and three *Spaniards*, who died of their wounds afterwards, there is no mention made of any ſlaughter of *Cortez*'s men. He himſelf was wounded with a ſtone, which beat his helmet into his skull, and made likewiſe a Contuſion more dangerous than the Fracture. The *Spaniards* got a rich booty, the *Mexican* Nobility having adorn'd themſelves as if they had been going to a triumph.

Which gains him the victory.

Cortez aſſembled his ſcatter'd forces, and purſu'd his march, notwithſtanding his wound, keeping his men ſtill in readineſs, and good order, for fear of the enemy; but he met with no oppoſition, and the next day enter'd the Territories of *Tlaſcala*, to the great joy of all his Army. He ſtop'd at *Gualipar*, a conſiderable Town belonging to the Republick. The inhabitants met him without the town, offering him all aſſiſtance, and deſiring he would reſt his Army, after the fatigue they had undergone; which he thankfully agreed to; and, as he was deliberating to ſend an account of his approach to the Senate, he heard that his good friend *Magiſcatzin*, and the two *Xicotencals*, were arriv'd, to welcome him in the Name of the Senate. They receiv'd each other with all the marks of ſincere friendſhip, except *Xicotencal* the General, who ſeem'd to be diſſatisfy'd. All the firſt civilities being over, *Magiſcatzin* told *Cortez*, that the Senate had decreed an Army to be rais'd for his aſſiſtance, againſt *Mexico*; and that 30,000 men were to have march'd forthwith, to have ſecur'd his retreat, when they had the agreeable news of his having defeated the enemy, by his own prodigious valour, and that of his forces.

Cortez continues his march.

The Army ſtaid three days in *Gualipar*, to take care of the wounded; nor did *Magiſcatzin* oppoſe it, that they might have time to prepare for *Cortez*'s entry into *Tlaſcala*, which they were reſolv'd to ſolemnize with a magnificence equal to their affection; and was accordingly perform'd with great pomp on both ſides; the *Spaniards* adorning themſelves with the plumes, and other ſpoils of the *Mexicans*; and the people of *Tlaſcala*, with all the finery they were maſters of; and they had nothing but feaſts and rejoicings for ſeveral days and nights; and would have continu'd them much longer, had not *Cortez*'s wound, which had been unskilfully skin'd over,

broke

broke out with bad ſymptoms; his head was much enflam'd, and a violent fever enſu'd. This accident caſt a ſudden damp over all their mirth. The *Spaniards* were under vaſt concern for their General, the Senate, (and particularly *Magiſcatzin*, in whoſe houſe he lodg'd) was inconſolable; and the people went about the ſtreets, as if the Plague, or ſome dangerous Judgment hung over them. But by the care of the *Tlaſcalan* Phyſicians, who were admirably well skill'd in the nature of Simples, which they only made uſe of; and, by the help of a good conſtitution, the inflamation was remov'd, and the fever abated; after which, applying other herbs to the wound, they heal'd it up ſo by degrees, that he had no trouble with it afterwards.

Cortez dangerouſly ill.

But recovers.

As ſoon as *Cortez* recover'd, he had Letters from *Vera-Cruz*, that all things in the garriſon were as he had left them; the priſoners in ſafe cuſtody; and the confederate Caciques ſtill faithful. But withal they inform'd him, that there was a report among the *Indians*, that the people of *Tepeaca* had murder'd a Corporal and eight *Spaniſh* Soldiers, in their march for *Mexico*; and likewiſe, that the Soldiers of *Narvaez*, who had been left wounded at *Zempoala*, and had begun their march to *Mexico*, as ſoon as they were able to travel, had been kill'd by the ſame treacherous people. Upon this intelligence, which was confirm'd by the *Tlaſcalans*, (who ſaid that both thoſe parties had quarter'd there in their march) *Cortez* reſolv'd to chaſtiſe the *Tepeacans* before he undertook any thing elſe, intending to have the aſſiſtance of the Republick's Forces; but determin'd to let them offer their men; not thinking it proper to own that he needed any aid. The matter took, as he imagin'd it would; for, upon his declaring his intention to march againſt the *Tepeacans*, the Senate order'd 30,000 men to accompany the *Spaniards*.

Ambaſſadors come from Mexico *to the Republick.*

But whilſt he was preparing for this expedition, Ambaſſadors arriv'd at *Gualipar*, from the Emperor of *Mexico* to the Republick. They ſent from that place for leave to come to *Tlaſcala*; which being granted, with *Cortez*'s conſent, the Senate aſſembled to receive them, taking it for a great piece of humility in the proud *Mexicans* to ſend Ambaſſadors to them. When they arriv'd, they were conducted to the Senate; where, with the uſual formalities in ſuch Embaſſies, they offer'd peace and friendſhip from the great Emperor of *Mexico* to the Republick, deſiring no other condition, but their making immediate war upon the *Spaniards*, and deſtroying their whole Army. This propoſal was receiv'd with ſuch abhorrence by the Senate, that ſome very harſh expreſſions drop'd from ſeveral Senators; till it was wiſely propos'd, to deſire the Ambaſſadors to remove to the place appointed for them, where they were to attend the anſwer of the Senate. They went out accordingly, and the Senate, without voting, agreed to ſend for anſwer, That they would accept the offer'd peace and alliance, if they were propos'd upon honourable terms; but as the *Tlaſcalans* had a ſacred veneration for the laws of hoſpitality, and knew no difference between what was impoſſible, and what was unjuſt; they could not admit of an alliance, the terms of which they could not comply with. But before this reſolution was agreed to, the Ambaſſadors were gone, having made a moſt precipitate flight, for fear of a harſher meſſage from the Senate.

But does not ſtay for an anſwer.

Cortez was pleas'd, and not without reaſon, with this proof of the friendſhip of the Republick; and thank'd them for it in terms which united them ſtill cloſer in his intereſt. But young *Xicotencal* was not at all ſatisfy'd with their proceeding; and, tho' he ſaid nothing againſt it in the Senate, he under-hand was caballing to make a party to agree to the propoſals of the Emperor of *Mexico:* whether it was out of ſpite to *Cortez*, as having conquer'd him, or from his foreſight of the vaſſalage of his country to the *Spaniards*, (as he pretended) is hard to determine. There were ſo few who approv'd of his conduct and reaſoning, that his deſign was ſoon diſcover'd, both to *Cortez*, and to the Senate. The Senate met to conſult about it, and ſending for the old *Xicotencal*, ask'd him, *How his Son ought to be proceeded againſt?* He reſolutely anſwer'd, *As a Traitor to the State, and he would be the firſt that ſhould condemn him to die.*

Young Xicotencal *cabals againſt* Cortez.

This frank behaviour, in the old blind Gentleman, ſoften'd the minds of the Senators; ſo that they chang'd their ſeverity into mildneſs, and only ſentenc'd him to be degraded from his honours and office; which was done in open Senate, by taking his Staff from him, and throwing him down the ſtairs aſcending to the Tribunal. This diſgrace ſo humbled him, that he went to *Cortez*, and beg'd pardon, promiſing amendment; and, at his interceſſion, he was reſtor'd; and now was very diligent in liſting an army for the war of *Tepeaca*, making ſhew (but it was no more than a ſhow) of having repented of his error.

But ſubmits in appearance.

In the mean time, *Cortez* had no ſmall difficulty to bring his own Forces to engage

gage in this Expedition. The *Spaniards* who came with *Narvaez*, oppos'd it with open mouth. But he artfully quieted this mutiny, by telling them, "That "the *Tepeacans* had already poſſeſs'd the "road to *Vera-Cruz*; ſo that there was "a neceſſity of fighting them ſome "where; and if they ſhould do it by "way of retreat to *Vera-Cruz*, beſides "the diſhonour of it, they run a great "hazard; for they would be oblig'd to "encounter a numerous Army by them-"ſelves; becauſe they ſhould be ſo far "from being aſſiſted by the *Tlaſcalans* "in the deſign, that there was danger "in making them their Enemies, which "muſt occaſion their utter deſtruction."

The Spaniards mutiny,

But are quieted.

Thus he took them in their own trap, by repreſenting greater hazard in the retreat, than in the Expedition he propos'd. And to incline them to go chearfully into his meaſures, he promis'd them, upon his honour, "That when he had cha-"ſtis'd this Province, and clear'd the "Road to *Vera-Cruz*, every man, who "was unwilling to ſhare his Fortune, "ſhould be free to depart at pleaſure.

Cortez marches againſt Tepeaca.

Having thus ſilenced the Mutineers, he gave orders for the march. He muſter'd his Army, which conſiſted of 420 *Spaniſh* Foot, arm'd with ſpears, croſs-bows, and a few fire-arms, (becauſe the powder being ſcarce, he was oblig'd to leave moſt of the muſquets under the charge of *Magiſcatzin*) ſixteen horſe, 8,000 choice *Tlaſcalans*, drawn out of *Xicotencal*'s Army, under the Officers whoſe valour he had experience of in the *Mexican* Expedition. With theſe he ſet out, leaving his new-pretended friend to bring up the reſt of the *Tlaſcalans*. The firſt day he march'd three leagues, and halted at a Village, which he found abandon'd by the inhabitants; only they took a few peaſants, who, by *Cortez*'s order, were well treated; and the next morning he diſmiſs'd them, bidding them tell the Cacique, and chief Men of *Tepeaca*, "That he was come to cha-"ſtiſe them for the barbarous murder of "his Countrymen; and likewiſe for "their Treaſon againſt his Sovereign "*Don Carlos*, to whom they had pro-"mis'd obedience, when he had paſs'd "thro' their Country, in his way to "*Mexico*. But if they would now en-"gage to arm, in conjunction with the "*Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans*, againſt the "*Mexicans*, he would forgive all that "was paſt, and enter into a new league "of friendſhip."

The *Indians* went away, and, in a few days, came back to him, with a moſt impertinent anſwer to his meſſage; by which he found he muſt deal with them as enemies; and therefore continued his march towards *Tepeaca*; but before he arriv'd, they diſcover'd an ambuſcade of the enemy, in ſome fields of *Maez*, which grew very thick in that fruitful Country; and might have conceal'd them, if their impatience had not prompted them to ſhew themſelves too ſoon. *Cortez* drew up his Army in an inſtant; the *Tlaſcalan* Officers being very expert in the *Spaniſh* diſcipline. The enemy, finding themſelves diſcover'd, appear'd in great numbers, made up of *Mexicans* and *Tepeacans*. The *Mexicans* led the Van, and charg'd the *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans* firſt with their arrows; but they did little execution, having loſt their force among the Canes of *Maez*. But the *Spaniards* cloſing with them, made a terrible ſlaughter among them with their Pikes and Swords; and were ſo well ſeconded by the *Tlaſcalans*, that, upon a ſecond attack, the *Mexicans* turn'd their backs, and quitting the field, retir'd. The *Tepeacans* ſoon follow'd their example, and fled with great precipitation, leaving the victory entire to *Cortez*.

Fights a battle,

And gains a victory.

In this battle the enemy loſt the greateſt part of their Army, many were made priſoners, and the booty was conſiderable; few were kill'd of the *Tlaſcalans*, and the *Spaniards* loſt only one horſe, and had ſome men ſlightly wounded. That very night the *Tepeacans*, being abandon'd by the *Mexicans*, ſent deputies to *Cortez*, offering to deliver up their City, and themſelves at diſcretion; ſo that, the next day, he enter'd the City; the chief perſons, both civil and military, preſented themſelves before him, in a ſuppliant poſture, without daring to lift up their eyes. *Cortez* order'd the interpreters to proclaim King *Charles*, with a loud voice, and, in his name, a general pardon; which was ſo agreeable a ſurprize to the *Indians*, that they ſhew'd extraordinary ſigns of joy; and *Cortez* found, upon enquiry, that the *Mexicans* had, in ſome meaſure, forc'd them to act the part they had done. But that they might be no more under ſuch a force, they beg'd of him to take their City into his protection. He took this opportunity to build a Fortreſs there; and, by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, he put the City in a poſture of defence, againſt the *Mexicans*; he left a *Spaniſh* garriſon in it, and gave it the name of *Segura della Frontiera*, the *Securer of the Frontiers*.

But here another piece of barbarity was committed, which could not but make the *Spaniſh* name odious, whatever courteſy they might pretend to: this was, the ſending all the priſoners under a guard to *Tlaſcala*, to be ſold for ſlaves.

A barbarity done by the Spaniards.

ſlaves. But the Emperor *Charles* V. put a ſtop to this inhumanity thro' all his dominions in *America*, as ſoon as he was appriz'd of it; which was good policy, as well as an argument of that Prince's piety and humanity.

The Emperor of Mexico dies, and a new one is choſen

About this time died the Emperor, who had ſucceeded *Montezuma*; and *Guatimozin*, another Nephew, and Son-in-Law to the old Emperor, was elected; a young Prince of a good Spirit, and enterprizing genius, who departing from the auſtere Majeſty of the *Mexican* Kings, made himſelf acceptable to the Nobility, by the eaſineſs of acceſs to him; and to the People, by taking off the Taxes in time of war, (*the time that other Princes are oblig'd to make them heavier*) and neglected nothing to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence againſt any enemy. To this end, he ſent an Army of about 30,000 men to the frontiers, near *Guacachula*, from whence that Cacique ſent intelligence to *Cortez*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt the *Mexicans*. *Xicotencal* being arriv'd with the reſt of the Army, *Cortez* order'd 30,000 *Tlaſcalans*, and 300 *Spaniards*, under the command of *D'Olid*, to march againſt them. But there being a report ſpread, that the new Emperor had taken the field with the whole Power of *Mexico*, *D'Olid*'s Army miſtook ſome forces, marching down from the mountains, for *Mexicans*; but they prov'd to be their own Confederates: however, the *Tlaſcalans* ſuſpecting them, *D'Olid* ſent to them to halt, and commanded their Caciques to come to him; which they did, and the *Spaniſh* General giving too eaſily into the jealouſy of his Army, ſent them priſoners to *Cortez*. This raſh action might have been of very ill conſequence, had not *Cortez*'s prudence remedied it; for he immediately releas'd and careſs'd the priſoners; and being ſtartled at the diffidence the *Indians* had of one another, he thought proper to go himſelf with them to the Army; where he reprimanded *D'Olid* for his raſhneſs; and having quieted all diſturbances, he join'd the new forces to his own Army, and march'd on to *Guacachula*.

The *Mexicans*, upon their approach, advanced, putting their battle in array between *Cortez* and the Town, and engag'd the *Spaniards*, and their Confederates, under cover of the place: But the Cacique of *Guacachula* making a ſally out, fell upon the Rear of the *Mexicans* with ſuch vigour, that being hard preſs'd by *Cortez*'s Army in front, they could not ſtand the ſhock of the double attack, but fled, with all the haſte they could; the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, both in Front and Rear, purſuing them with great animoſity; ſo that moſt of them were either kill'd or wounded.

Cortez beats the Mexicans at Guacachula.

After this victory, *Cortez* enter'd the City, and quarter'd his *Spaniards* in it, leaving his Confederates without, who, in a few days, increas'd to the number of 120,000. The neighbouring Provinces ſending daily their forces to aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of *Mexico*. The Caciques, who had join'd him in this action, offer'd to follow him to *Tzucan*, a ſtrong town in the neighbourhood, where was a garriſon of 10,000 *Mexicans*, beſides thoſe who fled in the laſt battle. Thither *Cortez* march'd with the whole Army, and the *Mexicans* having cut the Bridge over a River, near the Town, *D'Olid* led the Van thro' the River, in the face of the Enemy, who at firſt made ſome reſiſtance; but when they found that the whole Army follow'd his example, they retir'd to the Town. *Cortez* order'd a general aſſault to be made, but there was no body to oppoſe them; for the Town was in a moment deſerted both of ſoldiers and inhabitants. At firſt they apprehended ſome ſtratagem, and were upon their guard; but ſeeing the *Mexicans* at a diſtance, aſcending the mountains, in confus'd multitudes, *Cortez* enter'd the Town, ſending ſome of the Confederates to take ſome priſoners, which they did. *Cortez* ſpoke kindly to the priſoners, and ſent them in ſearch of the inhabitants, promiſing them peace and liberty, upon their return. This mildneſs had the deſir'd effect, and before the next night, many, both men and women, came back to their houſes, without being moleſted, and promis'd obedience to the King of *Spain*.

And enters Yzucan.

Having reduced this place, *Cortez* return'd to *Segura della Frontiera*, where he heard, to his great ſorrow, that *Magiſcatzin*, who had always favour'd his intereſt, and done him many ſignal ſervices, was in a very languiſhing condition. He therefore diſpatch'd Father *D'Olmedo* to *Tlaſcala*, who arriv'd there in time to bring him over to the Chriſtian Faith; which he was well inclin'd to before; and he receiv'd Baptiſm before his Death; and, to the laſt, continu'd to exhort his Countrymen to follow his example, and to perſiſt in their fidelity and friendſhip to the *Spaniards*.

Magiſcatzin turns Chriſtian at his Death.

About this time, a ſhip arriv'd near *Vera-Cruz*, ſent by *Velaſquez*, Governor of *Cuba*, with ſeventeen *Spaniards*, two horſes, and ammunition and proviſions for *Narvaez*. This ſhip was commanded by *Pedro de Barba*, who was Governor of *Havana*, when *Cortez* was order'd to be ſeiz'd there, as we former-

A new supply of Spaniards arrive at the Camp.

ly mention'd. *Pedro Cavallero*, who was patroling upon the coaſt for *Cortez*, went out in a boat to reconnoitre; and coming up to the ſhip, ſaluted his Countrymen with great civility. *De Barba* enquir'd, in very civil terms, concerning *De Narvaez*; by which *Cavallero*, gueſſing at the deſign of their coming, anſwer'd, without heſitation, "That he "was perfectly well, and that the whole "Country had ſubmitted to him; *Cor-*"*tez*, and a few of his Soldiers, having "fled to the mountains." By this Lye, (which can not be juſtify'd) *De Barba* was decoy'd to *Vera-Cruz*, where he was undeceiv'd, by finding himſelf a priſoner, with all his people, to *Cortez*; which he was not much troubled at, having a true eſteem for that General, upon account of former friendſhip. The deputy Governor ſent the priſoners to *Cortez*, who receiv'd them courteouſly, and making preſents to the Soldiers, liſted them in his Army, and gave *De Barba* a company of Croſs-Bows. Soon after, another ſhip's crew were ſent to him, after the ſame manner, and follow'd the example of the firſt.

But as *Cortez*'s thoughts was bent upon the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, the greateſt difficulty he found in it was, how to paſs the Lake; for he did not fear their numbers, having his Army ſufficiently recruited from his Confederates. He therefore ſet about making a conſiderable number of Brigantines, which he reſolv'd to carry in pieces to the River near the Lake, and there putting them together, they might ſupply the place of bridges for paſſing the Cawſey: And, being in want of Powder, he ſent one of his Engineers to a *Vulcano*, or burning Mountain, at ſome diſtauce from *Tlaſcala*, which *D'Ordaz* had viſited the year before; where they found as much Sulphur, as they had occaſion for, to make Powder.

When he had thus provided for thoſe things neceſſary for the Expedition, he return'd to *Tlaſcala*, and enter'd the City in mourning, upon the acconnt of *Magiſcatzin*'s death, which made him moſt acceptable to the Senate and People; and he was the more ſo, by recommending to the Senate, the Son of his deceas'd friend, for his Father's place in their Counſels. This Son, as well as old *Xicotencal*, embrac'd the Chriſtian Faith, and were baptiz'd; which probably had influenced many others, if *Olmedo* had been ſupply'd with more Coadjutors, or had *Cortez* been at full liberty to proſecute that deſign.

Whilſt *Cortez* was going on with his preparations, a very ſeaſonable ſupply came to him unexpectedly, to counterballance the loſs of many of *Narvaez*'s Soldiers, who now claim'd the promiſe of ſuffering them to return to *Cuba*. *De Garay*, as we obſerv'd before, having left *Vera-Cruz*, had landed at *Panuco*, in the Gulph of *Mexico*; but having been repuls'd by the Natives, return'd to *Cuba*, where providing himſelf of a conſiderable force, he ſet out for the ſame place; but meeting with the like ſucceſs, his ſhips ſail'd without his orders, or any concert with one another, and whether by chance, or from the opinion which the commanders had of *Cortez*, three of them came, one after another, to *Vera-Cruz*, and deſiring guides from the garriſon, march'd at different times to *Tlaſcala*. Theſe three recruits conſiſted of 100 Soldiers, and 17 Horſes, with ſtore of Arms and Ammunition. Upon their arrival, *Cortez*, having welcom'd them with open arms, proclaim'd liberty of ſailing to *Cuba* to all who would. The greateſt part of *Narvaez*'s Soldiers accepted the offer; and which was thought very odd, the Secretary *Duero* made one among them. What was the reaſon of this change, is not told; but it is affirm'd, that, ſoon after, he made uſe of all his intereſt at the Court of *Spain*, in favour of the Governor *Velaſquez*. All theſe ſail'd to *Cuba* in one of the ſhips which came laſt.

And then another.

Moſt of Narvaez's Soldiers retire with Cortez's permiſſion, to Cuba.

Cortez thus getting rid of the Malecontents, apply'd himſelf cloſe to his main purpoſe, the Conqueſt of *Mexico*. He ſent to all his confederate Caciques, to be in readineſs to march at a ſhort warning; and haſten'd the building of his Brigantines. But that his enemies at home might not be able to do him miſchief, he drew up, in the form of a Letter to the Emperor his Maſter, a full account of his proceedings, and of his adventures, proſperous and unlucky: promiſing, with a confidence not unbecoming, to annex that new World to his Majeſty's Dominions. He gave an account of the riches and value of the country; the valour of the *Spaniards*, and the fidelity of the *Tlaſcalans*. He deſir'd juſtice againſt the miſrepreſentations of *Velaſquez*, and the injuries done him, both by that Governor, and by *Garay*; and beg'd a ſpeedy reinforcement to finiſh his Conqueſt. But above all, he repreſented the neceſſity of ſending a number of Eccleſiaſticks, in order to the Converſion of the *Indians*. Theſe Letters he ſent by *Mendoza* and *D'Ordaz*, with private inſtructions, that they ſhould find out his Father, and his former Agents *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*, before they went to Court; and govern themſelves according to the advices they ſhould receive from them. He likewiſe ſent

He ſends deputies to Spain.

ſent a Preſent to the Emperor, of the moſt valuable things which had been ſav'd in the retreat from *Mexico*. And, at the ſame time, the two Colonies of *Vera-Cruz*, and *Segura della Frontiera*, writ Letters to the Emperor.

Theſe two Deputies embark'd in another of the ſhips which had brought the late recruits; and the third he ſent to *Hiſpaniola*, with Letters to the *Audience* Royal, reſiding in that Iſland, whoſe juriſdiction at that time, reach'd not only the Iſlands, but the Continent of *America*. The Regulars of St. *Jerome*, of which that Audience was compos'd, writ back to him, that they approv'd of all he had done; promiſing to ſtand by him in *Spain*, and to iſſue out their orders, to ſtop any farther proceedings againſt him from *Cuba*; but told him, they were not in a condition to ſend him any aſſiſtance.

It was now towards the end of the year 1520, when *Cortez*, having all things in readineſs, except the Brigantines, was reſolv'd to begin with the Conqueſt of *Tezeuco*, which being upon the ſide of the Lake, he deſign'd to fortify, and there to expect the coming up of a new body of *Tlaſcalans*, with the Brigantines, in pieces, which he propos'd to put together at *Tezeuco*. But before he began his march, he had a freſh recruit of *Spaniards*. A ſhip from the *Canaries*, coming before *Vera-Cruz*, ſent to let the garriſon know, that they had arms and ammunition on board, to ſell for gold; the Governor ſent this account to *Cortez*, who immediately order'd ſome bars of gold to be carry'd with a good guard to *Vera-Cruz*. The Governor manag'd the affair with ſuch dexterity, that he not only purchas'd the fire-arms, powder, and other warlike ſtores, but he rais'd the expectations of the *Spaniards* on board, by ſhewing the gold and ſilver, the produce of that country, and by magnifying the greatneſs of the Conqueſt; that the Captain of the veſſel, and the Maſter, accompanied him to the Camp, and liſted themſelves in the Army, bringing thirteen men, and three horſes with them.

A new recruit of Spaniards.

Cortez now muſtering his forces, found them 540 Foot, 40 Horſe, and nine pieces of Cannon, which he had gotten from *Garay*'s Ships. The *Tlaſcalans*, under the command of *Xicotencal*, were 10,000; and about 50,000 other Confederate *Indians*, under their proper Caciques. And he manag'd his correſpondence with that Country ſo well, that, in the Siege of *Mexico*, which happen'd not long after, his Army conſiſted of no leſs than 200,000 men; and, which ſhew'd his prudence, there never was the leaſt jarring or miſunderſtanding among them. For, he publiſh'd orders thro' the whole Army, "That no man "ſhould preſume to draw his ſword "againſt another, either upon a march, "or in quarters. That no *Spaniard* "ſhould abuſe a confederate *Indian*, ei"ther by word or action. That no Sol"dier ſhould force, or otherwiſe abuſe "any Woman, tho' ſhe belong'd to the "enemy. That none ſhould preſume to "leave the Army, to go a pillaging, "without leave; and that a ſufficient "number ſhould go together: and final"ly, that they ſhould not ſtake their "horſes or arms at game." All theſe tranſgreſſions were to be puniſh'd with death. Tho' he prudently ſhut his eyes againſt ſome faults in the *Indians*, upon the account of their cuſtoms, which were not to be eradicated all at once.

Upon the Feaſt of the Innocents, he drew up his Army without the City, deſiring the *Indian* Chiefs, by his Interpreters, "To animate their forces to "fight for their liberty, and to ſend "home all who ſeem'd unwilling to un"dergo the fatigue of the war; and to "perſuade them to imitate the *Spaniards* "both in their valour, and moderation." After this, he made a ſpeech to his own Soldiers; in which, having commended their former behaviour, he preſs'd them earneſtly to two things, with regard to their Confederates. The firſt was, *To ſhew great friendſhip to them, and even to bear with them, as creatures of an inferior degree of reaſon*; and the ſecond was, *To ſet them a good example by all their actions*. Adding, that tho' he ſhould be ſorry to be oblig'd to puniſh any of them; yet if they tranſgreſs'd the orders given, he muſt ſhew himſelf Juſt as well as Patient. And then putting them in mind of the good Providence of GOD, that had ſtill attended their deſigns; he concluded his ſpeech with the following words, which he repeated twice, *Let us then follow him, and not diſpleaſe him*. After which he gave orders to march, with a loud *Huzza* from the whole Army.

Cortez marches for Tezeuco.

The inconveniencies they met with in this march, are not worth mentioning; the whole Army being well provided for, the firſt night, by one of the confederate Caciques, thro' whoſe country they paſs'd. The next day they enter'd the enemy's country, and ſaw an Army of *Mexicans* drawn up in a Plain, near a River; but *Cortez*'s Army appear'd ſo formidable beyond their expectation, that upon the advance of the Confederates to the River, the *Mexicans* fled, without ſtriking a ſtroke. The *Spaniſh* Army encamp'd that night at a village

village abandon'd by the inhabitants, and the next day ten unarm'd *Indians* were brought to *Cortez*, who ſaid they were Ambaſſadors from the King of *Tezeuco*, inviting him to his City, with his *Spaniards*, and promiſing to ſupply the reſt of his Army with all ſort of proviſions without the town.

This Cacique, as our Author very probably conjectures, was the ſame who had been depos'd by *Montezuma*, and was probably reſtor'd by this new Emperor, as being a mortal enemy to the *Spaniards*. This made *Cortez* ſuſpect him; however, he accepted his offer, and march'd on. At his approach to the City, he was receiv'd by ſome Nobles of the place, who inform'd him that the King was retir'd to *Mexico*, being frighted at the number of his Army, which had diſappointed the deſign he had laid, *viz.* to cajole him, till ſuch time as the Army of *Mexicans* he had agreed to introduce, ſhould arrive, to cut their throats in one night; but that, upon his nearer approach, his courage fail'd him, and he had fled. *Cortez* enter'd the City in a peaceable manner, but upon his guard, in caſe of treachery: he poſſeſs'd all the gates, and ſet guards at the heads of the principal ſtreets: and was pleas'd to have got this place under his power, without blood; becauſe he propos'd to make it the key to *Mexico*.

Cortez *enters* Tezeuco.

The next day, the body of the Nobility deſir'd admiſſion; which being granted, they appear'd in their beſt attire, having at their head a youth of an excellent aſpect, who, with a becoming grace, addreſſing himſelf to *Cortez*, told him, "That he was come to offer him "that troop of Nobles, begging that he "and they might be allow'd to liſt un- "der his enſigns, where they hop'd to "merit, by their valour, his protection "againſt their enemies." The youth made his ſhort ſpeech with ſuch a winning air, that *Cortez* took him in his arms, with much affection, and retiring with him, and ſome of the chief of the Nobility, to a more private place, he was inform'd more fully of the plot of the Cacique againſt him; but that his cowardice hinder'd him from putting it in execution. After anſwering all the queſtions *Cortez* had put to them, the oldeſt man of the party told him, "That "the Cacique, who had fled, was not "their *lawful King*, but an *Uſurper*; "and had come to the throne by mur- "dering his elder Brother; that he had "been ſupported, in the unjuſt poſſeſ- "ſion of it, by the predeceſſor of *Mon- "tezuma*; and had maintain'd his au- "thority by tyranny, and oppreſſing "the ſubjects. That the youth, who "now appear'd as their Leader, was "the Son of their *lawful King*, and "conſequently the *right Heir*; that he "had been ſav'd from the bloody hands "of the Tyrant, by his apparent con- "tempt of dignity, which made the "Tyrant ſlight him, as a perſon of low "groveling thoughts, and therefore not "to be regarded; but the Nobility, as "well as the Commons, deteſted the "*Uſurper*; and, by their interceſſion, "beg'd he would deliver them from his "unnatural Yoke."

Cortez was extremely pleas'd with this diſcovery, and with much reſpect, placed the young Prince by his ſide; and ſending for the reſt of the Nobles, he order'd his interpreters to tranſlate the following ſpeech aloud; which, for the honeſty and generoſity of it, making, in ſome meaſure, an attonement for his ill uſage of *Montezuma*, I ſhall give it in our Author's own words.

De Solis, B. v. C. xi.

"You have here before you, my "Friends, the *lawful Son* of your law- "ful King. The unjuſt Maſter, to "whoſe ill-acquir'd power, you pay a "forced obedience, ſeiz'd the Sceptre "of *Tezeuco*, with a hand dy'd in the "Blood of his elder Brother: and as "the art of preſerving dominion is un- "known to a Tyrant, he has govern'd "by the ſame violence that made him a "King; little caring how much he de- "ſerv'd the hatred of his Subjects, pro- "vided he made them fear him; and "treating thoſe like ſlaves, who bore "with his crimes. But at laſt, by baſe- "ly abandoning of you, in time of dan- "ger, and neglecting your defence, he "has, at once, ſhew'd his own want of "courage, and put it in your power to "redreſs your misfortunes. I might, if "I were not otherwiſe inclin'd, take "advantage of your defenceleſs condi- "tion; and uſe the right of war, by "ſubjecting this city, which I hold, as "you ſee, at the pleaſure of my ſword; "but it is with difficulty that the *Spa- "niards* conſent to do a hardſhip; and "as he that did us the injury, was "not really your King, you ought not "to ſuffer as his Vaſſals, nor for his of- "fence; nor ought this Prince to re- "main without the Kingdom, which "Nature beſtow'd upon him. Receive "then from my hand, the Prince whom "you before receiv'd from Heaven. "Pay him, for my ſake, that obedience "you owe him, as the ſucceſſor of his "Father, and place him on the throne "of his anceſtors. For, as I leſs re- "gard my own conveniency, than I "do equity and juſtice; I deſire his "Friendſhip more than his Kingdom,

Cortez *reſtores the Kingdom of* Tezeuco *to the right Heir.*

"and

" and your Satisfaction, rather than your " Subjection.

This Speech was receiv'd with the loud applauſe of all the Nobles. Some of them threw themſelves at *Cortez*'s feet, whilſt others made haſte to kiſs the hand of their young King, now *reſtor'd* to his own, to the general joy of the whole city; which they ſhew'd by all the demonſtrations uſual upon ſuch occaſions. He was crown'd the next day, with much ſolemnity, and *Cortez* aſſiſted at the ceremony. By this act of juſtice, the General link'd the hearts of his Cacique and his ſubjects to him, with much ſurer chains than thoſe of force and armies. He had now a firm friend in poſſeſſion of the key to *Mexico*, and a ſure retreat, whatever ſhould happen. And this generous action of reſtoring this prince to his throne, gave *Cortez* ſuch intereſt in him, that, in a very ſhort time, he influenc'd him to turn chriſtian, and had him baptiz'd by the name of *Hernando*, being himſelf his Godfather.

Having thus ſecur'd *Tezeuco*, *Cortez* determin'd to attack *Iztapalapa*, ſituated upon the ſame cawſey, by which he formerly march'd to *Mexico*, that having that city in his power, he might prevent any diſturbance to himſelf, or his confederates, by a powerful enemy behind him. To this end, he choſe 300 *Spaniards*, and 10,000 *Tlaſcalans*, and march'd with them himſelf, leaving the new King of *Tezeuco* to ſettle his authority over his ſubjects; and *Sandoval* to keep the reſt of his army in order. Upon his approach to that city, he was met by 8,000 *Indians*, who appear'd in defence of it, and having ſtood his aſſault with much bravery, retir'd to the town, without offering to defend the entrance to it; ſo that *Cortez* met with no farther oppoſition; which made him ſuſpect a ſtratagem; however, he march'd his army into it, and finding that part of it, which ſtood upon the cawſey, quite abandon'd, and all the inhabitants retir'd to the other part of the town, which, (as it had been a different city) ſtood upon the lake; this encreas'd his ſuſpicion; but he was quickly out of doubt, when he perceiv'd the water to riſe in the ſtreets, from the overflowing of the canals; and all that part of the town in danger of being drown'd, by opening the ſluices of the great lake. This being a danger, againſt which there was no remedy, he gave ſudden orders to leave the place, fretting that he had not foreſeen, and prevented that inconvenience. He lodg'd his army that night on a riſing-gronnd, by the town, where they ſuffer'd much cold from their wet feet: In the morning he began his retreat to *Tezuco*, and repuls'd the enemy who purſued him; defeating them, with great ſlaughter, in three different attacks; being more vex'd at the diſappoinment, than afraid of their force. This ſtratagem of the *Iztapalapans* was ſo well carried on, that it ſufficiently ſhews the *Mexicans* were not thoſe ſtupid Brutes, which ſome people would repreſent them to have been, in order to leſſen the glory of *Cortez*. And whoever conſiders this action, and ſeveral other artifices of theirs, during this war, muſt allow *Cortez* to have had a good ſhare both of courage and conduct, to be able to conquer them; nor is it any derogation from Providence, to aſcribe that praiſe to him, which cannot be denied without envy, and departing from the truth; eſpecially, when we have ſeen greater armies of *Spaniards*, upon this very continent of *America*, defeated by ſmaller numbers of *Indians*, than he had to encounter with.

Cortez *takes poſſeſſion of* Iztapalapa.

But is forced to leave it.

After this retreat, the Caciques of *Chalco*, and *Otumbo*, ſent to *Cortez* to demand aſſiſtance againſt an army of *Mexicans*, come out againſt them; which he ſent them, under the command of *Sandoval*, and *de Lugo*, not only to ſave his confederates, but to prevent the *Mexicans* from intercepting his communication with *Tlaſcala*. As theſe two Captains drew near to *Chalco*, the *Mexican* Army made head againſt them; but the *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans* engag'd them with ſo much reſolution, and the Cacique of *Chalco* fell upon their rear with ſuch fury, that they were ſoon put to flight, and loſt a great part of their Army in the puſuit. Several priſoners were taken, and brought before *Cortez*; for, the Army march'd directly back after the victory, the Cacique going along with them. *Cortez* receiv'd him with great civility, and carreſs'd his own, and the *Tlaſcalan* Officers, with much joy; praiſing their courage and conduct in very obliging terms: And then, calling for the priſoners, he told them, " that he would " not follow their example, in puniſhing " ſoldiers for obeying the orders of their " Prince, and therefore he would give " them their Liberty; but he expected " they would tell their Emperor, that " he was coming to puniſh him for all " the miſchiefs of a War, of which " he had been the ſole author; but more " eſpecially, for the death of *Monte-* " *zuma*: that he might expect to ſee " him very ſpeedily in the heart of his " capital City; which he was reſolv'd " to deſtroy with Fire and Sword. But " if he had ſuch compaſſion of his Peo- " ple, as to make Peace for himſelf and " them, he would ſtill give him honour- " able terms." Then he order'd them

He ſends a Meſſage to the Indian *Emperor.*

to be releas'd, and ſent an eſcorte with them to a place of ſafety.

Soon after, arriv'd an expreſs from *Tlaſcala*, from *Lopez*, that the brigantines were ready, and that the ſenate had provided 10,000 *Tamenes*, or carriagemen, for the ſeveral pieces; together with their iron-work, rigging, &c. and 20,000 ſoldiers for an eſcorte. But, that he deſign'd to ſtop at *Gualipar*, near the confines of *Mexico*, to wait for a party from *Tezeuco*. Accordingly *Cortez* ſent 300 *Spaniards* with ſome horſe, and a party of *Tlaſcalans*, who met them at the place appointed, and all together came ſafe to *Tezeuco*. But *Lopez* telling the General, that it muſt take twenty days to put the brigantines together, he reſolv'd to employ the Army in ſome buſineſs during that time; and conſulting the Caciques, and his officers, it was thought proper to begin with reducing *Taltocan*, a conſiderable town upon one of the ſmall lakes, diſcharging itſelf into the great one, and about five leagues diſtant from *Tezeuco*. *Cortez* determin'd to head this expedition himſelf; ſo that, chuſing 250 *Spaniards*, 20 horſe, a numerous body of *Tezeucan* nobility, and 20,000 *Tlaſcalans* commanded by *Chichemecal*, who had brought the laſt Detachment, he march'd out of the city, accompanied by *Alvaredo* and *D'Olid*.

After they had march'd about four leagues, they found an Army of *Mexicans* drawn up to oppoſe them; but, charging them, firſt with their fire-arms, and croſs-bows, and then with the whole body of the confederates, the enemy turn'd their backs, and fled, ſome towards the mountains, ſome towards *Taltocan*, and others leap'd into the lake; leaving a conſiderable number dead upon the ſpot, and ſome priſoners; which laſt were ſent to *Tezeuco*. The Army reſted that night in ſome houſes not far from thence, and the next morning advanc'd to the city; but, upon their approach, found that the *Mexicans* had broken down the bridge, and made the ditch ſo deep, that there was no paſſing from the cawſey but by ſwimming over the canal. This put them to a full ſtop, 'till one of the *Tezeucans* inform'd *Cortez*, that a little higher the water was fordable. He went immediately with him to the place, and order'd fifty *Spaniards* to try the ford, which they did, and were follow'd by ſuch a number of the *Indians* as he thought ſufficient to keep the *Mexicans* in play, till he paſs'd the whole Army. This was punctually executed, and when *Cortez* attack'd them with his whole Force, they quitted the field, throwing themſelves, ſome into their canoes, and others into the lake, with great precipitation; ſo that the confederates enter'd the town without any oppoſition, which they pillag'd, and ſet fire to the temples, and ſome of the greateſt buildings; and then march'd on, having no intention to ſtop there. He found two other cities deſerted, and lodg'd a night in each of them, without ſuffering any damage to be done to them, becauſe he had met with no reſiſtance.

He was now near *Tacuba*, at the end of the cawſey leading to *Mexico*, a place very neceſſary for him to be maſter of, and where there was a ſtrong garriſon of *Mexicans*; thither he march'd: but before they arriv'd at the place, they diſcover'd a great body of *Mexicans*, who advanc'd, to ſtop his paſſage; thoſe he engag'd, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, broke them; ſome of them retiring to the Town, and others taking different routes, as their fear led them. *Cortez* choſe the moſt advantageous poſt for his quarters that night, where he order'd all his guards, with great caution, to prevent ſurprize.

The next day, the enemy took the field again, ſeeking to retrieve the honour they had loſt the day before; but with the ſame ſucceſs; the dread of the fire-arms, and the terror of the horſe, ſtriking ſuch a damp upon them, that this ſecond victory was more eaſily obtain'd than the firſt. Upon their flight, *Cortez* purſu'd them, ſword in hand, to the city of *Tacuba*, and enter'd it with them, killing great numbers of them; but night coming on, he was not ſo much maſter of the city, as to ſtay there all night, and therefore, ſounding a retreat, he retir'd to his former lodgment: he ſtaid here five days; and every day had a freſh engagement with the enemy; but, in every one of them, he beat them back to the city with conſiderable loſs.

Having weaken'd them very much by continual ſlaughter, he reſolv'd to attack the town, and drew up his Army in order to it. A reinforcement coming, at the ſame time, to the garriſon, from *Mexico*, he attempted to defeat them before he ſhould attack the town; and not acting with his uſual foreſight, he purſu'd a ſmall body of them, ſent on purpoſe to decoy him, to the cawſey; they retiring to their Army, which made ſhew of retiring likewiſe, to bring him farther on, he raſhly purſu'd them; when ſuddenly innumerable canoes, coming out of *Mexico*, attack'd him on all ſides, and the body of the enemy's Army, that ſeem'd to retire, came back with great reſolution upon him. He was oblig'd to make his men front to both ſides of the cawſey, to make head againſt the canoes, and he, himſelf, attack'd the Army

He engages the enemys near Tacuba.

Army upon the cawſey. The action was ſo fiercely carried on by the *Mexicans*, that he run a great riſque of being defeated; and his own perſonal valour was what ſav'd his Army; for he dealt his blows with ſuch ſtrength and courage, as ſtruck a terror into all that ſaw him. But, tho' he was bravely ſeconded by his own forces, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and that the *Mexicans* were kill'd on all ſides, the utmoſt he could do, was to make good his retreat, and to ſave himſelf and Army, by quitting the cawſey; which he perform'd with great difficulty; and, finding it impracticable to attempt *Tacuba*, after ſo much fatigue, and with a numerous Army of the enemy ſtill in view, and the city of *Mexico* ſo near him; by the advice of his officers, he retir'd towards *Tezeuco*.

But is oblig'd to retire.

This retreat is cenſur'd, by ſome Authors, as a flight; but without any reaſon. Nor could it be a reflection upon *Cortez*, to give ſome eaſe to his weary ſoldiers, who had, for five days ſucceſſively, fought an Army much more numerous than themſelves, and daily recruited with new forces. But, to ſhew that he loſt no reputation by that retreat, ſoon after he came back to *Tezuco*, ſeveral Caciques upon the north-ſide of the lake, came thither to make their ſubmiſſion to him, and made an offer of joining him with their Forces.

But, what was more acceptable to *Cortez*, (tho' he did not reject the others) was, a new reinforcement of *Spaniards*, of conſiderable diſtinction, with good ſtore of arms and ammunition; which came by way of *Vera Cruz*, and *Tlaſcala*, without ſending word of their arrival. Theſe, our Author believes, were ſent from *Hiſpaniola*, tho' others affirm, they came directly from *Spain*. *Cortez* receiv'd them with great joy, every *Spaniard* being of more account with him, and indeed, of greater uſe, than a thouſand *Indians*.

A new Recruit of Spaniards come to the Army.

About this time meſſengers came, in all haſte, from the Caciques of *Chalco*, and *Thamanalco*, deſiring immediate aſſiſtance againſt an Army of *Mexicans*, ſent to poſſeſs their country, in order to cut off *Cortez*'s communication with *Tlaſcala*, and conſequently with *Vera-Cruz*. He immediately diſpatch'd *Sandoval* upon this expedition, with 300 *Spaniards*, and 20 horſe, together with ſuch a body of *Indians*, as he thought would be ſufficient, with the forces of thoſe Caciques, to oppoſe the enemy. *Sandoval* march'd with thoſe troops, and behav'd ſo well, that he defeated an Army of *Mexicans* near *Chalco*, tho' they had drawn up their Army in ſuch ground, as made his horſe uſeleſs to him, till they were beaten out of it; and then advancing with his horſe, he put them to flight, with great ſlaughter. But a freſh reinforcement coming to the aſſiſtance of the enemy, *Sandoval* engag'd them a-new, and putting them in diſorder with his horſe, purſu'd them to *Guaſtapeque*, killing vaſt numbers of them in the flight. The confederates enter'd the Town with them, and he gave his Soldiers leave to pillage, provided they took nothing away that was bulky, leſt that might hinder their fighting, or march. The next day, the Cacique of the place, and ſome of the principal men of the City, came without arms, and excus'd their former behaviour, as being over-aw'd by the *Mexicans*: theſe ſubmitted to the *Spaniards*, and begg'd peace, which was granted; and *Sandoval* would have march'd back to the Army, but that the Caeique of *Chalco* beg'd of him to purſue the ſcatter'd *Mexicans* to *Capiſlan*; which was but two leagues farther, and on the ſide of *Mexico*.

Sandoval defeats the Mexicans near Chalco.

This City was ſtrong by its ſituation, being built upon the top of a great Rock, very difficult of acceſs, with a rapid river on the other ſide of it. *Sandoval* taking a view of the place, found there were three ways of aſcending, but all of them dangerous, and very difficult. He order'd the *Calchians*, and *Tlaſcalans*, to advance firſt; but finding that they obey'd him but very faintly, he threw himſelf, with his *Spaniards*, into the greateſt danger, and march'd up; which ſo animated the *Indians*, that they mov'd up without any fear, and did it with more eaſe than the *Spaniards*, both, as being better accuſtom'd to ſuch roads, and, as being lighter arm'd. The greateſt danger proceeded from the ſtones which the *Mexicans* tumbled down upon them; doing more hurt by them, than with their bows and arrows: However, the *Spaniards*, with their muſquets and croſs-bows, ſoon clear'd the way, ſo that they reach'd the top of the rock, the enemy retiring into the Town, ſo diſ-ſpirited, that they took little care for the defence of it. The confederates purſu'd them, and made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of them, that ſome *Spaniards* going to drink of the river, were ſhock'd at the colour of it, occaſion'd by the blood of the enemy. This victory was ſo entire, that very few of the enemy eſcap'd; ſo that the country being freed from the apprehenſions of more Forces from *Mexico*, *Sandoval* return'd to *Tezuco*, but by ſlow marches, having ſeveral of his people wounded.

He marches to Capiſlan.

And with great danger takes the place.

The brigantines not being yet ready, *Cortez* march'd out at the head of the 300 *Spaniards*, and a good body of *Indians*,

dians, to view the places about the lake, where he had not yet been, that he might the better judge how to make his attack upon *Mexico*. His chief design was upon *Suchimilco*, a town upon the east-side of the lake, from which there was a cawsey to *Mexico*; and being resolv'd to march at once from all the places that immediately led thither, *viz. Tacuba*, *Iztapalapa*, and *Suchimilco*, he propos'd to visit this last, as he had the other two, and to possess himself of them all when occasion should offer. He went by the way of *Chalco*, where he found the town in great fear, having been inform'd, that a great Army of *Mexicans* were in motion about *Suchimilco*. *Cortez*'s Forces were join'd by those of *Chalco*, and of the neighbouring provinces, which were of the confederacy; so that, all together, they march'd towards *Suchimilco*. The *Mexicans* had possess'd some strong passes in the mountains, upon the road, from which *Cortez* attempted to dislodge them; and put a party of his men in danger of being cut off (without striking a stroke) by great stones hurl'd down a precipice upon them; but, that perceiving the hazard, he made them retreat, after several were wounded, and four *Spaniards* kill'd. Then he continued his march to the lower ground, having some skirmishes with several parties, which, from time to time, came down upon him, or sallied from ambuscades, in the woods near him. He subdu'd easily all the towns he came to; the *Mexicans* keeping the mountains, in sight of the Army. At last he came to *Quatlavaca*, upon the south-side of the great lake, on the opposite part to *Mexico*.

Cortez marches to Quatlavaca.

This City was defended by a deep ditch on each side; and the *Mexicans*, having cut down the bridges, thought themselves secure; but *Cortez* making his Army draw up, to keep the enemy in play with their fire-arms and arrows, order'd great trees to be fell'd, which reaching to the other side of the Ditch, at a little distance from the broken bridges, where the enemy was, made three bridges of that sort, for his foot to cross the ditch; which being done, he drew off the *Spaniards*, leaving the *Indians* to shoot at the enemy, whilst they, with some difficulty, pass'd those bridges, and form'd on the other side; and were still encreas'd by the *Indians*, as fast as they could get over. The *Mexicans* perceiving their danger, hasted to attack them, and falling upon them with great fury, had like to have defeated them; when *Cortez*, filling the hollows between the trees, with stones and earth, with great hazard got over the horse; which soon reliev'd his Army, by striking such terror into the *Mexicans*, and overpowering them where-ever he came, that they soon gave ground, and then fled over the other ditch to the mountains. The confederates slew great numbers in the engagement, and in the chace; and then march'd into the Town, which they found quite deserted. But soon after, the Cacique, and some of the principal inhabitants, call'd over from the further side of the ditch, and beg'd leave to return, offering to prepare quarters for the Troops; which being granted, the Town was soon peopled, and was of use to *Cortez*, by giving him intelligence, and by their knowledge of the Country.

Beats the Mexicans.

And possesses the Town.

The next morning, the Army march'd towards *Suchimilco*; which was a Town upon the side of the lake, about four leagues from *Mexico*, half of it was built in the water, and the rest upon the firm land. There *Cortez* expected to meet with strong opposition; nor was he deceiv'd; for, as he came near a river, at some distance from *Suchimilco*, he found the further banks double-lin'd with *Mexicans*, and the bulk of their Army near the bridge, which they had not demolish'd, but barricado'd, to hinder his Army from passing it. He quickly saw the difficulty of the attempt, but resolv'd to go thro' with it; and having order'd his *Indians* to advance to the banks of the river, and to discharge their arrows at the *Mexicans*, he commanded the *Spaniards* to attack the bridge. The *Mexicans* made such stout resistance, that they repuls'd the *Spaniards* twice; but, at the third attack, they made the *Mexicans* retire, and pass'd the bridge, making the barricade a shelter for themselves; from whence they gall'd the enemy so with their fire-arms, that they fled every where; which the confederate *Indians* seeing, did not stay to pass the bridge, but swam over, that they might not lose time. They pursu'd the enemy in good order, and finding that they rallied under cover of the Town, they attack'd them again with so much vigour, that they forc'd them to retire into the City, and enter'd with them; where they began a fresh battle. But here, *Cortez*, forgetting the General, to perform the office of a bold volunteer, engag'd himself so far in the pursuit, that he was in the middle of the *Mexicans*, all alone; and had he not been spy'd by one *D'Olea*, a *Spanish* Trooper, he had, in all probability, left the conquest of *Mexico* to some other person. His horse, being tir'd with fatigue, fell under him, and, before he could recover himself, the enemy throng'd so upon him, that he was unable to defend himself. They might have kill'd him, but their eagerness to present him alive to their Emperor

Another battle near Suchimilco, *where the* Mexicans *are defeated.*

Cortez entring the City with Mexicans, *is almost taken prisoner, but reliev'd by* D'Olea.

peror, ſav'd his life; and when he was as good as priſoner, *De Olea*, having call'd ſome *Tlaſcalans* to his aſſiſtance, came to the place, and to his immortal glory, reſcu'd his General out of their hands. He was no ſooner at liberty, but he call'd ſome of his *Spaniards*, who were advancing, and making a furious puſh upon the enemy, drove them to the lake ſide of the Town; he himſelf, with his Army, being in poſſeſſion of the land ſide. He had receiv'd two ſlight wounds, and *De Olea* three ugly cuts of *Indian* ſwords, as the honourable badges of his having ſav'd his General.

Whilſt this paſs'd within the Town, that part of the Army which was left without, to guard againſt any ſuccours arriving from *Mexico*, were not without employment. For, about 10,000 choſen men came from *Mexico*, in canoes, and landed at a little diſtance from the Town, thinking to have fallen upon the Rear of *Cortez*'s Army, whom they believ'd to have been all engag'd in the ſtreets; theſe were ſo warmly receiv'd by *D'Olid*, *Alvaredo*, and *Tapia*, that after a conſiderable loſs, they were glad to take to their canoes, and return home; having behav'd with great bravery, and wounded all the three Captains, beſides a great number of their men.

Cortez having beaten the enemy quite out of the Land ſide of the Town, ſet his guards between that and the other part of it, placing a ſmall party in the Tower of the chief Temple to keep watch, both upon the Lake and the Land: which was a well-judg'd caution; for, by the centinels who had that poſt, he was advis'd, that about 14,000 men were in canoes on the Lake, advancing towards them, and they ſoon landed at ſome diſtance; but the Army was ready for them, and drawing out of town, met them in a convenient ground, choſen by *Cortez*, for the engagement. The *Mexicans*, after their uſual manner, attack'd with fury; but the great execution done by the fire-arms, ſoon quell'd their courage, ſo that they fled outright, giving the Confederates no other trouble than that of killing thoſe they could overtake.

Cortez defeats a freſh Army from Mexico.

They ſtaid four days at *Suchimilco*, *Cortez* allowing that time for the repoſe of the wounded. But as he had no intention to ſtay with a part of his Army ſo near *Mexico*, for fear of harraſſing his men before all things were ready for the ſiege of that city; he march'd his Army back to *Tezeuco*; ſatisfy'd that he had view'd *Suchimilco*, which he propos'd to make himſelf maſter of, when his Brigantines were ready.

And returns to Tezeuco.

At his return, he found every thing in great forwardneſs, the Brigantines only wanted his preſence to have them launch'd; the magazines were well ſupply'd, and all the forces of his allies only waited for orders to come to the rendezvous. But he diſcover'd a dangerous conſpiracy againſt his life, and which was more ſhocking to him, it was carry'd on by *Spaniards*. One *Villafana*, a private Soldier, was the contriver of this Plot, as *Cortez* was inform'd by one of the gang, who, of his own accord, with deep remorſe, diſclos'd the whole ſecret to the General.

Villafana, thinking the Conqueſt of *Mexico* impracticable, and finding *Cortez* bent upon it, imagin'd, that the only expedient to eſcape the dangers to which they were every day expos'd, was to kill the General, and all thoſe who were moſt in his confidence; becauſe, there was no way to get off without his leave, which he durſt not ask. For, tho' he, with ſome others, as much afraid of the war as himſelf, might eaſily have deſerted, and could have paſs'd *Tlaſcala*, under pretence of having been ſent on a meſſage to *Vera-Cruz*; yet they were ſure to be ſtop'd there, having no paſs from *Cortez*. *Villafana* had propos'd deſerting, to ſuch as he found of his own mind, and having had ſeveral conſultations at his quarters, about the means, at laſt he propos'd the death of the General, and bringing them to his opinion, a writing was drawn up, and ſign'd by all that were preſent, promiſing to follow *Villafana* in that attempt, and it was ſo ſecretly carry'd on, that, tho' great numbers were brought in to ſign it, it was not diſcover'd till it was almoſt ripe for execution. This execrable murder was to be done in the following manner. Letters were to be forg'd as from *Spain*, under a pacquet from *Vera-Cruz*, which one of them was to bring to the General, when he was at table with his friends; the other conſpirators were to come into the room, under colour of inquiring for news, and whilſt he was reading the firſt Letter, they were to perform the horrid deed, with their pon-yards; and then to proclaim *Liberty*, and declare *Verdugo* (who had marry'd *Velaſquez*'s Siſter) for their General, tho' they thought him too much a man of honour to be truſted with the conſpiracy.

A Plot againſt his life diſcover'd.

Cortez loſt no time to get to the bottom of the Plot; and taking ſome of his Captains along with him, went directly to *Villafana*'s quarters, where he ſeiz'd him, allowing three or four of his accomplices, then with him, to retire. The confuſion he ſhew'd at the General's preſence, convinc'd him that the Soldier had told him truth. He had him imme-

diately clap'd in irons, and making all to retire, under colour of examining him privately, he took out of his bosom the paper subscrib'd by all the conspirators. The General was surpriz'd, and much afflicted to find the names of some in that black list, whom he little expected; but wisely considering, that punishing all that were guilty, was depriving himself of a considerable number of Soldiers in that critical juncture; he desir'd the *Alcaldes* to try *Villafana* forthwith, without naming any other. The poor wretch, believing that his confederates had betray'd him, and knowing that the General had the original paper, with all the subscriptions, confess'd all that was laid to his charge, and receiv'd sentence of death, which (allowing him time to prepare for it) was executed that night; and the next day, he was seen hanging before his quarters, with an account publish'd of the reason of it.

And punish'd by the death of one Soldier.

After this Justice done, *Cortez* call'd all the *Spanish* Officers together, and told them, "That *Villafana* had con-"spir'd against his life, and several of "theirs; that he did not doubt but he "had accomplices; but that he was ve-"ry glad he had conceal'd them, by "tearing a paper, and eating it, in which "he suppos'd their names were written. "That he did not design to make any "farther inquiry into the matter, being "satisfy'd with punishing the contriver "of the plot. But he desir'd them to "let him know how he had disoblig'd "his Countrymen; protesting that he "would endeavour to amend his faults, "when they were made known to him." The Conspirators, believing that they were not discover'd, hug'd themselves for their escape; and finding that the General did not alter his countenance towards them, (which their own guilt would soon have found out) they gave over their design, and behav'd with double diligence to wipe out their intended wickedness. However, not trusting them too far, by the advice of his Captains, he appointed a guard for himself of twelve Soldiers, and an Officer, without altering his way of living in any other respect.

Xicotencal leaves the Army in disgust.

This Mutiny was follow'd by another, which might have been of dangerous consequence, if not speedily prevented. *Xicotencal*, either upon the old resentment against *Cortez*, or upon new disgust, resolv'd to quit the Army; and forced a part of the *Tlascalans*, under his command, to leave *Tezeuco* in the night. *Cortez* being speedily inform'd of it, sent some of the chief men of the City after him, to persuade him to return; but he was so far from complying, that he sent back a message full of insolence and contempt; which so provok'd *Cortez*, that he sent a party of *Spaniards* and *Tezcucans*, with orders to bring him back, or to kill him if he resisted; which last they perform'd, the *Tlascalans* making little resistance, as having been oblig'd to accompany him, contrary to their inclination. And the Senate of *Tlascala*, and even his own Father, approv'd of *Cortez*'s conduct in that execution; since the haughty young man had acted so contrary to his own duty, and their intention; and they declar'd, he should not have far'd better if he had come back to *Tlascala*.

And is kill'd.

All things being thus quieted, *Cortez* order'd the Brigantines to be launch'd; they were thirteen in all, to every one of which he assign'd a Captain, and five and twenty *Spaniards*, with twelve rowers; and each had on board two pieces of cannon. He then divided his Army into three bodies, with a design to possess himself of the Cawseys of *Tacuba*, *Cuioacan*, and *Itztapalapa*, neglecting *Suchimilco*, as too remote. *Pedro d'Alvaredo* commanded the *Tacuba* expedition, with 150 *Spanish* foot, thirty horse, two pieces of cannon, and 30,000 *Tlascalans*. That of *Cuioacan* was given to *Christoval d'Olid*, with 160 *Spanish* foot, thirty horse, two pieces of cannon, and 30,000 *Indians*. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had the charge of the attack of *Itztapalapa*, with 160 *Spaniards*, 24 horse, two pieces of cannon, and 40,000 *Indians*.

The disposition of Cortez's Army.

Alvaredo and *Olid* march'd to *Tacuba* together, where they took up their quarters without opposition; all the men, capable of bearing arms, being gone to *Mexico*, and the other inhabitants fled to the mountains. Here they found, that a considerable body of *Mexicans* were assembled within half a league of the town, to cover the Aqueducts, which supply'd *Mexico* with water from the mountains of *Chapultepeque*. The two commanders march'd out of *Tacuba*, and attack'd the *Mexicans*; and, after an obstinate resistance, defeated them, and broke the pipes, and threw down the Aqueduct, in two or three places, letting the water run into the Lake. This was no small damage to the city, obliging them to get their water at a great distance; for the Lake was salt water. This being done, *D'Olid* took his way to *Cuioacan*, and possess'd it with the same ease as they had done *Tacuba*.

Alvaredo and Olid break the aqueducts, and distress the city of Mexico, by withholding the water.

Cortez, allowing *Sandoval* a competent time to reach *Itztapalapa*, went on board his small Fleet; but the greatest that ever had been seen upon that sea. He was accompany'd by *Don Hernando*, the

Cortez sails with his Brigantines.

the Cacique of *Tezeuco*, and a young brother of his, afterwards baptiz'd by the name of *Carlos*. He left a ſufficient number of forces in *Tezeuco*, to ſecure the place, and the communication. He drew up his Brigantines in a line, with flags and ſtreamers diſplay'd. His deſign was to appear before *Mexico*, and to let them ſee that he commanded the Lake; after that, he purpos'd to fall upon *Itztapalapa*, to diſlodge the *Mexicans* from that part of it, which ſtood in the water. But he was oblig'd to alter his meaſures, by the appearance of about 4000 canoes from *Mexico*, and other places, coming to attack him. He put his Fleet in the ſhape of a creſcent, and bore up to the enemy, beginning the engagement with his artillery. At the ſame time, a land-breeze coming a-ſtern of him, gave his Fleet all the force neceſſary to run down the canoes, which they did where-ever they came. The ſhock of the Brigantines, the noiſe and ſlaughter made by the guns, and the ſmoke of the powder in the faces of the *Mexicans*, put them in ſuch a terror, that they retir'd towards *Mexico*, *Cortez* purſuing, and overſetting them, until they got into the canals of the city. *Cortez* ſail'd round it, and fir'd ſome guns into it, rather out of triumph than for execution.

Cortez ſinks and deſtroys a great number of armed canoes.

Aſſiſts D'Olid with his Fleet.

Towards night he retir'd towards *Tezeuco*, near which he reſted his men; and in the morning, as he was preparing to ſail for *Itztapalapa*, he ſaw a great number of canoes rowing towards *Cuioacan*; he follow'd thoſe, and arriving ſoon after them, found *D'Olid* fighting on the cawſey againſt the *Mexicans*, and fronting to the Lake on both ſides, to make head againſt the canoes, which attack'd him every where. He was upon the point of loſing the ground he had gain'd, when *Cortez* arriv'd; but the ſight of the Brigantines ſoon diſpers'd the canoes on one ſide of the cawſey, and *Cortez* ordering ſome of the ſoldiers to widen the ditch behind them, he, with difficulty, made three or four of his Brigantines paſs to the other ſide, and by that clear'd both ſides of the Lake; and then plying the *Mexicans* upon the cawſey with his great guns, at the ſame time that *D'Olid* preſs'd upon them with vigour, they abandon'd the bridge which they were defending, and retir'd to the laſt rampart next the city. *D'Olid* lodg'd his men upon the cawſey all night, and *Cortez* lay bye in the Brigantines.

And with him attacks Mexico.

Early next morning, *D'Olid* mov'd forward to the laſt bridge, at the entry to *Mexico*; which he found barricaded, and ſtrongly guarded. *Cortez* play'd his cannon upon them with good ſucceſs, whilſt *D'Olid* labour'd in demoliſhing the barricades; and filling up the ditch with faſcines, and the timber of their works, which he had broken down. But *Cortez*, being impatient of delay, landed with thirty *Spaniards*, and leading on the attack himſelf, forced the *Mexicans* to retire, and he purſu'd them as far as the chief ſtreet of the city; but not thinking it adviſable to ſtay there till the troops were come up from the other two places, he march'd back to *Cuioacan* the next day; and ſo going on board, ſail'd with all the Brigantines to *Itztapalapa*, where *Sandoval* was hard put to it. For, that Captain having firſt taken poſſeſſion of the land part of the Town, had fill'd up the ditch towards the water part, and making his way over, had taken poſſeſſion, ſword in hand, of a great houſe; but before he was aware, a great number of canoes, coming of a ſudden, took away the faſcines, and cut off his retreat, and then beſieg'd him on all ſides. But *Cortez* arriving, the canoes diſappear'd in an inſtant, and they who attack'd him from the Town, getting into the canoes to get off, ſunk many of them with their haſte. But *Cortez*, perceiving, that without demoliſhing that part of the Town, (which would take a long time, and delay the march from the other two places) he could not prevent *Sandoval* from being attack'd by the canoes, who had good ſhelter there; gave him orders to quit that poſt, and to march, with all expedition, to *Tapeaquilla*, from whence there was a narrower cawſey to *Mexico*, and was the road by which the proviſions for the city were carry'd; which he accordingly did; and *Cortez* went on to *Tacuba* with his Fleet, where he found *Alvaredo* had attack'd the *Mexican* works upon the cawſey, as *D'Olid* had done from *Cuioacan*; but had loſt eight of his *Spaniards*. The General therefore finding this manner of attacking and retiring too tedious, ſent to ſtop all attempts till further orders.

Gets into the city, but retires to his fleet.

Sails to Itztapalapa, where he relieves Sandoval

In the mean time, he diſpatch'd meſſengers to all his allies near the Lake, to ſend all the canoes they could procure; and dividing his Brigantines into three ſquadrons, he ſent four (with a third part of the canoes ſent him) to *Alvaredo*, as many to *Sandoval*, and he himſelf with the other five, and the laſt third of the canoes join'd *D'Olid*. With theſe they clear'd thoſe parts of the Lake, from the enemy's canoes, and took ſeveral loads of proviſions, and freſh water, going to the city, which diſtreſs'd the *Mexicans* much. And the three Captains, from their ſeveral ſtations, advanced ſo far upon the ſeveral cawſeys aſſign'd

Cortez divides his Brigantines, giving four to two of his Captains, and five to the third, with a number of canoes to each.

aſſign'd them, that they demoliſh'd ſome houſes in the ſuburbs; having no enemy now in flank to contend with; but on the contrary, being well aſſiſted with the artillery, and other fire-arms from the Brigantines, and by the arrows from the canoes, which row'd on both ſides of the cawſey, keeping pace with their march.

But the *Mexicans* were not idle, and made ſuch a defence, as ſhew'd they were not only brave, but cunning in the art of war. For, having now to do with people whoſe manner of fighting was new to them, they employ'd their invention in ſtratagems; to prevent the miſchief they foreſaw from the diſpoſition of the *Spaniards*. Tho' it had not, hitherto, been their cuſtom to do any military exploit in the night-time; yet, finding that there was a neceſſity for it, they alter'd their uſual forms, and ſent canoes in the night, which took a great compaſs about, out of ſight of the Brigantines, to clear the ditches, behind the confederate armies, of the faſcines, with which they had fill'd them up, and thereby to cut off their retreat; not doubting but they ſhould be able, with their numbers in the town, to drive them back to ſeek their old quarters.

But another maſter-piece of ſtratagem they contriv'd, which ſhew'd there were good heads among them; it was this: They built thirty large veſſels, which they call'd *Piraguas*, ſtrength'ning them with ſtrong planks to receive the ſhot, and capable of containing a ſufficient number of men to be able to board a Brigantine. Theſe they convey'd, by night, behind the reeds, which grew very high and thick, in ſome places of the Lake; and thruſt ſtakes into the water, at the entries into thoſe groves of reeds, to entangle the Brigantines, as they forced themſelves in with ſails and oars. When they had prepar'd this ambuſcade, they ſent three or four canoes, laden with proviſions, to ply thereabouts, without the reeds, for a bait to decoy the Brigantines that way. This took, as they had projected it; for, the next day, two of *Sandoval*'s Brigantines, commanded by *De Barba* and *Portillo*, going out to cruize, as uſual, the *Mexicans* ſent their canoes out at ſome diſtances, which ſeem'd to fly, as being afraid of them; and the Brigantines making all the ſail they could towards them, purſu'd them into the trap, and coming into it, with all the force of ſails and oars, before they were aware, got among the ſtakes, ſo that they could neither advance nor retire; and the *Piraguas* falling upon them, they were beſet on every ſide. The *Spaniards* had no chance to get off, but by their valour, which they ſhew'd upon that occaſion; and their leaders cauſing expert ſwimmers to throw themſelves into the Lake, with hatchets, and other neceſſary inſtruments, to cut the ſtakes; they withſtood the attack of the *Piragua*'s, till the Brigantines were diſengag'd; and then turning the cannon upon the *Indians*, they ſunk ſeveral of their veſſels, and the reſt made off. The Brigantines were much damag'd by this ſhock, and many of the *Spaniards* were wounded. *Portillo* was kill'd, and *De Barba*, being mortally wounded, died in three days, to the great mortification of *Cortez*.

A ſtratagem of the Mexicans,

Tho' this ſtratagem took once, it was ill-judg'd of the *Mexicans*, to imagine they could put it in execution a ſecond time, in the ſame manner; and the attempting to do it coſt them dear. For, having refitted the *Piraguas*, and built new ones, they ſent them to the ſame place; but *Cortez*, having intelligence of it, from the ſpies he had ſet upon the Lake, ſent ſix Brigantines to another grove of reeds at ſome diſtance; and, when day appear'd, one of them ſallying forth, ſail'd different courſes, as if ſhe were cruiſing, till at laſt ſhe enter'd ſo far, but with eaſy way, among the reeds, as to ſhew the *Mexicans* that ſhe had diſcover'd them; and then pretending to fly with great precipitation, the *Paraguas* purſu'd her, till ſhe decoy'd them to the *Spaniſh* ambuſcade, when the other five coming out of the cover, gave them a broad-ſide, which did great execution; and being better manag'd than the *Mexican* veſſels, they play'd their cannon ſo faſt upon them, that they ſunk, or ſhatter'd them to pieces; by which, they not only reveng'd the late loſs, but broke the *Mexican* Fleet; and put it out of their power to make any figure by water.

Turn'd upon themſelves.

Cortez being inform'd by the priſoners, which were frequently taken, that the beſieged ſuffer'd much for want of proviſions, which occaſion'd great diſcords among them, was very diligent to increaſe thoſe diſputes, by cutting off all their ſupplies. But that he might leave nothing unattempted to prevent the effuſion of blood, he ſent another meſſage of peace to *Guatimozin*, by ſome of the priſoners, whom he releas'd for that purpoſe. He order'd them to tell him, "That he did not intend to de-
"prive him of his crown, or to ſubdue
"his kingdom, much leſs to deſtroy his
"city, or murder his ſubjects; that it
"was their own obſtinacy that had oc-
"caſion'd all the ſlaughter on both ſides.
"But if he would follow the example
"of *Montezuma*, agreeable to their own
"prophecies,

Cortez ſends offers of peace to Mexico.

" prophecies, and acknowledge the king " of *Spain* (as the ſucceſſor of *Quezal-* " *coal*) for ſovereign of the Empire, he " would march peaceably into *Mexico*, " and treat him with the ſame reſpect " he had done *Montezuma*. But if he " refus'd to agree to ſuch juſt and rea- " ſonable terms, he was determin'd to " ſet the city and palace on fire, and " treat the *Mexicans* with all the rigor " of war."

Some affirm, that *Guatimozin* himſelf was inclin'd to peace, but was biaſs'd by the prieſts, who ſpoke aloud againſt it; but however that be, the iſſue of the council held upon *Cortez*'s meſſage, was, a declaration from their Emperor to the *Mexicans*, that he would put to death any who ſhould mention peace, let the the city be reduced to whatever hardſhips it could. Which being reported to *Cortez*, he prepar'd for a general aſſault from all the three cawſeys at once; and accordingly, ſent orders to *Alvaredo* and *Sandoval* to begin the attack with all their force, both by land and water; and, at the time appointed, putting himſelf at the head of *D'Olid*'s forces, he march'd up to the laſt bridge, upon the cawſey leading from *Cuioacan*. Here he found part of the cawſey broken, and the gap open'd, ſo as to let the water of the Lake have free courſe from one ſide to the other; and on the further cawſey, towards the town, they had built a ſort of a fortification, which was defended by a great Army of *Mexicans*.

Mexico *aſſaulted in three places at once.*

Upon *Cortez*'s approach, he order'd his cannon to be level'd at the fortification, which demoliſh'd it in a very ſhort time, and kill'd a great number of the defendants by the fall of it; beſides thoſe who fell by the ſhot; and making the artillery play conſtantly, both from the cawſey, and his five brigantines; the *Mexicans*, being unable to endure the fire, retir'd to the city, after a prodigious loſs; which *Cortez* taking the advantage of, made uſe of his brigantines and canoes to land his forces on the other ſide of the ditch, taking with him his horſe, and three pieces of cannon. This they had time enough to perform, becauſe the enemy had left the ſhore free. The General left *Aldaret*, with ſome *Spaniards*, and a good number of *Indians*, to fill up the ditch, in caſe he ſhould be oblig'd to retire from the town. But he finding the Army engag'd within, haſted to the battle, leaving the task he had been entruſted with, to another; ſo that between them it was neglected; which was of very bad conſequence.

Cortez, being now within the city, had a new Army to fight with, who receiv'd him with ſuch obſtinate bravery, and were ſo well ſeconded by arrows, darts, and ſtones, from the windows and battlements, that it was impracticable to make a lodgment in the Town; ſince *Alvaredo* and *Sandoval* had not join'd him. They had attack'd the city in the ſame manner as he had done, and with the ſame ſucceſs; but the city was ſo large, and they had ſuch numbers to battle, that night coming on, they thought, on all hands, it was adviſable to retreat; eſpecially conſidering the fatigue their men had undergone, and that moſt of them were wounded. The Captains of the two cawſeys retir'd without much difficulty; but when *Cortez*'s Army came to the ditch, they found it quite clear'd, and their paſſage, by that neglect, quite ſtop'd; however, the *Indians* of his party threw themſelves into the water, and many of them got to the other ſide; and many were kill'd by the *Mexicans*, who waited them in the Lake for that purpoſe. So that when *Cortez* (who with his *Spaniards* brought up the rear) arriv'd at the ditch, he found the paſs impracticable, and himſelf only attended by his *Spaniards*, and a party of *Tlaſcalans*. In this difficulty he faced about, and charg'd the enemy with his cavalry, and made the muſqueteers, and croſs-bow-men give a brisk attack; but tho' they did great execution, yet the enemy ſo preſs'd upon him, that he was in danger of his life, having his horſe kill'd, and one of Captains, *Franciſco de Guzman*, taken priſoner, whilſt he was mounting the General on his horſe. However, with much ado, he got to his Brigantines, having, to his great affliction, loſt many *Spaniards*; and, which was worſe, about forty of them fell alive into the enemy's hands, to be a deteſtable ſacrifice to their idols; and ſcarce one *Spaniard* left unhurt; and *Cortez* himſelf wounded. He was likewiſe oblig'd to leave one piece of cannon behind him, and well that he got off ſo. So fatal a thing it is in an Army, for an officer to neglect what he is commanded to do, upon a ſuppoſition of his doing better! *Aldaret*, in vaſt concern for his fault, offer'd his head for his neglect; but tho' he deſerv'd death, *Cortez* contented himſelf with giving him a ſevere reprimand; there having been too great a loſs of *Spaniards* already, to do any more execution upon them.

Cortez *hard put to it.*

After this defeat (for ſo it may be call'd, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſlaughter they made of the enemy) *Cortez* was ſatisfy'd to blockade *Mexico*; taking care to ſtraiten the city of proviſions,

till his men and himself should be cur'd of their wounds: in the mean time, fortifying his quarters, and keeping a strict guard, and watching the motions of the enemy, in case of an attack. They were so near the city, that they could perceive fires in all the temples, and especially in that dedicated to the God of War; by which they concluded, that they were celebrating the horrid sacrifice of the *Spanish* prisoners. There were likewise great rejoicings in all parts of the city, for the victory they had obtain'd.

Guatimozin, *by false reports, occasions a desertion in* Cortez's *Army.*

In the mean time, *Guatimozin* was not idle; but, with a dexterity, which shew'd his good understanding, had like to have ruin'd *Cortez* without striking a stroke. He sent the heads of the sacrificed *Spaniards* to the cities of those Caciques, who had revolted from him, and gave out that *Cortez* had been kill'd at the last assault; and that the God of war, being appeas'd by the blood of the Strangers, who were offer'd in sacrifice to him, had now declar'd to the King, in plain words, that in eight days time the *Spaniards* should all perish, and *Mexico* should be in peace, and triumph over all her enemies. This account (all, except the death of *Cortez*) he likewise procur'd to be spread thro' the *Indians*, who were with *Cortez*; and they being so superstitiously credulous of the oracles, said to proceed from that Idol, the common soldiers of the confederates deserted in troops, not excepting those of *Tlascala* and *Tezeuco*. *Cortez* was stun'd at this accident; but being appriz'd of the ground of it, he sent their officers, and principal people to them, (for they had not retir'd home, but kept in bodies near the Lake) to assure them, that he would not desire one of them to engage in any action against the *Mexicans*, during the eight days, mention'd in the pretended Oracle. This prevail'd with them to stay where they were, to see the event; only *Don Hernando*, King of *Tezeuco*, by sending his brother to his deserters, persuaded them to come back immediately.

During the recess of the *Indians*, the *Mexicans* sally'd out of the city to attack *Cortez*, and the two Captains; but they were so gall'd with the cannon, which, having them in a line upon the cawseys, mow'd them down by companies, that they still retir'd with loss. And the eight days being expir'd, and proper messages being sent to the several provinces, by the Caciques and Nobles, (who had not left the Army) not only all the deserters return'd, but they brought with them such considerable recruits, that *Cortez*, in a few days, saw himself at the head of 200,000 *Indians*; and those who had deserted were so asham'd of their behaviour, that they resolv'd to make their future fidelity cancel the fault they had committed.

But he is recruited, and made stronger than ever.

Cortez, having divided the Confederates as formerly, to make up his three Armies, call'd a council of war, in which he propos'd to his officers, the danger of their retreats from *Mexico* after entring the town; and therefore, after little debate, they agreed upon another general assault, and that they should lodge themselves in those parts of the city, which they were to attack, till they should be able all to meet in the great square of *Tlataluco*; which was the place of rendezvous; and the day was accordingly appointed for the assault.

When that day appear'd, all the three Armies presented themselves at the last ditches; and, without great difficulty, enter'd the town, at the different places; the *Mexicans* having had so good success in the the former attacks, let them enter the city, in hopes of destroying them from the windows and battlements, and in their retreat; for which they had prepar'd themselves more particularly. But when they observ'd, that instead of continuing in the streets, to be shot at from the windows, as at the last assault, they took possession of some of the strongest buildings, and (having plenty of provisions and water along with them) barricaded their quarters, and planted their artillery, to prevent any surprize; they were in the greatest consternation. They press'd *Guatimozin* to retire to a distant part of the city. But he, who appears to have been a man of resolution, declar'd he would live and die with his subjects; and immediately gave orders to attack the *Spaniards*, at their different lodgments, at break of day. But the three Chiefs, being aware of what might happen, had planted the artillery so advantageously, at the head of the streets, where they had taken up their quarters, that, upon the first approach of the enemy, they terrify'd them so with their shot, that they durst not put their orders in execution; but retir'd to those streets, which were out of the reach of the cannon.

Another general assault.

The Confederates lodge themselves in the city.

In this way of gaining first one street, and then another, the Confederates continu'd four days, their artillery and fire-arms still making way for them; but at last they appear'd in sight of the square appointed for their general rendezvous. *Alvaredo* was the first who enter'd it, where the *Mexicans*, whom he had pursu'd, endeavour'd to form themselves, being join'd by others from different streets. But he attack'd them with such vigour,

vigour, that he kept poſſeſſion of the place. When he had time to conſider the preſent poſture of affairs, he obſerv'd a Temple near him, which was poſſeſs'd by the enemy, thither he ſent a party, who ſoon diſpoſſeſs'd them, and from thence he made ſignals to encourage the other diviſions. Soon after, *Cortez* ariv'd at the head of *D'Olid*'s forces, driving the *Mexicans* before him to the ſquare, who being engag'd by *Alvaredo* in front, and purſu'd by *Cortez*, periſh'd in a miſerable manner. The like fate happen'd to thoſe who oppos'd *Sandoval*'s attack, who likewiſe came to the ſquare in a little time.

The Confederates meet all together in the ſquare appointed.

And all unite in the great ſtreet.

When the three Armies were thus united, the *Mexicans*, believing that they were not to be overcome, retir'd to the Palace, in order to guard the perſon of their Emperor; which gave liberty to *Cortez* to put his quarters in as good a condition as he thought proper, without any oppoſition. This ſucceſs of the *Spaniards* oblig'd *Guatimozin* to retire to a corner of the city, at the greateſt diſtance from the ſquare; and the *Mexicans* had fortify'd that quarter, to which they retir'd, in ſuch a manner, with planks and trees, that they eſteem'd it impregnable. *Cortez*, now being inclin'd to give reſt to his ſoldiers, and to gain his end without more blood, ſent another offer of peace, by ſome of the moſt conſiderable priſoners; and, in the mean time, went out, with a ſmall party, to view their works, there being no appearance of armed men, in any of the ſtreets, without thoſe fortifications, as there us'd to be. When he came within ſight of them, the *Mexicans* affected a chearfulneſs more than ordinary, ſeveral of them eating, and throwing cakes of maiz among the crowd, to make oſtentation of that plenty, which *Cortez* knew they had not. And tho' they did not ſhoot one arrow from their ſtation, yet ſome of them came down, offering to fight ſingle, with any that would come out of their ranks to accept the challenge; but they immediately retir'd after that bravado. Only one (who by his ornaments ſeem'd to be of quality) advanced ſo far, as to be within hearing of *Cortez*, and challeng'd any one to fight him; he was arm'd with a *Spaniſh* ſword and buckler. *Cortez* made his interpreter tell him, "That if he would "call ten more like himſelf, he would "ſend that ſtripling, (pointing to his "page) to fight them all at once." The Boy thinking his Maſter's words authoriz'd him to accept the challenge, ſtole out of the crowd, and getting over the ditch, advanced to the *Mexican*; and receiving the firſt ſtroke, made at him, upon his ſhield, with the firſt thruſt made his enemy fall dead at his feet; and taking the ſword and buckler from him, retir'd to his own ſide, laying the ſpoils down at *Cortez*'s feet; who was ſo pleas'd at this early token of his valour, that he embraced him with much affection, and girded the ſword, which he had taken, to his ſide, with his own hands. This Page's name was *Juan Nunez de Mercado*, about ſeventeen years old. His Maſter afterwards treated him like one of his officers. Four days paſs'd without any other hoſtility on either ſide, tho' the *Spaniards* went every day to view the fortifications of the enemy.

Cortez's Page kills a Mexican in a ſingle combat.

In the mean time, the *Indian* Emperor held councils every day; and tho' the greateſt part, and the wiſeſt of his council adviſ'd him to make peace, as the only expedient for ſaving his country; yet either his own inclination, or the advice of the Prieſts, prevail'd to continue the war. But to provide for his retreat, in caſe they ſhould not ſucceed, he gave orders for all the Piragua's and canoes, to be ſent ſecretly to a bay in the Lake, the neareſt to their own quarters; which was ſoon put in execution.

Cortez had early intelligence of this motion, from his Brigantines; and gueſſing the deſign of it, order'd *Sandoval* to take the charge of the Brigantines, and to ſurround the Bay at a diſtance, and take notice of every motion of the enemy. And then he advanced with his troops near the ditch; but did not fire a ſhot, having a mind to frighten the *Mexicans* into peace: But they were ready to receive him, and, by their uſual cries and muſick, encourag'd one another to the defence of their works. But when *Cortez*, provok'd at this, order'd his artillery to be diſcharg'd, the enemy ſeeing their fortification (which they thought proof againſt any thing) level'd with the firſt fire; their hearts began to fail them; and having (as was ſuppos'd) ſent to *Guatimozin*, they made ſignals, and often repeated the word *Peace*. *Cortez* made his interpreter tell them, "That if any of them had any "inſtructions from their King, they "might freely come to him." Upon which aſſurance, three or four deputies of note, advanced to the ſide of the ditch, and, after their uſual ſalutations, ſaid, "That the ſupreme Majeſty of "*Guatimozin*, their Lord and Emperor, "had vouchſafed to ſend them to hear "what propoſals he would offer to his "Majeſty, for an accommodation." *Cortez* reply'd, "That his intention all "along had been for Peace; and tho' "they had broken the Truce, he had "ſtill

The Mexicans make ſigns of peace.

" ſtill ſuch compaſſion for them, that " he would yet come to terms with " them. But becauſe things of that na- " ture could not be carry'd on by a " third perſon, he deſir'd an interview " with *Guatimozin*; or, at leaſt, that he " would come to ſome place near, where " he might be conſulted from time to " time, in caſe any debate ſhould ariſe " about any of the conditions; giving " his word and honour for the ſafety of " his perſon and dignity."

The deputies retir'd, well ſatisfy'd with this anſwer: and return'd in the evening to the ditch, to tell *Cortez*, " That the King would the day follow- " ing, come with his Council, to be near, " while the treaty was carrying on." But when the time came, he ſent an excuſe, and put it off till next day; and ſo two or three times he made excuſes; till *Cortez* loſing patience, began to think it a ſham, as indeed it prov'd; for this promiſe of coming to the treaty, was only to gain time for his retreat by the Lake, which he had concerted.

But it proved only an amuſement.

Early in the morning, upon the laſt day aſſign'd by *Cortez* for the Emperor's appearance, *Sandoval* obſerv'd a great multitude embarking upon the Lake, in the canoes; which made him bring all the Brigantines out of the covers, where he had placed them; and ſent intelligence to *Cortez*. As ſoon as the Brigantines appear'd, the canoes in great numbers made head againſt them; but *Sandoval* obſerving ſix or ſeven *Piragua*'s, at another place, making what haſte they could to get away, concluded that *Guatimozin* was among thoſe *Piragua*'s, and that the canoes intended to keep him in play to ſecure their Emperor's retreat. He therefore order'd *Holguin* to purſue the flying Prince; but withal, to kill as few as poſſible. *Holguin* immediately tack'd about, and ſet ſail after the *Piragua*'s, and his Brigantine being an excellent ſailer, and his rowers very expert at their trade, he ſoon came up with them. But as he was going to fire, the *Mexicans* called out to ſtop, telling him that the Emperor was there in perſon; which ſome of the *Spaniards*, who had got a ſmattering of the *Indian* language, interpreting to him, the Captain, without firing a ſhot, ſeeing the *Mexicans* throw down their arms, boarded the *Piragua*, and *Guatimozin* advancing to him, ſaid, " I am your priſoner, Captain, and will " go where you think fit. But I deſire " of you, to have ſome regard to the " honour of my conſort, and the wo- " men who accompany her." And then, giving his hand to the Empreſs, he led her into the Brigantine, without any alteration viſible in his countenance:

Guatimozin, *ſtriving to eſcape, is taken.*

and perceiving the Captain at a loſs, how to manage the other *Piragua*'s, he told him with great ſedateneſs, " That he " needed not give himſelf any trouble " about his followers, for they would " all come to die at the feet of their " Prince." And indeed, upon the firſt ſignal he made them, they all threw down their arms, and follow'd the Brigantine as priſoners.

Holguin ſent a canoe expreſs to *Cortez*, with advice of his ſucceſs, but having a mind to have all the honour of it, paſs'd by *Sandoval* with his prize, only calling at a diſtance to ſome of the Brigantines, to acquaint him, that he was carrying the Emperor of *Mexico* to the General. *Cortez* was hotly engag'd in deſtroying the works of the enemy, and filling up the ditch, to attack them ſword in hand, when this meſſage reach'd him; but the *Mexicans*, who had an account of it almoſt as ſoon as he, were ſo confounded, that they could neither think of defending themſelves, nor of making conditions. So that *Cortez* had leiſure to ſend a good eſcorte of *Spaniards* to the water-ſide, to conduct the royal Priſoners to him; and leaving his Captains to manage the attack, he went himſelf to receive them. When *Guatimozin* appear'd before him, he told him, " He had defended his Country as long " as it was in his power; but now, when " he could do it no longer, he gave " himſelf up into his hands, deſiring " him ſpeedily to take his life, which " was now become a burden to him, " ſince he could no longer keep it with " honour."

Cortez was ſo mov'd with this heroic behaviour, that he accoſted the Emperor with much civility, and to comfort him in his preſent dejected ſtate, told him, " That he was not priſoner to him, but " to a Prince, who was the greateſt Man " in the World; he aſſur'd him, he " ſhould be treated by him, and by all " under his command, according to his " dignity; and that the conditions of " of peace ſhould be as advantageous to " him, as he could have expected, if " that misfortune had not befallen him." And then turning to the Empreſs, he made her a profound reverence, as being not only Empreſs of *Mexico*, but the Daughter (or Niece) of *Montezuma*. He conducted them to his quarters; but remembring in what condition he had left his Army, he retir'd in great haſte; when *Guatimozin*, judging of his intention, by his abrupt departure, and having, like a Prince worthy of a better fate, the intereſt of his ſubjects at heart, even when he had fallen from Royalty, ſent a meſſage to *Cortez*, to ſpare the

blood

blood of his people, who were only guilty by their *Loyalty*; and he offer'd to ſend one of his chief attendants, now a priſoner with him, to command them to ſubmit. *Cortez* readily accepted the propoſal, which was accordingly put in execution; and the *Mexicans* laying down their arms, were contented to abandon that part of the city, which they had defended above ninety days, reckoning from the firſt attack that had been made.

The Mexicans ſubmit.

Thus was the great City of *Mexico* intirely ſubdu'd, on the 13th day of *Auguſt*, 1521, upon St. *Hypolito*'s day, who, for that reaſon, is reckon'd the tutelar Saint of *Mexico*, by the *Spaniards*, to this day. And *Hernando Cortez* gain'd a new Diadem to *Charles* V. Emperor and King of *Spain*, by his valour and conduct, which would have been reckon'd a glorious Conqueſt, either among the *Greeks* or *Romans*. And tho' ſome things were tranſacted during this war, which I can by no means approve of, and which muſt leave a laſting blot upon the memory of that glorious Heroe; yet his bravery, conſtancy, patience, and prudence, will, and muſt tranſmit him to poſterity, with a character not at all inferior, if not above the greateſt Generals of antiquity.

As ſoon as he became peaceable poſſeſſor of *Mexico*, the whole country, formerly under that Emperor's dominion, ſubmitted to him; and he took poſſeſſion of the great Empire of *Mexico* in the Name of *Don Carlos*, as King of *Spain*; and the *Spaniſh* Nation has been in poſſeſſion of it ever ſince. Their farther progreſs in that Country; their behaviour towards the Natives; their methods us'd to bring them to Chriſtianity; with a great many other particulars, are more properly the buſineſs of an *Hiſtorian*, than a TRAVELLER. We ſhall therefore conclude this Expedition of *Cortez*, with a ſhort account of his meſſages to *Spain*, already mention'd. The firſt was by *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*, diſpatch'd from *Vera-Cruz* on the 16th of *July*, 1519. And the ſecond by *D'Ordaz* and *Mendoza*, after his retreat from *Mexico*, upon the death of *Montezuma*. Of neither of theſe he had any news, till he was in poſſeſſion of *Mexico*, which was two years after the firſt deputies were ſent.

Portocarrero and *Montejo* had gone to *Spain* by the coaſt of *Florida*, to ſhun any attack from *Velaſquez* near *Cuba*, having put into that Iſland, contrary to orders. Upon their arrival at *Sevil*, by the repreſentation of *Martin*, deputy from *Velaſquez*, (to the Board of Trade ſettled there) the Ship, which brought them over, was ſeiz'd, and they, with much to do, had liberty, upon ſufficient bail, to proſecute their journey to *Barcelona*. Bnt hearing that the Court was remov'd from thence, they went to find out *Martin Cortez*, their General's Father, who receiv'd them with great joy, having lamented his Son as dead. He went with the Deputies to the Emperor; and, what facilitated their audience, was, that the commiſſioners at *Sevil*, not daring to conceal *Cortez*'s preſent to the Emperor, which was a rich one, they had ſent it to him, before *Martin Cortez* and the Deputies appear'd at Court. The Emperor heard them patiently, and ask'd many queſtions about this new World, and ſeem'd inclin'd to favour *Cortez*'s Expedition. But his affairs in *Germany* requiring his preſence there, he was oblig'd to leave their diſpatches, as well as the other affairs of *Spain*, to the management of the Regency; at the head of which was Cardinal *Adrian*, afterwards Pope. But there being a new Council form'd for the buſineſs of the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Biſhop of *Burgos*, (who was an able Miniſter, and had ſtudied the *Indian* affairs with great application) made Preſident of it; *Cortez*'s Cauſe went but ſlowly on. For the Biſhop was a great ſtickler for *Velaſquez*, and treated *Cortez* as a Rebel; but tho' his authority had weight enough to defer the deciſion of the matter till the Emperor's return from *Germany*; yet the Cardinal (having a great opinion of *Cortez*, and perhaps finding that the Emperor favour'd him) ſtav'd off any unlucky ſtep in that Council againſt him.

Cortez's buſineſs in Spain *obſtructed by the Biſhop of* Burgos.

Things were in this ſuſpence, when *D'Ordaz* and *Mendoza* arriv'd at *Sevil*; who being advertis'd, by ſome private friends of *Cortez*'s there, of the danger of diſcovering themſelves, or their buſineſs in that place, made what haſte they could out of Town, leaving the Preſent for the King, to be deliver'd to the Council when they were gone; and travelling very privately, with their diſpatches, found out old *Cortez*, and their good acquaintances *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*. But all things being in confuſion in *Spain*, by a Rebellion on foot againſt the Emperor, eſpecially in *Caſtile*, they determin'd to keep themſelves private for ſome time; but ſoon after, the news of the Emperor's ſpeedy return, having brought the Rebels to a better mind, and the Cardinal Regent being favourable to them, they went to Court; where they complain'd of the orders given at *Sevil*, to impriſon any that ſhould come from *Cortez*; they laid

before the Regent the ſtate of affairs in *Mexico*, and of what importance that Expedition was to the King and Kingdom; begging that they might have leave, in a judicial way, to proteſt againſt being judg'd by the Biſhop of *Burgos*. To which the Cardinal, who was nettled at the Biſhop's preſuming to give ſuch orders without acquainting him, told them, he would skreen them from any danger, in attempting to get legal redreſs againſt that Prelate.

Upon this encouragement, the Deputies enter'd their Caveat in the Biſhop's own Court for *Indian* affairs, againſt their buſineſs's being try'd there; but they did it with ſuch ſtrong reaſons, and with ſo much reſpect and deference to his character, that they procur'd an appeal to be accepted by the great council of ſtate; and having brought the matter before the Cardinal, they prov'd their allegations ſo ſtrongly, that the orders given at *Sevil* were recall'd; and, upon a fair hearing, the whole controverſy was decided in favour of *Cortez*; and tho' his old friend *Duero* appear'd againſt him, his conduct was approv'd and extoll'd; and orders given to the proper Officers to diſpatch his Deputies with all convenient ſpeed, with ſuch aſſiſtance as the preſent exigence would allow. But the Cardinal being, about this time, called to *Rome* to fill St. *Peter*'s Chair, the matter was left to the Emperor, who, ſoon after his arrival, appointed new Commiſſioners to try the Cauſe between *Cortez* and *Velaſquez*, whereby the former was acquitted of any Rebellion or Diſloyalty, and the honour and advantage of the Conqueſt of *Mexico* aſcrib'd to him, in ſubordination to the Emperor only. The Emperor approv'd of all that had been done, and ſent a ſevere reprimand to *Velaſquez*, for his hot proceeding, abſolutely forbidding him to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the Country of *New-Spain*; giving him leave to ſue *Cortez* for any money he had advanced for the firſt ſhips; provided he made it appear, that it was his own Money, and not the Emperor's. He ſent *Cortez* moſt gracious Letters, and a Commiſſion as Captain-General and Governor of that Country, promiſing greater honours to him and his family. Nor is it to be wonder'd at, conſidering the great advantage which *Cortez* procur'd to the Crown of *Spain*, by adding ſo large and rich a Jewel as *Mexico* to adorn it. Theſe Letters were not ſent till the Year 1522, when *Cortez* was fully poſſeſs'd of the Sovereignty of that Country for the Emperor; and there we leave him.

[It can not be deny'd, that there are ſome things related in this account of the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, eſpecially in *Cortez*'s firſt march thither, which ſeem to exceed even probability; but as the Author I have principally follow'd, appears to me to be the moſt modeſt of any who has written upon that ſubject among the *Spaniards*, (from whom we muſt take this Narration) I have, in moſt things, ſtuck to his account of it, as to the facts. And, indeed, conſidering the ſuperſtition of the *Indians*, their ſurprize at the fire-arms and horſes, the ſwords, launces, and armour of the *Spaniards*, and even their make and aſpect; (by all which they took them for people of another ſpecies, and not inferior to their Gods, but rather ſuperior to them) and add to this the undaunted courage of *Cortez*, mix'd with a great ſtock of prudence and preſence of mind; keeping up in the *Indians* that opinion, if not of the *Spaniards* being immortal, yet that they were invincible. I ſay conſidering all theſe things, we may conclude, that ſeveral ſteps of his conduct, which, in other circumſtances, would be raſh and unjuſtifiable, were, in that light, well judg'd; and had he taken other meaſures, he had been undone. But tho' I am far from attributing all ſucceſsful changes and revolutions to the immediate Hand of GOD, aſſiſting every bold and proſperous undertaker; leſt we ſhould make him the Author of what the wickedneſs of ſome, and the weakneſs and folly of others bring upon Nations; yet I am not aſham'd to own, that there ſeem'd to have been a particular aſſiſtance of Providence in the Conqueſt of *Mexico*; and if the *Spaniards* afterwards, or even then, abus'd that protection to bad purpoſes; they were accountable for their ingratitude in their actions to that divine goodneſs, which they acknowledg'd in their words.]

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The CONQUEST *of* Peru, *by* PIZARRO, *&c.*

Taken from GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA's *Royal Commentaries*, HERRERA's *Decads, and other Accounts of the ſame Expedition.*

WE have already mention'd the diſcoveries of the eaſtern coaſt of the ſouth part of *America*, or *Brazil*, by the two *Pinſons* in 1500, by *Cabral*, a *Portugueſe*, who, about the ſame time, was driven thither by ſtorm; by one of the ſame *Pinſons*, in company with *John Diaz de Solis*, in 1508; and by the ſame *De Solis*, in 1515. But of the weſt-coaſt, or *South-Sea*, the *Europeans* had, hitherto, diſcover'd no part beyond the Equinoctial Line. It is true that (as we have already ſaid) the *Spaniards* had ſettled a Colony at *Panama*, but no attempts were made towards the ſouth for ſome time.

Page 32, &c.

But now, this colony having conſiderably encreas'd, by forces ſent to recruit them, both from *Darien*, and from *Cuba*, who came by way of *Darien*, *Franciſco Pizarro* (who had taken poſſeſſion of *Panama*, under *Nunez*) and *Diego d'Almagro*, (both according to *Vega* of good birth, tho' other authors are of a contrary opinion) enter'd into a league together, to make diſcoveries towards the ſouth, and ſolemnly promis'd to ſtand by one another in all events. And that they might the better carry on their enterprize, they brought *Hernando de Luque*, a ſchool-maſter at *Panama*, into their project. The parts they were ſeverally to act in this affair, were theſe. *Pizarro* and *Almagro* were to fit out a ſmall fleet, at their own charge, of ſuch ſhips as they commonly built, at that time, in the ſouth-ſea. Both theſe Captains were to ſail ſouthward, to make conqueſts where they could; and when they had 'gotten poſſeſſion of any new part of the Continent, *Pizarro* was to maintain it, whilſt *Almagro* return'd to *Panama*, to bring recruits of men and all things neceſſary for the expedition; and *De Luque* was to remain at *Panama*, as their Agent, to provide all things neceſſary for the expedition.

Pizarro and Almagro undertake the diſcovery of Peru.

Having enter'd into articles among themſelves, and obtain'd a commiſſion from *Pedrarias d'Avila*, Governor of *Panama*; *Pizarro* ſet out in the year 1525, in *November*, with one of the two ſhips they had built there, having on board 114 men, directing his courſe ſouthward about 100 leagues; where going aſhore, at Port *Pinas*, he was ſet upon by the *Indians*, who, in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, kill'd ſome of his men, he himſelf being wounded in ſeven places; but the goodneſs of his armour ſav'd his life. However he was forced to leave that place, and retire to his ſhip. *Almagro* follow'd ſoon after, and coming to the latitude agreed upon between them, he likewiſe landed, and met with the ſame ſucceſs, only with this additional misfortune, that one of his eyes was knock'd out with a ſtone; which, with the ſlaughter of ſome of his men, oblig'd him to take to the ſea in ſearch of *Pizarro*, whom he found at *Chincama*. Here they landed, but finding the country mountainous, and the people ſavage, after ſome encounters, little to their advantage, they went aboard again, to the great diſcouragement of their men, who began to be weary of the expedition, from which they had reap'd nothing but blows. Notwithſtanding this diſſatisfaction of their men, the Captains continu'd their courſe farther ſouth, being now near the Line, and obſerving the inhabitants adorn'd with gold, and emeralds, they attempted to ſettle in that country; but the courage of the natives being equal to their riches, and their numbers formidable, the new adventurers durſt not attack them, tho' they had 250 men in their two ſhips. The two chiefs, therefore, reſolv'd to retire to a ſmall Iſland, call'd the *Cock Iſland*, in 2 deg. n. lat. where *Pizarro* was to keep poſſeſſion, at all hazards, whilſt *Almagro* went back to *Panama* for freſh forces.

Herrera, *Dec.* 3. *B.* 3.

When this reſolution came to be known, moſt of the ſoldiers, being diſſpirited by the danger of the new conqueſt intended, deſir'd they might be allow'd to return with *Almagro*; but that being deny'd, as alſo an utter prohibition of any one's carrying letters to *Panama* from any of the private men; one ſoldier found out an expedient of ſending an account of all the diſaſters they had met with, and of their confinement

in

in the Iſland, which he enclos'd in a bottom of cotton-yarn, which he ſent to a friend at *Panama*. At the end of the paper were theſe lines:

Good Maſter Governor,
We pray you conſider;
That there goes the Fetcher,
But here ſtays the Butcher.

Upon *Almagro*'s arrival at *Panama*, he found an alteration of government: the new colony there was in the hands of a new governor, *Pedro de los Rios*; to whom the ſoldier's correſpondent having carry'd the paper, which he found in the bottom of cotton, he immediately diſpatch'd one of the Judges to the *Gallo*, or *Cock Iſland*, with orders to bring back all ſuch as had a mind to return. This being divulged, ſo diſcourag'd the *Spaniards* of *Panama*, that ſeveral of thoſe who had engag'd with *Almagro*, broke their engagement, refuſing to go upon an expedition, to which thoſe, who had firſt embark'd in it, ſhew'd ſuch diſlike. But when the Governor's orders arriv'd at the Iſland where *Pizarro* was, he was in as great confuſion, as the ſoldiers had joy; yet calling them together, he endeavoured to ſpirit them up, by the proſpect of ſucceſs, which would redound to their honour and advantage; withal he told them, that he did not pretend to detain any man againſt his inclination; but drawing a line with his ſword upon the ground, he paſs'd over it, deſiring all ſuch as would venture their lives for glory and the intereſt of their country, to follow him, whilſt others, who were faint-hearted, might return to *Panama*.

Tho' *Pizarro* left no eloquence, he was maſter of, unattempted, to perſuade his people to ſtay with him; yet of all his little army, he could only prevail with thirteen of them to paſs the line he had drawn, and to enter into a new obligation of ſticking by him in proſperity and adverſity. With theſe few, he went in a boat, to the Iſland of *Gorgona*, about 11 leagues north-eaſt of the *Cock* Iſland, in 3 deg. n. lat. whilſt the reſt of his men embark'd for *Panama*. He ſtaid in this Iſland ſeveral months, and there they ſupported themſelves with the fleſh of ſerpents, and with roots and herbs, and ſuffer'd great inconveniencies from the inclemency of the air, the Iſland being very ſubject to rains, and there being no houſes to live in. But at laſt, *Almagro* ſent them proviſions, but no recruit of ſoldiers.

Pizarro's people leave him all but thirteen.

One would imagine that none but a madman would have ventur'd to make a conqueſt in any country with ſo ſmall a number, and much leſs upon a Continent, where they had been more than once repuls'd with 250; and yet all Authors agree, that *Pizarro* embark'd with his thirteen voluntiers; and after much ſtruggle, by reaſon of the ſtrong current from north to ſouth, and the conſtant ſouth wind; both which made it almoſt impracticable to weather the point, (juſt under the Equinoctial Line) now call'd *St. Francis*'s point, with indefatigable labour, he doubled the point at laſt, cruiſing along the coaſt for above a year, ſometimes landing at one place, ſometimes at another, ſupplying themſelves, as it were by ſtealth, of ſuch things as they had occaſion for; but not daring to make any ſettlement, finding the *Indians* ſtill in arms to oppoſe any attempt of that kind. 'Till, at laſt, being weary of this manner of cruiſing to no purpoſe, they arriv'd at *Tumpez*, or *Tumbez*, in the *Pacifick Sea*, in about 3 deg. ſ. lat. near the Iſland of *Puna*. They perceiv'd that this country had all the appearances of a well-inhabited land; for they ſaw abundance of people upon the ſhore, and many ſtately buildings. But the *Spaniards*, being ſo few in number, were afraid to land, and yet they knew there was nothing to be done without it. At laſt *Pedro di Candia* offer'd to go aſhore alone, to try the temper of the natives; and having arm'd himſelf *Cap-a-Pee*, he was ſet on ſhore, and marching with a ſlow and ſolemn gate, towards ſome companies of *Indians*, who had come to wonder at the ſhip, all the ſtragglers, who ſaw him walk along, ran away from him. He was a very tall, well-proportion'd man, and of approv'd courage and force. He had his target on his left arm; and ſome ſay that he had a croſs in his right hand. The alarm given, by thoſe who had ſeen him in his march, brought multitudes in arms to the field; but he, without altering his pace, made up towards them, no body offering to ſhoot an arrow, or throw a dart at him, believing, (according to the ſuperſtition, common to all the *Indians* on the whole Continent of *America*) that he was deſcended from the Sun. However, to prove the truth of that ſuperſtition, they agreed to let looſe a Lyon and a Tyger, to ſee whether they would devour him; who, upon his approach, fawn'd upon him like Spaniels, and did not offer to hurt him. The *Indians* ſeeing this, laid aſide their arms, and paid honours to *Candia*, as a child of the Sun.

Vega, *P.* 2. *B.* 1. *Ch.* 11.

But others report, that *Candia* had a muſquet inſtead of a croſs; and that at the deſire of the natives he fir'd it, which put them in great fear. However it was, they

Herrera, *Dec.* 3. *B.* 3. *C.* 1.

they ſhew'd him great reſpect, and carry'd him to ſee their famous Temple of the Sun, which was magnificently adorn'd with gold and emeralds; as were likewiſe their palaces, and a convent for virgins of the beſt quality; who, by their *Inca*, or King, were kept in that city, (like the *Roman* Veſtals) with a handſome allowance for their maintenance. In all which places, as alſo in their gardens, there were ſtatues of men, beaſts and birds of ſolid gold, and thoſe in great numbers.

Candia having been very civilly treated, and well entertain'd by the chief Lord of the place, return'd to his companions; and, by the account he gave of the immenſe riches he had ſeen, rais'd their expectations to ſuch a pitch, that, being in no condition to poſſeſs themſelves of them by force, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to return to *Panama* to raiſe men, to make good their deſign upon that country. But firſt *Pizarro* ran ſome leagues farther up the coaſt, and diſcover'd the Port of *Payta*, in 5 deg. ſ. lat. the moſt convenient harbour on the *Peruvian* coaſt. Here, as ſoon as they caſt anchor, the *Indians* came about the ſhip, with proviſions of all kinds, which the Captain receiv'd with great civility, and, in return, gave the natives combs, fiſh-hooks, and glaſs-beads, with which they went away much pleas'd. But, the ſea beginning to riſe, he was oblig'd to weigh anchor, leaving *Alphonſo de Molina* aſhore; and going ſtill farther ſouth, and trading in a friendly manner with the natives, he diſcover'd that this was not only a fine country, and full of riches, but that the inhabitants were peaceable converſible people. What pity it was that they were not treated as ſuch!

But *Pizarro*, having made himſelf acquainted with as much of the coaſt, as he thought ſufficient for a diſcoverer, his men urging the return to *Panama*, for aſſiſtance to enable them to conquer it, he turn'd his courſe homeward; and, in his way, ſtop'd at *Payta*, which he call'd *Santa-Cruz*, to take in *Molina*, who coming on board upon a float, (made uſe of in that country for canoes) told him, that he had been moſt civilly entertain'd by a Lady of great conſideration of that country, who expreſs'd a great deſire to ſee the Captain, and the reſt of their company. Whilſt he was giving him this account, ſome other floats came to the ſhip from Madam *Capillana* (for that was the Lady's name) deſiring them to land at a very ſafe harbour farther north; and withal to let the Captain know, that to prevent any ſuſpicion he might have of the natives, ſhe would venture on board his ſhip, and leave hoſtages there for his ſafety, if he would go aſhore with her. The Captain ſent *Molina*, with three others, aſhore, to return the Lady's compliment, and to invite her on board the ſhip. The Lady treated them with great civility, and gave them drink out of her own hand, for the greater reſpect. She went on board with them, where *Pizarro* entertain'd her in the beſt manner he could; but, to ſhew his confidence in her honour, he refus'd the hoſtages ſhe offer'd him, telling her, that he would wait upon her, without any other ſecurity than her own word. But the Lady would not abuſe his generoſity; for early next morning, above fifty floats came about the ſhip, upon one of which were twelve *Indians* of quality, who, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition *Pizarro* could make, ſtaid as hoſtages on board the ſhip, all the time he was aſhore. The Lady came to meet the *Spaniſh* Captain and his followers, with a great retinue, and brought them to an arbour, made on purpoſe, where they were magnificently treated at dinner; and afterwards the *Indians* danced after their manner. *Pizarro*, having given the Lady thanks for the honour ſhe had done him and his companions, took an opportunity, by his interpreters, to lament the miſtakes the *Indians* labour'd under in worſhipping the Sun, as their God, which was only a Creature ordain'd, by the great Creator of all things, for the uſe of mankind. Then he run thro' ſome of the principal points of the Chriſtian Religion, adviſing the Lady to give up her Idolatry, and to embrace the Truth; and withal, to ſubmit themſelves to the King of *Spain*, as the greateſt Lord of the Univerſe. The *Indians* had no notion of thoſe things; and tho', as to Religion, they did not underſtand it to ſay much; nor, perhaps, had *Pizarro* ſaid what might have been offer'd, to perſuade them to embrace it; yet they anſwer'd him readily, with regard to the King of *Spain*, that they knew no Lord that had a title to their allegiance, but their own Emperor (whom they ſtil'd their *Inca*) *Guayanacapa*, and in that they certainly ſpoke the truth.

She comes on board.

And entertains the Spaniards *aſhore.*

After this converſation, the *Spaniards* retir'd to their ſhips. But *Capillana*'s beauty, or her behaviour had ſo charm'd *Alcon*, one of the three who had been ſent with *Molina* to invite her on board, that he had no heart to go to the ſhip again; and therefore beg'd to be left at *Santa-Cruz:* And his being refus'd leave to ſtay, turn'd the poor Man's Head, ſo that he fancy'd himſelf the *Inca*, and call'd the *Spaniards* (his companions) *Traitors and Uſurpers, who were come*

Alcon *goes mad for Love of her.*

Herrera, *Dec.* 3. *B.* 4. *C.* 1.

The Lady Capillana *deſires to ſee their ſhip.*

to take his Kingdom from him; and run at them with his ſword, till the Pilot knock'd him down with an oar, and they were oblig'd to chain him down under deck.

Leaving this Port, they coaſted northward, calling at ſeveral places, on that part of the Continent, which then, and ever ſince was call'd *Peru*. The reaſon of which name is ſaid to have been, that upon the firſt diſcovery of this coaſt, the *Spaniards* found a native fiſhing in a canoe, in the mouth of a river; whom they ſurpriz'd, and making ſigns what the country was call'd, he, thinking they had ask'd his name, ſaid *Beru*, and afterwards *Pelu*, which ſignifies River. Theſe two words the *Spaniards* confounding, call the whole Continent, for 1400 miles, from the Equinoctial Line ſouthward, by the name of *Peru*.

Why this Country is call'd Peru.

Before *Pizarro* left this country, he took two or three *Indian* Boys with him, to ſerve for interpreters, when he ſhould return; he alſo left *Molina* and another *Spaniard* behind him; but he never heard of them more. Having procur'd ſome pieces of gold of the country, and ſome of the ſheep, (which are of great ſervice to the inhabitants, as ſupplying them with meat and cloaths, and alſo being uſeful for carriage, one of them being able to carry 140 pound weight for ſeveral leagues together) *Pizarro* return'd to *Panama* towards the latter end of the year 1527. He was receiv'd with great joy by his two Partners, who were well ſatisfy'd with the ſpecimen he had brought of the riches of the country; but believing that they could not have Intereſt enough with the Governor of *Panama*; nor indeed had they money enough to fit out a Fleet, and to raiſe men ſufficient for the Expedition; it was agreed that *Pizarro* ſhould go to *Spain*, in order to procure a Commiſſion from the King as Captain-General for himſelf; and of *Adelantado*, or Lord-Lieutenant, for *Almagro*; and the Biſhoprick of *Tumbez*, for *Luque*; and the Poſt of Chief *Alguazil*, or Chief-Juſtice, for the Pilot. With theſe Inſtructions *Pizarro* ſet out from *Nombre de Dios*, about 25 leagues to the north-weſt of *Panama*, and without any memorable adventure, arriv'd in due time at *Sevil*, and from thence went to *Toledo*, where the Emperor's Court was. His Imperial Majeſty receiv'd him graciouſly; and his *Indians*, in their proper dreſs, his *Peruvian* ſheep, but above all, the Gold of the country, recommended him to the favour of the *Spaniſh* Court: So that, with little difficulty, he obtain'd all the three Commiſſions, of General, Lieutenant, and Chief-Juſtice; but they were all center'd in his own perſon, and granted to him and his heirs, contrary to the agreement made at *Panama*. All the notice taken of *Almagro*, being a Commiſſion, as Governor of *Tumbez*, and to be made a *Don*. The Emperor engag'd to preſent *Luque* to the Pope, to be made Biſhop of *Tumbez*; and, in the mean time, he was nam'd Protector-General of the *Indians*. All the Soldiers, who had ſtuck by *Pizarro*, who were not Gentlemen before, were now made ſo; and ſuch as had that title before, were advanc'd to the dignity of Knighthood. All theſe diſpatches were made at *Toledo*, the 26th of *July*, 1528.

Pizarro is made Governor of Peru, *and General.*

Don *Franciſco Pizarro*, having obtained theſe Honours and Privileges from the Emperor, made what Preparations he could to carry on his Deſign; yet it was not poſſible for him to get his Affairs in order for his Voyage before the latter end of the Year 1529; and then he ſent a ſhip before him to *Nombre de Dios*, to encourage *Almagro* and *Luque* to make what haſte they could to raiſe Forces, and provide Shipping. But *Almagro* hearing that *Pizarro* had gotten all the Honours and Poſts ſettled upon himſelf, and had only left him the empty Title of DON, with the poor Government of one City, was in great Rage againſt his old Partner, and indeed not without reaſon. *Luque*, who had got what he aim'd at, endeavoured to pacify *Almagro*, which he did in ſome meaſure; tho' the Grudge remained in his Mind, and produced bloody Effects afterwards.

In *January* 1530, *Pizarro* ſet ſail from *Sevil*, accompanied with three of his Brothers, and 125 *Spaniſh* Soldiers, and arrived ſafe at *Nombre de Dios*, where he was met by *Almagro* and *Luque*. He made the beſt Excuſe to his Friend for having neglected him in the Partition of the Honours; and thus, half reconciled, they went to *Panama* together, where three ſhips being fitted out, and 185 Men, 37 Horſes, and Amuunition and Proviſion neceſſary being put on board, *Pizarro* ſet out for *Peru*, deſigning directly for *Tumbez*; but the Wind being commonly about that time of the Year, *viz.* in *September*) from the South, they were forced to land above 100 leagues ſhort of their intended Port, almoſt under the Line, at a Place which they called *St. Matthew's Bay*. In this Place they held a Council of War, and determined to march by Land to *Tumbez*, and either to ſend back the Ships to *Panama*, or to let them ſail as they could, along the coaſt. In this March they met with great Difficulties, eſpecially by Moraſſes, Rivers, and Mountains, in the laſt of which they ſuffered much for want of Proviſions.

He arrives at Nombre de Dios.

And ſoon after ſails for Peru.

But

Herrera *ubi supra.*

But coming to *Quaque*, or *Coaqui*, they found plenty of Provisions and good Plunder: For the People of the Place concluding, that those who had not been injured by them could not do them wrong (an honest Principle, which may shame Christians who act otherwise) did not leave their Houses, nor hide their Treasure; so that the *Spaniards*, whose thirst for Gold seemed to have been their greatest Inducement to this Expedition, pillaged above the value of 20000 Pieces of Eight, besides Emeralds to a great value; which made the *Indians* forsake their habitations, and flee to the Mountains.

Pizarro *plunders* Coaqui.

From this Place he sent away his three ships with the Treasure they had gotten, to hire more Soldiers to join them. But, whether, as some believe, the *Indians* had poisoned the Water; or, as others think, the Fish which they eat from the Rivers of this Country were unwholesome, or whatever other Reason may be assigned for it, here they contracted an odd sort of disease; their faces and bodies were of a sudden over-grown with thick Warts, which gave them great Pain, and in a little time came to hang from their Noses, Lips, Fingers, and other Parts of the Body, like Grapes upon a Vine; and when they cut them off, several Soldiers bled to death. In their march, farther south, keeping still near the Sea, they found a recruit of *Spaniards* (come from *Nicaragua*, near the Province of *Honduras*, a great way north-west of *Panama*) consisting of two Ships, under the command of *Sebastian Balalcazar*, and *Juan Fernandez*, who had left that country to view *Peru*, upon the report of its Riches, or, as others say, being hir'd by *Almagro*. These joined *Pizarro*, so that being stronger by this addition, he continued his march towards *Tumbez*.

But their behavour at *Coaqui* had lost their character with the *Indians*; so that now they no longer believed them to be Sons of their favourite God the Sun, but a cruel pestiferous Race of Vagabonds, who for filthy lucre's sake, came to oppress the innocent, and to bring free People into Slavery. And therefore they met with resistance in most places, or else the people fled from their own houses to avoid them, and hid all their gold and jewels, so that the *Spaniards* got neither provisions, nor riches, which made their march very disagreeable to them. However, with much difficulty they arrived at *Porto Viejo*, not far from *Quitu*, where they were well received, and *Pizarro* prudently forbad any Disorder to be committed. From thence they marched on till they were opposite to *Puna* island, to which the General had a mind to go, partly from a report of the riches of that island, but principally to make an alliance with the islanders against the *Tumbezians*, who were their mortal Enemies; knowing, that it was absolutely necessary for him to be master of *Tumbez*, as the Key to *Peru*.

He goes to Puna *Island.*

The islanders sending floats to the continent, invited him over, which he accepted, and after some danger landed, but finding that the Lord of the island had contrived a plot to destroy him and his men, the friendship between them broke up, and they soon came to open enmity, and several skirmishes past between them, wherein some *Spaniards* were wounded, and great numbers of *Indians* were kill'd. *Pizarro* having changed his scheme, by his discovery of the treachery of the Islanders, set his thoughts upon engratiating himself with the *Tumbezes*; and to that intent, he releas'd a great number of them, whom he found captives in *Puna*, and sent them over in floats to their own country, without any ransom, upon their promise to make a favourable report of the *Spaniards* to their countrymen. But they were not so good as their word; for they represented them as cruel and barbarous, having no regard to justice and equity, and boggling at nothing by which they might procure Gold; so that upon his return to the Continent, several of his people going upon floats, when they landed in bye places, according as the tide drove them, by two's and three's, the *Tumbezes*, being very officious in helping them ashore, convey'd them to their houses, and so murder'd them. But *Pizarro* landing with his horse, which he had brought from the Island, in two ships lately come from *Nicaragua*; his ordering a Patrole along the coast, prevented more mischief of that kind.

The inhabitants of *Tumbez*, being now quite alienated from the affection they seem'd to have had to the *Spaniards*, when they were in their country two years before, (which their own Authors attribute to their cruelty, and ill conduct) now gave them all the opposition they could, and appear'd every where in arms against them; but the *Spanish* cavalry, and their fire-arms, against which they could find no defence, so terrify'd and cow'd them, that they soon left their city, and fled to the mountains, leaving *Pizarro*, as it were, in peaceable possession of the country. He therefore planted a Colony in this place, which he call'd *St. Michael*, about twelve miles from the Sea; and this was the first that had been made in *South-America*, being St. *Michael's-Day*, 1531.

Acosta, *B. 6. Ch. 22.*

The Tombezes *quit their City.*

After this, he sent his ships back to *Panama*, and *Nicaragua*, for farther recruits;

cruits; on board theſe he ſent 30,000 Ducats in Gold, with a conſiderable quantity of Emeralds, which he had gotten in the ſeveral places he had touch'd at in the Expedition. And then he reſolv'd to march to *Caxamalca* to viſit *Atahualpa*, of whoſe riches he had heard great talk among the *Indians*.

A ſhort view of the ſtate of Peru.

But, tho' we do not propoſe to give a Hiſtory of *Peru*; yet it will be neceſſary to take ſuch a view of the ſtate of that government, at the time we are ſpeaking of, as may make *Pizarro*'s proceedings intelligible, and account for ſome events, which, without conſidering the circumſtances of that Empire, would juſtly be thought impoſſible. But in this we ſhall go no farther back than to the *Inca Guayanacapa*, who was Father to *Atahualpa*, the King of *Peru*, at the time when *Pizarro* conquer'd it; and who died after the *Spaniards* had appear'd upon the coaſt, when the diſcovery of this part of the Continent was made.

Guayanacapa was the greateſt Prince, and, by all accounts, the moſt worthy Emperor that ever fill'd the Throne of *Peru*. He was great and fortunate in war, having made ſeveral additions to the Monarchy he was born to; and no leſs to be admir'd in time of peace, for his Juſtice and good Government, which he executed with ſo eaſy, but ſteady an hand, that he was ador'd by his ſubjects as a God. It was a cuſtom among the *Inca*'s, or Kings of this country, that they marry'd their Siſters, believing that their ſucceſſion could not be kept pure in the family of the Sun, as they believ'd themſelves to be, if they had not children by women of their own blood; and therefore, tho' they were allow'd what concubines they pleas'd, no Son of theirs could ſucceed to the Throne, who was not of the blood; and that Siſter, who had the firſt Son, was Queen, call'd in their language *Coya*. If the firſt Siſter had no Son, the King marry'd the next, and ſo on, till he had a Son by one of them; and then ſhe became *Coya*. Her children only were capable of the Throne; but if he had a Concubine of his own kindred more remote, her children were legitimate, but not Heirs of the Kingdom; and the children begotten by him of all other women were Baſtards. But *Acoſta* ſays, that this wicked cuſtom was begun only by *Guayanacapa*'s Father.

Vega, *P.* 1. *B.* 8. *Ch.* 8.

Ibid. B. 4. *Ch.* 8. *Nat. Hiſt. of the* Indies, *B.* 6. *Ch.* 18.

Guayanacapa had by his Siſter, who therefore was *Coya*, a Son call'd *Huaſcar*, or *Guaſcar*, who was to inherit the Kingdom after his death; but having conquer'd *Quitu*, he marry'd the Cacique's Daughter, and had, by her, a Son, call'd *Atahualpa*, whom he lov'd ſo much, that he gave him his Mother's Kingdom, to which *Guaſcar* readily agreed. But upon the death of his Father, *Guaſcar* coming to the Throne, ſent to *Atahualpa* to do homage for his Kingdom, which he cunningly promis'd to do in form, before all the States of both Kingdoms. *Guaſcar* having no ſuſpicion of the other's deſign, agreed to his propoſal; ſo that *Atahualpa* rais'd an army, and order'd them to march towards *Coſco*, the capital City of the Empire, with *Guaſcar Inca*'s conſent. They were now within a hundred leagues of *Coſco*, being an army of 30,000, (ſome ſay, each army had 100,000 more than are here reckon'd) when the Governors of the Provinces, thro' which they paſs'd, gave the alarm to the *Inca*; who now too late began to aſſemble an army, to oppoſe his Brother's deſigns. *Atahualpa* himſelf did not come with them, but truſted the army to two of his Father's beſt Captains, who had been train'd up by him in the art of war. They met with no oppoſition till they came within three leagues of *Coſco*; where having intelligence that *Guaſcar* had taken the Field with about 100,000 men, in order to join another army of 30,000, who were marching to his aſſiſtance, they reſolv'd to attack the *Inca*, before he could join the others; but they came too late for that, for they were already united; but for the moſt part *Guaſcar*'s forces were raw undiſciplin'd men, and the enemy were veteran Soldiers, who had fought under *Guayanacapa*. The two armies join'd battle in a Plain, to the weſtward of *Coſco*. The Fight was bloody, having been maintain'd, with obſtinacy on both ſides, for the ſpace of a whole day. But *Guaſcar*'s army, at laſt, giving way, the *Quituans* purſu'd the *Inca*, knowing that the whole war depended upon his perſon; and ſetting upon his life-guard, who were either all ſlain by the enemy, or kill'd themſelves, they took *Guaſcar* priſoner, and kept him confin'd by his Brother's orders, who now openly uſurp'd his Throne.

Herrera, *Dec.* 3. *B.* 8. *C.* 1.

Things were in this ſtate when *Pizarro* arriv'd at *Tumbez*; for having had intelligence of this Revolution, and of the cruelties exercis'd by the Uſurper, (who had cut off a great number of his other Brothers, and neareſt Relations; as alſo the chief of the Nobility, by treachery) thought this the moſt convenient time to march againſt *Atahualpa*, reaſonably concluding, that ſo bloody a Tyrant could not ſit faſt upon the Throne he had ſo lately ſeiz'd, againſt the laws of that country, of which the *Indians* were very tenacious. This was the occaſion

Pizarro *marches towards* Caxamalca.

caſion of his march to *Caxamalca*, at this time, without waiting for the return of his ſhips from *Panama*. In this march, he is ſaid to have had a meſſage from *Guaſtar*, or, indeed more probably, from ſome compaſſionate Nobleman in his name, praying his aſſiſtance againſt his uſurping Brother; to which he return'd anſwer, "That he was upon his "march to ſee Juſtice done to all that "were in Diſtreſs."

The fame of his march brought *Atahualpa* to *Caxamalca*, from whence he ſent an Embaſſy to the *Spaniſh* General, with a Preſent, which ſome believe was done ſincerely by way of attonement for the inſults of the inhabitants of *Puna*, and *Tombez*, offer'd to the offſpring of the Sun; (as they thought the *Spaniards* to be, and therefore call'd them *Viracbocа*'s) and others are of opinion, that it was with a deſign to entrap him. However, the meſſage was courteous, inviting him to *Caxamalca*, and begging of him, "That "he would enter into a league of friend-"ſhip with him, as *Inca*; that he would "forgive any injury he might have re-"ceiv'd out of ignorance, or want of "conſideration; and laſtly, that he "would let the chaſtiſement, which he "had juſtly given to the *Indians* upon "the coaſt, ſuffice to appeaſe their com-"mon Father the Sun, and that he would "ſpare the *Caxamalcans*, who were rea-"dy to do him all the honours in their "power." This preſent and meſſage, *Vega* affirms to have been ſent by *Atahualpa*'s Brother, to whom *Pizarro* behav'd with great reſpect, returning for anſwer, "That he was ſent to the *Inca* "on an Embaſſy from the High Prieſt, "and the great Emperor of the Chri-"ſtians, the King of *Spain*, which he "was going to deliver to himſelf, if he "would give him an audience; and "that if he comply'd with the propo-"ſals he was to make him in their names, "he might be happy in their friendſhip." And ſo, having given the Ambaſſadors ſome *Spaniſh* trinkets, he diſmiſs'd them very well ſatisfy'd.

Vega, P. 2. B. 1. Ch. 17.

Herrera, *ubi ſupra.*

Atahualpa *ſends him a preſent, with a meſſage.*

After this *Pizarro* held on his march, meeting with no body to give him the leaſt oppoſition; which they themſelves wonder'd at; having gone thro' ſome places, where a ſmall number had been ſufficient to have ſtop'd an army, and where their horſe, wherein their chief ſtrength conſiſted, could have been of no uſe to them. And indeed, it would ſeem, by the behaviour of this *Inca Atahualpa*, that he was reſtrain'd from reſiſting the *Spaniards*, either by the remembrance of ſome Speeches of his deceas'd Father, who had told him, (as they ſaid) a Prophecy of the deſtruction of their Government and Empire, ſoon after his death, by a bearded race of men; or by ſome ſupernatural infatuation, which made him neglect the defence of his Country, to puniſh his Rebellion and Parricide againſt his lawful King and Sovereign Lord; or finally, by a natural damp which the Conſcience of wicked Actions uſually caſts up Mens Courage and Reſolution. Which ever of theſe was the cauſe, it is certain that this Prince loſt his Sovereignty, his Country, his Liberty, and Life, by his own ſupine Negligence; and was diveſted of that dignity, he had ſo unjuſtly acquir'd, by a handful of men, who could not, in all human appearance, have ſtood the firſt attack of any of the armies he had been at the head of, ſince his being made Cacique of *Quitu*. And whatever advantage the *Spaniards* might have had, by the opinion the *Indians* had conceiv'd of their Horſes and Fire-arms; yet the inſtance of *Cortez*'s dangers and difficulties in the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, tho' he had three times the number of *Spaniards*, beſides 200,000 Natives to aſſiſt him, is ſufficient to make us believe that *Pizarro* muſt have periſh'd in the attempt to ſubdue *Peru*, had this Uſurper had common Senſe, or common Courage.

Upon *Pizarro*'s arrival at *Caxamalca*, the *Inca* order'd quarters to be provided for him and his forces, with all kinds of neceſſaries, by the *Curacas*, or Nobility; but he was inform'd, that the *Inca* himſelf reſided at a palace he had at ſome two or three leagues diſtance. The *Spaniards* were treated with much civility in this City; but there was one piece of reſpect ſhew'd them, which, tho' it may ſeem to argue the folly of the *Indians*, to us who know better, yet it ſhews the good-nature of thoſe ignorant people, and the avarice of the *Spaniards*; when, in viewing the horſes, which was a new ſpecies of creatures to them, they obſerv'd them champing upon their bits, they took it for granted that iron was their food, and that they were eating their bits every time they mov'd them between their teeth; ſo that perceiving that the *Spaniards* eſteem'd Gold above Iron, they brought bars of Gold, and laid them in the mangers before the horſes, as the more elegant food; which pleas'd their maſters, who told them, they could not oblige them more than by bringing them ſuch provinder for their horſes.

Pizarro *arrives at* Caxamalca.

The General being diſappointed in his expectation of ſeeing *Atahualpa*, at his arrival in *Caxamalca*, ſent his Brother *Ferdinand*, with *Hernando Soto*, accom-

Sends his Brother to Atahualpa.

company'd by *Philippillo*, one of the native Boys, whom he had taken out of the country two years before to *Spain* with him, who now serv'd as interpreter, to return the *Inca*'s compliments in his last Embassy. Some *Indians* were sent with them by the *Curaca* of the City, to signify at the Court, that the *Spaniards* were coming. The *Inca* order'd one of his chief officers, with some companies of Soldiers, to meet, and conduct them to his Palace. The Officer having made them a profound reverence, told his Soldiers, these were the true Offspring of the Sun; at which they all bow'd to them to the very ground; and then they brought them to the Palace; where having been introduced, they saw the *Inca* in a chair of solid Gold, richly adorn'd, and attended by a numerous train of attendants, and soldiers. The admiration of the *Spaniards* and *Indians* was mutual upon this occasion; the one wondering at the magnificence and state of the *Inca* and his Palace, and the others at the aspect and dress of the Strangers. As soon as the *Spaniards* came near *Atahualpa*, they made a low reverence, after the *Spanish* manner, with which he seem'd pleas'd, and rising up, he embraced the Ambassadors with much affection; and ordering two chairs of Gold to be brought for them, he made them sit down, welcoming them to his Dominions, as *Viracacha's*, or Children of the Sun. Soon after, two young Maidens of the Royal Line brought, each of them, two Cups of Gold, full of the Liquor which the *Inca* us'd to drink. Having bow'd before *Atahualpa*, one of them presented a Cup to him, and the other to *Ferdinand Pizarro*; and the other Lady gave one of the Cups to the Inca's Brother, and the other to *Soto*; and they being told, by the interpreter, that drinking together was a mark of peace and friendship, the Ambassadors bowing to the Inca, drank their Cups, the Inca drank twice or thrice, and gave his Cup to his Brother; and so the Brother did the same with his Cup, and then gave it to his Uncle; which it seems was a favour in that Country. After this came a collation of green and dry fruits of several sorts, of which they desir'd them to eat, with much civility.

The Inca *entertains* Pizarro's *Ambassadors.*

When that was over, one of the Ambassadors rising up, uncover'd his head, and then, sitting down again, deliver'd his message, being in substance, "That "*Don Francisco Pizarro*, the Subject "of the great Emperor *Charles* V. King "of *Spain*, was come into his dominions on an Embassy from the said Emperor, and likewise from the great "High-Priest of the Christians, to his "Highness; and therefore, they were "come, in his Name, to beg of him, "that he would give an audience to the "said *Don Francisco* their General, that "he might deliver the message from "those two great Princes from his own "mouth." To this the Inca made answer, by the interpreter, "That he "would come the next day to the *Spa*"*nish* Quarters, and there speak with "their General." And then the Messengers being dismiss'd, return'd to *Caxamalca*.

But, before I relate this interview, upon which the whole success of *Pizarro*'s expedition depended, I must inform the Reader, that two of the most celebrated Historians, who have writ upon this subject, I mean *Vega* and *Herrera*, differ widely in their accounts of it. The first of these Authors tell us that *Atahualpa*, all along shew'd the greatest respect, nay submission to the *Spaniards*; that when they sent *Ferdinand Pizarro*, and *Soto* to him, he told them, "That since he look'd upon them "to be Children of the Sun, and their "General as the Ambassador from the "great Creator of all Things, he had "determin'd to submit himself intirely "to him, even if his orders were to "punish him and his people for their "faults, as he had done at *Puna* and "*Tumbez*." And when he came, the next day, to see *Pizarro*, the same Author says, he still continu'd the same respect; and when the *Spaniards* fell upon the *Indians*, without provocation, the Inca forbad resistance, even tho' they should kill him; and that he submitted to be made a Prisoner, without suffering his people to defend him, tho' he had an army about him. *Part* 2. B. 1. C. 20 *et seq.*

The other Author, *Herrera*, whose History of the *Indies* has likewise great reputation, gives this Story in a quite different light. For, he represents *Atahualpa* as the Cause of all the mischief, from his underhand Treachery against the *Spaniards:* He says, that all the good Words he gave them, were so many Cheats to entrap them; that he had order'd his Van-guard, which consisted of 10,000 men, to be secretly arm'd, and that they should fall upon the *Spaniards* at a signal given; and that he had brought Cords and Chains to tie them with. So that, according to him, the Fate of this Inca was not only just, upon the account of his Rebellion against his Sovereign, and his having *usurp'd* a Throne which he had *no Right* to, (which I freely allow) but likewise his having been the aggressor, and his forcing *Dec.* 3. B. 8. C. 3. *&* *seq.*

cing *Pizarro*, in his own defence, to fall upon the *Indians*.

It is not an eaſy matter to determine, at this diſtance of time, whether of theſe Authors has the Truth of his ſide, for ſome follow the one, and ſome the other. But I am of opinion, that neither of them is to be depended upon intirely. For *Vega*, who was born in *Peru*, and, by his Mother, deſcended of the Blood-Royal, of which he appears to be not a little proud (tho' his Father was a *Spaniard*) ſo that, in his Writings, he takes the title of Inca, might, from a natural affection to the Country, which gave him birth, or from having his accounts from the Natives, as he owns in ſeveral places, give a repreſentation of this expedition, more in favour of the *Indians*, than of the *Spaniards*. And one reaſon which induces me to believe this, is, the difference between the Speeches made *to Atahualpa*, and thoſe made *by* him, as he relates them; by which he makes that Inca ſpeak better ſenſe, and reaſon more cloſely, than all the *Spaniards* he convers'd with, either Clergy or Laity; which is very much in a Man altogether ignorant of Letters, and in a Country remarkable for groſs conceptions of things they had not been acquainted with before. On the other hand, *Herrera*, to excuſe the cruelty and exceſſes of the *Spaniards*, perhaps exaggerates, in repreſenting the treachery of the *Indians*, and the contrivances of *Atahualpa*. For, it is unaccountable that one who was ſo cunning, as he makes that Inca, ſhould have ſuffer'd the *Spaniards* to paſs thro' a tract of ground of about 400 miles, without any oppoſition, if he had intended to have cut them off at *Caxamalca*; and, when they were come there, that he ſhould have an interview with the General, in order to deſtroy him and his men; and yet that there ſhould not be a ſtroke ſtruck to defend his liberty, in an open field, in the ſight of ſo many thouſands of ſuch as own'd themſelves his Subjects. For tho' we have related (in *Cortez*'s Conqueſt of *Mexico*, and other Expeditions to *America*) ſeveral battles, and encounters, where the *Spaniards* prevail'd over vaſt numbers, by their horſe and fire-arms; there never was any open attack made upon the *Indians*, without ſome reſiſtance, and ſome blows given; and tho' *Montezuma* was made priſoner in his own Palace, it was in a clandeſtine manner, and he made his people believe that he was free. Having thus given a caution to the Reader, concerning the different accounts of the ſeveral Authors, as to the reaſon of the quarrel, and left him to judge for himſelf as to the provocation, I return to recount the iſſue of the interview, the principal facts of which, all Hiſtorians are agreed in.

The interview between Pizarro *and the* Inca.

Early the next morning, *Pizarro* divided his horſe into three bodies, which he kept by the ſide of a wall, near the field, where the Inca was to give him audience, having his artillery and muſquets ſo diſpos'd, as they could do moſt execution, in caſe there ſhould be occaſion for them; and he himſelf, with only fifteen in his retinue, came to the place appointed. *Atahualpa* was carry'd in his Litter upon men's ſhoulders, with 10,000 men going before, about 5000 upon the flanks of each ſide, and a body of 10,000 in his rear. As ſoon as he came to the plain, near *Caxamalca*, *Pizarro* waited upon him, and having made his compliments, his Chaplain was prepar'd to make a ſpeech, by the interpreter, upon the Chriſtian Religion firſt, and then upon his Submiſſion to the *Pope*, and King of *Spain*, of which *Vega* pretends to give a juſt Copy. The ſubſtance of it is, "That he ſhould be-"lieve the Trinity, the Creation, the "Fall, Original Sin, the Incarnation "of our Bleſſed Saviour, his Death up-"on the Croſs," (the figure of which he had in his hand) "his Reſurrection, and "Aſcenſion; his leaving the Govern-"ment of his Church with the Apoſtles, "the Primacy of St. *Peter*, the *Pope*'s "being GOD's Vicar; his having given "Power to the Emperor *Charles* V. to "ſubdue all People who would not re-"ceive theſe Truths; and if they did, "the ſaid Emperor was inveſted with "Power to make all Kings his Vaſſals, "and to make them pay Tribute to "him." And the Friar ended his ſpeech with denouncing Fire and Sword againſt the Inca, if he would not believe the Articles he had rehears'd, and ſubmit to the Authority of the *Pope*, and the King of *Spain*.

This harſh concluſion, together with the ill-concerted, and worſe interpreted Speech, ſounded odly in the Inca's ears; and indeed it was a very prepoſterous way to convert a Monarch, who, had he been ſo by juſt Right, and not by Uſurpation, knew none greater than himſelf. The Truths contain'd in this Speech, were not ſupported with arguments ſufficient to convince any reaſonable man; and they were blended with ſuch ſtuff, as made them ridiculous; and our Author expoſes the whole ſufficiently, by the Anſwer which he ſays the Inca made; in which he taxes the *Spaniards* with having deny'd him every thing he deſir'd of the Ambaſſadors ſent to him, and by repreſenting to them, the

the cruelty they had exercis'd to the *Indians*, and the menaces expreſs'd in the Friar's Speech, he reaſonably enough infers, That they and their Prince were Tyrants, and unjuſt oppreſſors of free People, or elſe Scourgers, in the hand of GOD, to chaſtiſe Nations who were not ſubject to their Authority, but by force and violence. He objected againſt the Trinity, as was natural enough, as it was propos'd to him, without being explain'd, or his Underſtanding prepar'd for it, by previous inſtruction. He taxed the *Spaniards* with worſhipping more Gods than the *Indians* did. But when he came to anſwer that part of his Speech, which concern'd his ſubmiſſion to the Emperor; he very juſtly obſerv'd, that if he was to be a Vaſſal (for which he had heard no reaſon given) he ought to become tributary to the Pope; becauſe it was pretended that he had given the Emperor Power over thoſe Countries, and conſequently was the Emperor's Sovereign. He therefore very reaſonably deſir'd to have his doubts and ſcruples ſolv'd before they threaten'd him with Fire and Sword. *Pizarro* finding by this Speech, that *Atahualpa* was not diſpos'd to what they would have perſuaded him (as indeed they could not expect he ſhould) made a ſignal to fire the guns, which was done to the great terror of the *Indians*, and the three ſquadrons of horſe, from different places, attack'd them at once, and made a terrible ſlaughter. *Pizarro* himſelf, with his fifteen companions, ſet upon the Litter, and the General pull'd the Inca down from it with his own hand, which, in that action, receiv'd a hurt with one of his own people's ſwords, he being the only *Spaniard* wounded that day. As ſoon as *Atahualpa* was made priſoner, the *Indians* fled, after they had loſt about 5000, and the *Spaniards* fell to plunder, as indeed many of them had, before the execution began. This Maſſacre happen'd on the third day of *May*, 1533.

The Inca made priſoner.

The Inca bore the change of his condition calmly enough, only he ſeem'd to reſent his being put in chains. But, having perceiv'd what a value his new maſters put upon gold and ſilver, he told them he would give them as much of thoſe mettals as ſhould fill the room where he was, to the heighth of a line drawn as far as a man could reach his hand. The *Spaniards* at firſt took this for a gaſconade; but being afterwards better inform'd of the riches of the Country, and particularly of the immenſe Treaſures kept in the Temples, they accepted the propoſal of the Inca; and, at his deſire, ſent ſome of their own people to *Coſco*, and other Cities, along with the Meſſengers of *Atahualpa*, to bring the Gold and Silver.

Offers vaſt wealth for his ranſom.

Tho' they kept the Inca in chains, they did not hinder his ſervants to attend him; ſo that he had intelligence of all that paſs'd, and being afraid that his Brother *Guaſcar*, now a priſoner to his General in *Coſco*, might find a way to make advantageous offers to the *Spaniards*, which could not fail, if accepted, to end in his deſtruction; he was reſolv'd to put him out of the way; but as he was cunning, he pretended, one day, to *Pizarro*, that his General had, without his orders, put *Guaſcar* Inca to death, which he ſeem'd much concern'd at, as having had an intention only to adjuſt matters with him, and to have reſtor'd him both to his Liberty and Crown. *Pizarro* anſwer'd, without being mov'd, that it was the fate of war, that ſome were kill'd, and others made priſoners. The Inca finding that the *Spaniſh* General made no more of it, ſent private inſtructions to his General to put his Brother to death. But he did not long enjoy the fruit of that unnatural villany, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

The Gold, for the Inca's ranſom, was order'd from all quarters. But the diſtance was ſo great of ſome of the places from *Caxamalca*, that the *Spaniards*, who were impatient to finger the Treaſure, thought the time very long; and ſome, who hated *Atahualpa*, for his having murder'd his Brother, and rightful Sovereign, or for worſe reaſons, endeavour'd to give *Pizarro* a jealouſy, that the delay of the Gold was a ſtratagem to gain time, till his Generals might come with Armies to reſcue him, and deſtroy the *Spaniards*; and one of the chief promoters of this ſurmiſe, is ſaid to have been *Philippillo*, the interpreter, who was in love with one of the Inca's Concubines, and wanted to have him diſpatch'd that he might enjoy her. *Atahualpa* being appriz'd of this jealouſy, endeavour'd to clear himſelf, by telling *Pizarro*, that he needed be under no apprehenſion of any of his Generals, as long as he was in cuſtody; for he could at any time, by a meſſage, disband any Army that ſhould be rais'd by his Generals, or ſend for any of them to come to him from any part of the Empire; and he ſhew'd them an Experiment of it, by ſending for *Chaliquichiama*, who immediately left his forces, and come to him with the ſame ſubmiſſion as uſual.

Plots againſt his life.

About this time, *Almagro*, with 200 *Spaniards*, arriv'd at *Caxamalca*, which made the Inca apprehend greater danger than formerly. And it ſoon appear'd that

that his fears were not groundleſs, for theſe new comers being ſurpriz'd at the prodigious wealth, which now came from different quarters to *Caxamalca*, and which they thought they might be the better entitled to a ſhare of, by being active in the death of the Inca, preſs'd *Almagro* to inſiſt upon it; and indeed a mutiny was like to enſue, which was underhand fomented by *Philippillo*. At laſt *Atahualpa*'s enemies prevail'd, and a formal indictment was laid againſt him, conſiſting of two Articles, *viz.* His rebelling againſt, and murdering his Brother; and his conſpiring the deſtruction of the *Spaniards*. The laſt of which charges he deny'd to his death, nor was there any ſign appear'd of it thro' the whole Empire; but the interpreter made the evidence of the *Indian* witneſſes whatever he pleas'd to interpret it to be: ſo that tho' the Inca deſerv'd juſtly to have been condemn'd by the Judges and Laws of *Peru*, yet he was murder'd, and that againſt publick Faith, by the *Spaniards*, after a great part of his ſtipulated ranſom was paid down, and the reſt upon the road; but ſpirited away, when the report of his death was ſpread abroad, and never found afterwards. To make the grimace the more ſolemn, they got people to perſuade him, after he was condemn'd, to deſire Baptiſm, tho' he neither underſtood nor believ'd the Chriſtian Religion. But the thing that prevail'd with him was, that by being baptiz'd, his ſentence was to be graciouſly chang'd from Burning to Strangling. Thus *Atahualpa*, who, not contented with the Dominion left him by his kind Father, uſurp'd the Empire of his Brother, againſt the Laws of Nature and the Country, was, by the juſt Judgment of GOD, puniſh'd for his crimes done againſt his Brother, by thoſe to whom he had done no wrong, and who had made a plain contract for his Liberty, upon the receiving of ſuch a quantity of Gold and Silver, a great part of which was paid, and the reſt would have come in, had they given time. But their putting him to death ſtop'd the bringing more Gold, and gave the *Indians* ſuch an idea of their falſhood and cruelty, that rather than the ſpoils of ſome of their richeſt Temples ſhould fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, they threw their largeſt Veſſels and Statues of Gold into Lakes, or hid them in places, from which they have never been recover'd to this day.

Atahualpa condemn'd and ſtrangled.

But there were many *Spaniards* who oppos'd the Inca's condemnation, and openly proteſted againſt it in Court, both as illegal and unjuſt, as contrary to publick Faith, and diſhonourable to the *Spaniſh* Name; and there were ſo many, and ſuch conſiderable perſons who eſpous'd *Atahualpa*'s cauſe, that an open rupture would have follow'd upon it, but for the prudence of ſome of the more moderate of both ſides, who brought matters to be amicably adjuſted; and the dividing the riches among them, made them forget their animoſities for a while. The Inca's ranſom, tho' not all paid, amounted to 4,605,670 Ducats; which with the other Gold and Silver they had gotten ſince their coming to *Peru*, was all diſtributed, according to their rank and quality, and there was not a private Soldier who had leſs than 10,000 Ducats for his dividend. The General diſpatch'd his Brother *Fernando* to *Spain*, with the fifth part for the King, and added to it a rich preſent from his own ſhare; and writ Letters to his Imperial Majeſty, giving an account of his progreſs.

The Treaſure divided.

It may appear incredible, that ſo ſmall an Army of *Spaniards* ſhould have been able to advance ſo far into a Country, which was all in arms at their coming to it; or that before they had put the Inca to death, none of his Generals or Relations ſhould have taken arms to prevent it. But there were ſeveral things contributed to the ſucceſs of theſe lucky Adventurers. The quarrel between the two Brothers hinder'd both of them from oppoſing the Progreſs of the *Spaniards*; and when *Atahualpa* came to meet them at *Caxamalca*, his ſuperſtition in believing them to be the Children of the Sun, and therefore ſacred, made him ſubmit to his impriſonment; and then the fear of his perſon, when he was in their power, made him put a ſtop to the efforts that his Generals might have attempted for his Liberty, leſt they ſhould exaſperate the *Spaniards* againſt him. And then, after his death, the Factions of both the Inca's being irreconcilably at variance, they both thought it their wiſeſt courſe to keep in with the Strangers (for ſome time) of whom they entertain'd a better opinion than they deſerv'd; till by a farther acquaintance with them, they began to hate them as much for their cruelty and avarice, as they had admir'd them before for their courage and bravery. To which may be added, that moſt part of the Royal Family of *Peru* having been put to death by *Atahualpa*'s order, after *Guaſcar* was taken; the *Indians* wanted a Head to bring, or keep them together; ſo that they either fled to the diſtant parts of the Country, or ſubmitted to their new Maſters, where-ever they march'd.

But this negligence of the *Indians* did not laſt long. For, as ſoon as *Pizarro*

and *Almagro* remov'd their camp, and march'd towards *Cosco*, *Quisquiz*, who had manag'd the war against *Guascar*, and had been the executer of *Atahualpa*'s cruelty at *Cosco*, remov'd from that City; and having intelligence of the careless march of the *Spaniards*, way-laid them in a convenient place. But before they advanced so far as the ambuscade, *Titu Atauchi*, Brother to *Atahualpa*, (who had been employ'd by him to gather Gold for his Ransom, and was upon his march with a great quantity of Gold and Silver) being inform'd of the Inca's death, left his Riches, and got together about 6000 men, and fell upon the *Spaniards* unexpectedly in their march, and took eight prisoners, retiring with them before *Pizarro* got his people in order. Among the prisoners was *Sancho de Cuallar*, who had drawn up the indictment against the Inca. With this success *Atauchi* was satisfy'd, and march'd to *Caxamalca*; and *Pizarro* held on his route to *Casco*; and coming to the place, where *Quisquiz* had conceal'd 12000 men, (only taking a small party to provoke the *Spaniards* to attack him) *Pizarro* order'd two Captains of horse to chase that party, who, retiring according to orders, decoy'd the horse to the ambuscade, where the whole Army rushing upon them, a sharp battle was fought, which lasted three hours; seventeen *Spaniards* were kill'd, and several taken; which was the greatest loss they had sustain'd in the whole expedition; the *Indians* lost seventy; and *Quisquiz* not thinking it advisable to wait the coming up of *Pizarro*, retreated from the Cavalry, who, being fatigu'd, were not sorry at his flight. He came with his prisoners to *Caxamalca*, where he join'd *Atauchi*; and it was lucky for seven of the *Spaniards*, who were prisoners in the first skirmish, that he came thither so soon; for *Atauchi* having resolv'd to put them to death, in revenge of his Brother's murder, they were all sav'd, except *Cuallar*, by *Quisquez*'s bringing with him *Francisco de Chaves*, and *Hernando de Haro*, who had openly oppos'd the condemnation of *Atahualpa*. *Atauchi*, out of gratitude to them, forgave all the rest; and having imitated, as near as he could, the execution of his Brother, in that of *Cuallar*, he releas'd all the others; and when their wounds were cur'd, dismiss'd them with considerable presents. An Action which denoted more greatness of mind, than any thing done by the *Spaniards* in that Country, and gave this Prince a better Title to the Name of *Viracocha*, than the Thunder and Lightning of his enemies gave them. And when they were to leave *Caxamalca*, he made conditions of Peace with them in the name of the rest of their companions, which shew'd no sign of force, but might, nay ought to have been agreed to by the *Spaniards*, if they had had *Charles* V's Army in *Peru*. For they only requir'd them to promise, "That all Acts of "Hostility, already done, should be "forgiven on both sides. That firm "Peace should be maintain'd, for the "future, between the *Spaniards* and "*Indians*. That the *Spaniards* should "not deprive *Manco* Inca (a surviving "Son of *Guayanacapa*, and consequently the *rightful Heir*) of the Empire. "That the *Spaniards* should set the *In*"*dians* at liberty, whom they had in "Chains; and that no more should, "from thenceforth, be put in Irons, "but that they might be freely us'd as "Servants. That the Laws of the for"mer Inca's, in as far as they were not "contrary to the Christian Laws, should "be in full force. And that *Don Fran*"*cisco Pizarro* should, in a reasonable "Time, procure the King of *Spain*'s "Assent and Confirmation to these Ar"ticles."

A skirmish with the Brother of Atahualpa.

And another with one of his Generals.

A Spaniard *executed at* Caxamalca.

Articles of Peace.

Had these most reasonable Conditions been well and faithfully made good on the part of the *Spaniards*, there might have been an end of war and blood in that Country, and the Christian Religion might have been receiv'd, without the least opposition, the Natives being all persuaded that their great Inca *Guayanacapa* (for whose memory the whole Empire had a sacred regard) had declar'd upon his death-bed, that the Religion of the bearded Men was infinitely better than theirs was. But the *Spanish Pride*, *Avarice*, *Revenge*, and *Luxury*, brought all things into disorder, and made *Peru* a seat of Confusion and Blood for many Years; of which we shall only touch slightly, it not being our business to write the History of *America*.

After the last skirmish between the *Spaniards* and *Quisquez*, *Pizarro* march'd with more caution, and they arriv'd at *Cosco* without any memorable adventure; where they took care to visit Houses and Temples for the sake of golden Moveables. But, tho' they got considerable riches in this City, yet vast quantities of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, had been privately convey'd away before they came; and, for many years together, Statues of Gold, and other rich things were found, by chance, under ground; and, no doubt, may be had to this day, if people could hit upon the places where they were hid, to save them from the *Spaniards*.

Pizarro arrives at Cosco.

But

But here they were alarm'd with news from the North, which gave ſome uneaſineſs. They had an account, that *Don Pedro d'Alvaredo*, the valiant Companion of *Cortez* in the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, was arriv'd at *Porto Viejo*, and was upon his march to *Quitu*, with an Army of above 500 *Spaniards*, a great part of which was Horſe, and moſt of them Gentlemen of good Families. *Alvaredo*'s character of a brave Man, and an able Officer, was too well known to the *Peruvian* General, not to give him ſome umbrage, upon hearing of his march into his Diſtrict; for he reckon'd all that had belong'd to the Inca's of *Coſco*, to be his Province. *Pizarro*, therefore having conſulted with the Captains, it was agreed that *Almagro* ſhould march towards *Quitu* with 100 *Spaniards*, either to prevent *Alvaredo*'s encroaching upon his Government, aſſign'd him by the King's Patent, or if he could not prevail with him to deſiſt, that he ſhould bribe ſome part of his forces to deſert him; there being no other way to prevent the miſchief they foreſaw by his arrival in *Peru* with double their number.

Alvaredo arrives at Porto Viejo.

Almagro was ſcarcely gone, when *De Chaves*, and the other priſoners arriv'd from *Caxamalca*, full of the praiſes of *Atauchi*, for his generous treatment of of them, and the eaſy Conditions with which he had diſmiſs'd them. And indeed this *Indian* deſerves to be recorded to poſterity, as an example of Virtue, and greatneſs of Mind, not only for his mild treatment of the priſoners, but for his Loyalty, and Regard to his Country. For, tho' he was now in the heart of a Country which had ſtuck by his Brother *Atahualpa*, and had one of his beſt Generals to eſpouſe his quarrel, he was ſo far from ſetting up for himſelf, that he oblig'd the *Spaniards* to promiſe to reſtore *Manco Inca*, the lawful Son of *Guayanacapa*, (whereas he himſelf was full Brother to the late Uſurper;) and when the *Spaniards* had agreed to thoſe Conditions, as we have ſaid, he ſent a moſt reſpectful meſſage to *Manco*, which gave him the moſt joyful hopes of ſucceeding to the Throne, which he was, before, afraid to claim. This continu'd courſe of virtue, in this young Prince *Atauchi*, makes me lament his death, which happen'd ſoon after for grief, at ruin of his Country of *Quitu*, and the maſſacre of his Relations, by the Rebellion and Cruelty of *Ruminavi*, another of *Atahualpa*'s Generals, who ſet up for himſelf.

Almagro ſent to treat with him.

The new of this growing Rebellion, made *Pizarro* diſpatch *Belalcazar* to reinforce *Almagro*, and to ſuppreſs *Ruminavi*, who, by his cruelty and barbarity to all *Atahualpa*'s family, whom he murder'd with the principal people of *Quitu*, at an entertainment; and by his inhuman burying alive the ſelect Virgins, who were look'd upon as ſacred in *Peru*, was become ſo odious to the *Indians*, that upon the news of the *Spaniards* approach, they deſerted him, and he was forced to go, with a ſmall number as wicked as himſelf, to live in the Mountains; ſo that *Belalcazar* had no trouble with him; and therefore he continu'd his march to join *Almagro*, who was in great doubt how to behave towards *Alvaredo*, hearing that he was not far off, in his route to *Quitu*. But he was ſoon determin'd; for *Alvaredo*'s advanc'd guard, coming near his quarters, took ſome of his Horſe who were ſtraggling about, but hearing to whom they belong'd, immediately releas'd them; which gave *Almagro* ſome hopes of an amicable accommodation. An interview being agreed upon between them, they met in the plain of *Riobomba*, with all their forces drawn up on both ſides; and both armies being not only *Spaniards*, but for the moſt part of the Province of *Eſtremadura*, between *Leon* and *Andaluſia*, they, of their own accord, without any command of their Generals, fell into a friendly converſation with one another, offering conditions of Peace and Amity to each other.

And Belalcazar to encounter Ruminavi.

An interview between Alvaredo and Almagro.

Alvaredo declar'd, "That he had no "deſign to encroach upon the Conqueſt "that *Pizarro* and *Almagro* had made, "but that his intention was to make "other diſcoveries out of their Pre-"cincts; and therefore was willing to "live amicably with them, till his fleet "ſhould ſail farther ſouthward. That "he would march thro' the Empire of "*Peru*, as a friend and ally; and as a "ſervant to the ſame Emperor, as King "of *Spain*." But in one or two friendly conferences of this kind, it was agreed upon between them, that *Alvaredo* ſhould return to his Government in *New Spain*, but leave a good part of his forces with *Almagro*; that the forces thus left ſhould be entitled to their ſhare as the other *Spaniards* were; and in conſideration of his charges and trouble, *Alvaredo* ſhould receive 120,000 Pieces of Eight out of the Treaſure of *Peru*; to which *Pizarro* agreed, and ſent powers to *Almagro* to perfect the treaty.

They agree.

In the mean time, the *Manco* Inca having receiv'd intelligence, as we have ſaid, from *Atauchi*, of the conditions at *Caxamalca*, aſſembled his friends, in a place near *Coſco*, to conſult of the fitteſt manner of applying to *Pizarro* for his Reſtoration; and, after ſome debate, his

his own opinion prevail'd, of going only with a ſelect number of followers without arms, to beg the General's aſſiſtance, and the fulfilling the Articles made by *De Chaves*. *Pizarro* receiv'd him handſomely, and promis'd to perform his requeſt; and deſir'd him to take the Enſign of Royalty, which was a colour'd wreath about his head, at his putting on of which, in a publick manner, there were great and ſolemn rejoycings in *Coſco*; and the *Spaniards* were reſpected as true *Viracocha*'s, by thus keeping Faith with the *Indians*. And had they continu'd to act like men of honour, they might have converted all *Peru* without oppoſition or blood.

Manco *Inca goes to* Pizarro.

But the generous *Atauchi* did not live to hear the good news, but dy'd at *Caxamalca* of pure grief, for the villany of *Ruminavi*, charging *Quiſquez*, at his death, to keep the Articles with the *Spaniards*, and to be loyal to *Manco* Inca; and indeed it was well for him that he dy'd then, for, that ſhort ſatisfaction of ſeeing his Brother's ſeeming Reſtoration, would have been far outweigh'd, in his honeſt mind, by the treachery of the *Spaniards*, and the miſery that afterwards befel his Country.

Atauchi's *death.*

Almagro was gone from *Coſco* before *De Chaves*'s arrival, ſo that it does not appear that he knew any thing of the Peace at *Caxamalca*, and therefore after the agreement with *Alvaredo*, having heard, in his return, that *Quiſquez* was ſtill at the head of an Army, (which he had not disbanded, thinking it proper to wait, but without any acts of hoſtility, till the Conditions ſhould be perform'd with regard to his lawful Sovereign) he made haſte to attack him, who lay with his forces not far from *Caxamalca*, without any apprehenſion of an enemy. There being no fit interpreters among them, it was not in *Quiſquez*'s power to make the *Spaniards* acquainted with the peace; ſo that he could do no more, to avoid fighting, than to retire to the high ground, his army being divided, and many leagues being between the one part and the other; which he was too good a Soldier to have ſuffer'd, had he thought of engaging the *Spaniards*.

Almagro *attacks* Quiſquez.

Alvaredo and *Almagro* divided their army likewiſe, and *Almagro* march'd to the high ground to hem in the *Indians* between the two armies; but *Quiſquez* finding one wing of his army attack'd made up to the rocks, from whence he roll'd down great ſtones upon the *Spaniſh* horſe, by which ſeveral of them were kill'd; and the *Indians* in that manner defended themſelves till night, the party that had been attack'd retreating alſo to the hills. The next day they retir'd to a river, and were again attack'd in the rear. The *Indian* General maintain'd a paſs near the river for many hours together, and at laſt retir'd to the Mountains. A few days after there was a third skirmiſh with the *Indians*, and in all the three, tho' there were many of them kill'd, yet the *Spaniards* loſt about fifty, moſt of which were horſe, which was a conſiderable mortification to the Generals.

Pizarro *goes to meet* Alvaredo.

In the mean time, *Pizarro*, hearing of the approach of *Alvaredo*, reſolv'd to go to meet him as far as *Pachacamac*, about a hundred leagues from *Coſco*, having no mind he ſhould come to the Metropolis of the Empire. Before his departure, he went to take leave of the Inca, telling him that he left his Brothers, and the reſt of his men under his protection, and was going himſelf to finiſh ſome affairs with his Countrymen lately arriv'd, upon which depended the Peace of *Caxamalca*, which, at his return, ſhould be faithfully executed. The Inca wiſh'd him a proſperous journey, and told him he would be careful that his Brothers and the other *Viracocha*'s ſhould be treated as his own kindred, till his return. And in the mean time he ſent orders to all the places upon the road, to provide the *Spaniards* with all things neceſſary, and to uſe them with reſpect. He arriv'd with thirty Horſe at *Pachacamoc* ſome days before *Alvaredo*; but he coming at laſt, they embraced and treated each other as friends, and *Pizarro* had taken care to have the Gold, ſtipulated between *Almagro* and *Alvaredo*, brought to that place, and there paid it to that General, together with a handſome preſent in Gold and Jewels over and above what was promis'd. Theſe Generals and Governors having ſtaid ſome time together, parted at laſt with the ſame friendſhip, *Alvaredo* going towards the coaſt to take ſhipping for *New Spain*, to his own Government of *Guatimala*, ſituated on the South-Sea, in 14 deg. n. lat. near the Province of *Honduras*; and *Almagro*, with a good number of *Alvaredo*'s forces, march'd to *Coſco*; *Pizarro* recommending to him the new Inca *Manco*, and his own Brothers whom he had left there. The Governor himſelf ſtaid behind at *Pachacamoc*, intending to find out a convenient place for a Colony near the South-Sea, which he effected, laying the foundation of a new City upon the little River *Lima*, in 13 deg. ſ. lat. 120 miles weſt from *Coſco*. This City he call'd *La Ciudad de los Reyes*, the City of Kings, becauſe it was founded upon the 6th of *January*,

Pizarro *builds* Lima.

January, 1534. And is now the residence of the Vice-Roy of *Peru*.

Having built this new City, he divided such portions of Land to his own people, as he thought proper, allowing such a number of *Indians* to every one as were sufficient to begin their Plantations; and having settled that Colony in peace, he march'd northward. and about 300 miles from *Los Reyes* he founded another City on the South-Sea coast, and gave it the name of *Truxillo*, from his own Country. It lies in 8 deg. n. lat. and is well inhabited.

He builds Truxillo.

Whilst *Pizarro* was thus worthily employ'd upon the coast, the news of the negotiation of his Brother *Ferdinand*, or *Hernando*, in *Spain*, arriv'd in *Peru*. He had been graciously receiv'd at Court, and obtain'd the Title of Marquis for his Brother *Don Francisco*, with an enlargement of Territory from the Equinoxial Line to a certain distance southward. *Almagro* was made *Mareschal* of *Peru*, with the Government of 200 leagues from north to south, distinct from the jurisdiction of the Marquis; which, in *Spain*, was call'd *New Toledo*, as that of the Marquis was nam'd *New Castile*. But *Almagro*, who was then at *Cosco*, hearing this report, tho' the Commissions were not come, nor any authentick account from Court, of the particular powers assign'd to each of them; being eager to grasp at Power, laid aside the Deputation he had from *Pizarro* to be his Lieutenant at *Cosco*, and, upon the report that the Marquis's Government was to reach only 200 leagues south from the Line, he declar'd himself Governor of *Cosco*, and canton'd out the vassalage of the *Indians* to his own Creatures. But being oppos'd in this attempt by the Brothers of *Pizarro*, and some of *Alvaredo*'s Officers, they came to an open rupture, and several *Spaniards* were kill'd on both sides, in some scuffles about that affair. *Pizarro* being then at *Truxillo*, was soon advertis'd of this quarrel, and leaving all his people at his new Colonies, he was carry'd by *Indians* (to whose integrity he trusted himself without any other attendants) to *Cosco*; where, by his presence, he quieted all the dispute, *Almagro* owning his rashness, and submitting to his Authority. However, to make the good correspondence between them the more durable, they agreed that *Almagro* should go to *Chili*, which joins to the south of *Peru*, and runs along the coast from 26 to 44 deg. s. lat.

Almagro *marches to* Chili.

About the beginning of the year 1535, *Almagro* begun his march with 550 *Spaniards*. But as he was to pass thro' a considerable part of the Inca of *Peru*'s dominions before he arriv'd in *Chili*, he took the Inca's Brother, *Paullu*, along with him, and 15000 *Indians*, with the approbation of *Manco*, who gave his Brother a charge, that all things necessary should be provided for the *Viracocha*'s thro' all his Empire. The way over the Mountains of *Cordilleras* was the neareſt route, but *Paullu* told them they were not passable for Snow; but he would not take his word for it, which he had cause to repent soon after; for being oblig'd to clear the way of the Snow with their hands, their journeys were so short, that the provisions prepar'd for their march, were done long before they had finish'd their journey: and the cold was so excessive, that 10,000 *Indians* perish'd in the Mountains; and the *Spaniards*, tho' better clad than they, lost 150, who were frozen to death. But after a long and terrible march of about 600 miles, they came into the Country of *Copayapu*, upon the borders of *Chili*, but subject to the Inca of *Peru*, being about 26 deg. s. lat. Here they were chearfully entertain'd, and refresh'd after their past fatigue; the Natives being very civil to them upon the hopes given them by *Paullu* of Inca *Manco*'s advancement to the Throne by the *Spaniards* means; and being likewise inform'd by him of the great liking the *Spaniards* had for Gold, they quickly brought to the value of 200,000 Ducats in vessels, which had been design'd for presents to the Inca *Guascar*, when the war broke out; and, during their stay there, the value of 300,000 more was brought from the Villages and Towns under the Curacas of *Copayapu*.

But *Almagro*, having propos'd to *Paullu* the reduction of the rest of *Chili* under the Empire of *Peru*, the innocent *Indian*, believing it would be a considerable addition to his Brother's power, consented to it, and issu'd out orders to all the adjacent *Curaca*'s to repair to their quarters, with the Soldiers under their command. With these *Almagro* march'd to several Provinces in *Chili*, in some of which he met with opposition, and others receiv'd him friendly. He staid about five months in this Country, and visited above 100 leagues southward, where he might have settled Colonies, as was afterwards done, but that his ambition and great inclination to be a kind of a Sovereign in *Cosco*, made him return thither, which was the occasion of his ruin.

Takes some Places there.

Whilst he was skirmishing with the *Indians* in *Chili*, *Ruis Diaz*, and *Juan de Herrada*, arriv'd from *Cosco* with recruits, having pass'd the *Cordillera* Mountains by the same road he had

come, but with leſs danger and fatigue, becauſe being in the month of *November*, it was their Summer. *Herrada* brought with him the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion to *Almagro*, by which he either really found, or interpreted it ſo, that *Coſco* fell within his juriſdiction; and therefore by the advice of ſome of his officers, he reſol'd to return, and take poſſeſſion of it, either by fair or foul means. The *Indian Paullu*, who had no good opinion of the *Pizarro*'s, was likewiſe pleas'd with this reſolution. So that, ſlighting all that he had done in *Chili*, *Almagro* began his march northward, but determin'd to take his route by the coaſt, it being terrible to his Army to think of *Cordilleras*. But in the road he was now to take, there was a Deſart to paſs of about 200 miles, where there was no water, but ſuch as was to be found in wells, or ſtanding pools, which, the *Indians* inform'd him, ſtunk with the heat of the Sun; and even thoſe, ſome eighteen, ſome four and twenty miles diſtant from one another. However, they propos'd to *Almagro*, to ſend a party of *Indians* before, to draw out the ſtagnated water, that freſh might be gather'd before the Army march'd; and they contriv'd to make bottles of skins, in the manner of *Boraccio*'s to take along with them full of water; both which were of great uſe to them in their march. And having, by theſe precautions, paſs'd the deſart Country of *Atacama*, with the leaſt difficulty poſſible, they came to the more fruitful plains of *Arequipa*, where they refreſh'd themſelves for ſome days.

But abandons that Country and returns to Peru.

During the time that *Almagro* ſpent in *Chili*, things had put on a new face at *Coſco*. *Manco* Inca, ſeeing that *Pizarro* had diſpatch'd the principal Officers of his Army to different parts, upon different commands, and yet had never reſtor'd him to the free exerciſe of his Government, but ſtill kept all in his own or his Brothers hands, and left him the empty Title of Inca, and the inſignificant *wreath* of Royalty, whilſt he was little better than a ſtate Priſoner; he therefore made application to him again, to perform the conditions of *Caxamalca*, in the full extent of them. The Marquis and his Brothers did not well know what anſwer to return to this demand, there being no ſufficient reaſon for refuſing it. The Marquis told him, at laſt, that his Brother *Fernando* was juſt arriv'd at *Tumbez* from *Spain*, and he was going to meet him, where he ſhould be veſted with full powers to conclude the Treaty of *Caxamalca*, and to put the Government of the Empire into his hands, which could not be ſecure to him, without the authority of his Sovereign, the King of *Spain*. With this pretence, he left *Coſco*, and retir'd to *Lima*, leaving the Inca, together with the City and Country adjacent, to the care of his Brothers, *Juan* and *Gonzalo*, who perſuaded, or rather decoy'd *Manco* to their fortreſs, where they kept him priſoner, contrary to honour, faith, and good ſenſe. But he diſſembling his reſentment, by his diſcreet behaviour, ſo engratiated himſelf with the *Spaniſh* Officers, that they prevail'd with the Deputies to ſuffer him to live in one of his own houſes, before *Fernando Pizarro* arriv'd, to ſuperſede his Brothers in the Government of the City; and after his coming, he manag'd the matter ſo, by giving him, now and then, preſents of Gold, that he had leave to go, under pretence of keeping a ſolemn feſtival, to *Yucaya*, abont four leagues north-eaſt from *Coſco*, where the Inca's had their Gardens; promiſing to bring from a Sepulchre, near that place, a ſtatue of his Father of ſolid Gold. At this place he privately had an interview with ſome of his oldeſt Officers, who were near, and having complain'd of all the affronts, and other injuries he had undergone from the *Spaniards*, telling them that he had diſſembled, but not born them patiently, that he might have it in his power to revenge them; he ask'd their advice and aſſiſtance.

Affairs at Coſco during Almagro's abſence.

The Inca Manco made priſoner.

The reſult of this Conference was his ſending orders to all the eaſtern parts of the Empire, to muſter their forces, and to ſend them with all expedition to places appointed, in order to be ready at a certain day. He would not ſummon the people near the coaſt, becauſe they had been harraſs'd by the late civil war; beſides that he would not alarm the *Spaniſh* Generals, canton'd in thoſe parts. His deſign was to attack *Coſco*, *Lima*, and *Truxillo* at one time, and to put all the *Spaniards* to the ſword. And, at at the ſame time, he ſent towards *Chili*, under colour of enquiring news of *Almagro* and his Brother; but in reality to ſpirit up all his vaſſals in thoſe parts, to fall upon the *Spaniards* and to cut them off. This meſſage was to be deliver'd to *Paullu*, but miſs'd of him by *Almagro*'s ſudden retreat.

But being releas'd levies forces,

Whilſt theſe orders were putting in execution, the Inca retir'd, with ſuch forces as could be quickly got ready, to a great diſtance from *Coſco*, where he remain'd till he muſter'd 200,000 men. And the *Spaniards* being diſpers'd to ſeveral places amongſt the Gold-Mines, having no apprehenſion of danger, were ſuddenly ſurrounded in ſeveral places, and many of them cut off; and before his

his design was known at *Cosco*, the Inca was there with a numerous Army, with which he attack'd the place. The *Spaniards* taking the alarm, stuck close together, and did great execution with their horse, repuls'd the *Indians* in all their attacks, killing great numbers of them; but they not being above 200, were quite fatigu'd with slaughter; and some *Spanish* writers, to make the stories they tell of the Siege of *Cosco* seem probable, tell strange miracles of the *B. Virgin*'s and St. *James*'s fighting for the *Spaniards*. I, for my part, have not so good an opinion of the virtue of those Club-propagators of the Gospel, as to think that God Almighty wrought manifest Miracles in their defence, nor do I believe that their Devotion to these Saints was capable of making them turn Soldiers to save them; but be that how it will, the Fire-arms, and Horse of the *Spaniards* certainly did prodigious execution amongst the poor naked *Indians*. And any one who considers what a difference there is between regular Troops, tho' few in number, and a much greater number of raw undisciplin'd men, must allow, that forces enur'd to war, and arm'd with Coats of Mail, proof against any weapons the *Indians* had; with offensive weapons capable of killing whole Companies at one shot, and with circumstances of terror, enough to frighten the most resolute, who were not acquainted with Cannon or Musquets; and then the Horse, against which the *Indians* had no defence; Forces so prepar'd might well defeat vast numbers of unarm'd people, and disperse whole Armies, tho' never so numerous. I would not be understood as if I thought light of Miracles. I am sure Miracles have been wrought, and God has still the same power; but I would not give too readily into the belief of pretended ones, for fear of discrediting the true. And if any one will believe that St. *James* did get upon a white Horse, and knock down the Infidels at this attack upon *Cosco*, he may do so freely for me; tho' I should rather have thought it had been St. *Peter*, both because he was better acquainted with the Sword, and that the *Spaniards* were fighting for his Supremacy; if indeed Religion had any thing to do in the quarrel. But that the *Spaniards* believ'd that St. *James* fought for them is very certain; for they painted him in the porch of the great Church of *Cosco* upon a white Horse, with a Buckler upon his left Arm, and a flaming Sword in his right hand, and many *Indians* dead under his horse. This Picture our Author saw very fresh in 1560, and was himself born in 1539, not four years after the Siege.

And attacks Cosco.

Vega, P. 2. B. 2. Ch. 25.

The *Indians* being masters of a strong fortress near *Cosco*, the *Spaniards*, having quite beaten them from the City, attack'd them there, but the *Indians* behav'd with such resolution, that it cost the *Spaniards* five or six days siege to beat them out of it. And *John Pizarro*, who was the best of all the Brothers, having taken off his Helmet, for fresh air, after a sharp engagement, was hit by a stone out of a sling, which struck him in the head, of which he dy'd in three days.

John Pizarro *kill'd.*

Things were at this pass, when *Almagro* return'd from *Chili*; and the Inca hearing of his coming, and believing that he was to join the other *Spaniards*, retir'd from *Cosco*. *Almagro* sent a message to him, complaining of his raising war against the *Spaniards*; but he excus'd himself, as being forced to it by the avarice, and ill-usage of the *Pizarro*'s; nor would he come to any terms with *Almagro*, since the Peace of *Caxamalca* was so ill observ'd. So that *Almagro* finding there was no good to be done that way, march'd towards *Cosco*, and summon'd the Magistracy to receive him as their Governor, by virtue of the King's Commission; they answer'd that it was a matter of such consequence, that they could not take upon them to determine it suddenly, and therefore desir'd time, and in the mean while, demanded a cessation of arms; which *Almagro*, supposing to be a plot of *Fernando Pizarro*'s to gain time, refus'd to grant; and entring the City, by night, attack'd the Deputy-Governor in his house; but he refusing to surrender himself, they set fire to it, which oblig'd him to come out, and yield himself prisoner with his Brother *Gonsalo*. *Almagro* assembled the Magistrates, who immediately own'd him as their Governor, and he appointed *De Rojas* his Lieutenant in the City.

Almagro *enters* Cosco *by force, and takes the Marquis's two Brothers prisoners.*

In the mean time, the Marquis, being at *Lima* (knowing nothing that had pass'd of late at *Cosco*) sent *Alonso d'Alvaredo* to the assistance of his Brothers, against the Inca; in his march, he had several encounrers with the *Indians*, tho' the Inca himself was retir'd to the Mountains, despairing of success against the *Spaniards*. But *Almagro* hearing of *Alvaredo*'s approach, and that *Lerma* (who had been ill us'd by the Marquis) was with him, order'd one of his Officers to write to *Lerma* to come over to his side, which he resolv'd to do, upon the first opportunity, and persuaded several others to do the same. And *Almagro* himself sent some Officers, with his Commission to *Alvaredo*, desiring him to submit to him as Governor; or else to return to the Marquis. But *Alvaredo* kept his

Messengers

Meſſengers priſoners, and fortify'd his Camp, ſending an account of all to the Marquis, who had lately receiv'd a recruit of 200 *Spaniards* from *Hiſpaniola*. *Almagro* having waited ſome time for the return of his Meſſengers, at laſt deſpairing of them, march'd out of *Coſco*, with all the force he could ſpare, and coming to the Bridge of *Abancay*, *Lerma* deſerted to him with a party of his friends, aſſuring him that he had ſecur'd a great number of *Alvaredo*'s Army to come over to him, upon the firſt engagement; which ſo encourag'd *Almagro*, that he paſs'd the River, and attack'd *Alvaredo*, who had given good orders, but they were not obey'd. A great number of his men join'd *Almagro*, ſo that *Alvaredo* was defeated, and taken priſoner, with many Officers, who ſtood by him. And one of *Almagro*'s Captains would have put him to death, if the General had not abſolutely forbid it. He treated him very civilly, and made his men reſtore the things they had plunder'd, as far as he could find them out, and what was wanting, he made up out of his own treaſure. This civility ſo gain'd the affections of the Soldiers, that the greateſt part of them liſted themſelves under him, and had *Lerma* for their commander.

He defeats Alvaredo.

Orgonez, one of the principal Captains under *Almagro*, and one who hated the *Pizarro* family, preſs'd the General to ſend a Deputy to *Coſco*, with orders to cut off the heads of the two Brothers, and to march himſelf to *Lima* to deſtroy the Marquis. But others more moderate diſſuaded him from that cruelty, ſo that he went to *Coſco* with his priſoners; and reſolv'd to ſend to the Marquis, to have their Governments divided by arbitration.

In the mean time, the Marquis having intelligence of the bad ſucceſs of *Alvaredo*, was in great confuſion, not thinking himſelf ſecure of the reſt of his Army, ſince that under *Alvaredo*'s command had ſerv'd him ſo ill. He therefore thought of agreeing the matter amicably, both to ſave the lives of his Brothers, and to keep himſelf from the imputation of diſobeying the King's orders, and ſtopping the Conqueſt of *Peru* by a civil war. So that tho' he had march'd from *Lima*, with a deſign to make war upon *Almagro*, he return'd thither again, and ſent Deputies to *Coſco*, deſiring an arbitration to be appointed. Many of *Almagro*'s friends were againſt any accommodation, telling him that the Marquis would never keep any Articles made; and therefore adviſ'd him to march to *Lima*. However, he gave the Meſſengers civil treatment, and ſent them back, with aſſurance, that he would meet the Marquis, and appoint Commiſſioners to ſettle bounds of their Government. And accordingly he march'd out of *Coſco* at the head of his forces, being 550 *Spaniards*, leaving ſuch a garriſon as he thought ſufficient in the Town. He took the direct road towards *Lima*, and for the better managing of the treaty, or rather for further ſecurity, he carry'd his priſoner, *Fernando Pizarro* with him, leaving *Gonzalo*, together with *Alvaredo* and his Officers, under the cuſtody of his Lieutenant. Several meſſages paſs'd between the Marquis and *Almagro*, where propoſals of accommodation were made, but as ſoon rejected. But at laſt, they both gave their word of honour to meet in a valley near *Lima*, having only twelve horſemen each in his company.

Almagro *marches towards* Lima.

The reaſon of this diſpute was this. By the King's Commiſſions to thoſe two Governors, which were brought them from *Spain* by *Fernando Pizarro*, his Majeſty had conſtituted the Marquis, Governor and Commander in chief of all the Country of *Peru* for 270 leagues ſouthward from the Equinoctial Line; and had given *Almagro* the ſame power and authority over the reſt of the Continent for 200 leagues, commencing where *Pizarro*'s ended. But as no place was fix'd for the bounds between their commands, they both laid claim to *Coſco*, as being in their own diſtrict. Theſe bounds were to be reckon'd by the degrees of latitude, and all the Continent within thoſe degrees, either eaſt or weſt, were to belong to their reſpective Governments, as they ſhould ſubdue and poſſeſs them. By this Commiſſion, *Pizarro* had certainly right both to *Coſco* and *Lima*, both which lie within 13 deg. ſ. lat. To adjuſt this difference, the Biſhop of *Terra-Firma* came to *Lima* (before *Almagro* went to *Chili*) with a Commiſſion from the King to ſettle the bounds of their Governments. But *Pizarro*, concealing the Commiſſion from *Almagro*, perſuaded him to go to *Chili*, believing that, if he ſettled there, he himſelf ſhould be maſter of all the Dominions of *Peru*; ſo that the Biſhop return'd without doing any thing: and *Almagro* coming back to *Peru*, upon the receipt of his Commiſſion, as has been related, took poſſeſſion of *Coſco* unjuſtly, notwithſtanding the fair character given him by *Herrera*.

The occaſion of the diſpute between Pizarro *and* Almagro.

Herrera, *Dec.* 4. *B.* 4.

Whilſt theſe meſſages, about an accommodation, were carry'd on between the two Governors, *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *Alonzo d'Alvaredo* found means to bribe the keepers at *Coſco*, and ſo made their eſcape. For having been furniſh'd with

Fernando Pizarro *and* Alonzo d'Alvaredo *eſcape out of priſon at* Coſco.

with files, and other inſtruments, in the priſon, they ſoon got rid of their fetters; and juſt before the time concerted for their taking horſe, *De Rojos*, the Lieutenant of the City, coming to viſit them unexpectedly, found them all at liberty, contrary to his orders; but they, knowing the danger their lives were in after this attempt, ſeiz'd the Lieutenant, and giving notice to their accomplices, went out of the City, and carry'd him with them; and, with ſome difficulty, they arriv'd at *Lima*, after ſome time; to the number of 60 horſe.

Upon the news of this eſcape, *Orgonez* again preſs'd *Almagro* to put *Fernando Pizarro* to death, as the moſt dangerous of all the Brothers; but he ſtill refus'd to follow his advice. And after many propoſals on both ſides for Peace, the two Competitors met at *Mala*, with the appointed number of twelve, on each ſide. But *Gonzalo* follow'd his Brother with 700 men; and *Orgonez*, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, advanced near the place with his troops. When the two Governors met, they ſaluted one another, as ſome ſay, with equal civility and marks of ancient friendſhip; but, according to others, *Pizarro*'s behaviour was ſtiff and imperious. However, all Authors agree, that one of *Almagro*'s company coming into the room, and telling him, he was betray'd, he mounted his horſe immediately, and march'd in haſte to his Army, before any thing was concluded. And now they ſeem'd both prepar'd for war; but the Marquis, being afraid of his Brother's life, renew'd the treaty to get him releas'd; and it was agreed upon oath, on both ſides, that *Almagro* ſhould poſſeſs *Coſco*, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known. That he ſhould remove a Colony he had lately planted in *Chinca*, upon the road to *Coſco*, to *Zangalla*, in 15 deg. ſ. lat. That he ſhould ſet *Fernando Pizarro* at liberty, upon his oath not to act directly or indirectly againſt *Almagro* for the future. All which were punctually perform'd by *Almagro*, for he ſet *Fernando* at liberty, and remov'd his Colony.

Vega, *P. 2. B. 2. Ch. 35.* Herrera, *ubi ſupra. Ch. 2.*

Treaties made and broken.

As ſoon as the Marquis had recover'd his Brother, he broke the Treaty, probably by his advice; for he ſent a Notary and Witneſſes to *Zangalla*, to ſummon *Almagro* to evacuate the Countries ſubdu'd by the Marquis, and to give up *Coſco*; proteſting that if he refus'd to do it, all the effuſion of Blood that might enſue was to be charg'd upon him. This he did, notwithſtanding his having receiv'd the King's poſitive orders, by a Meſſenger of his own, that each of the two Governors ſhould keep what places they were poſſeſs'd of, when that order ſhould reach them, and whoever was injur'd, ſhould appeal to the King and Council.

War begun.

Almagro complaining, in vain, of this breach of Faith, diſpatch'd *James Alvaredo* to ſecure *Coſco*, and march'd at more leiſure himſelf with *Orgonez*, who now expoſtulated with him for rejecting his advice. *Pizarro*'s Army, under the command of his Brother *Gonzalo*, purſu'd *Almagro*; and being ſuperior in number, encamp'd at the River *Apurima*, and the next day came to the *Salinas*, or Field of Salt, there being in it a pleaſant fountain of ſaltiſh water, within a few leagues of *Coſco*. Here they found *Orgonez* with his Army drawn up, which, tho' inferior to that of the *Pizarro*'s, were reſolv'd to give them battle. The two Armies engag'd with equal bravery, and maintain'd a fight for near two hours with great obſtinacy, but at laſt the numbers of the *Pizarro* ſide overpowered the other, and *Orgonez* being wounded, after he had done valiantly, ſurrender'd himſelf to one *Fuentez*, who is ſaid to have murder'd him baſely after quarters given. *De Lerma* meeting *Fernando Pizarro* in the Battle, call'd him perjur'd Traitor, and with his launce overthrew both horſe and man; but his good armour ſav'd his life. But afterwards he himſelf was knock'd down, and was ſtab'd by one of *Pizarro*'s people, as he lay on the ground; yet he recover'd to be butcher'd in cold blood afterwards.

The battle of Salinas.

Herrera *ubi ſupra. Ch. 3.*

Almagro not having been able to mount a horſe, did not engage; but, after the defeat, was carry'd to the Citadel of *Coſco*, and was purſu'd by the Victors; and *Alonzo d'Alvaredo* enter'd the Citadel (*Pizarro* having taken poſſeſſion of the City, without oppoſition, the ſame day of the Battle, which was the day before *Palm-Sunday* 1538) and brought *Almagro* out. *Fernando Pizarro*, being exaſperated againſt him for his having continu'd ſo long his priſoner, was now reſolv'd to make ſure of him; and therefore caus'd an indictment to be drawn up againſt him for High-Treaſon, as having invaded the Provinces of the King's Lieutenant, violently poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Coſco*, fought two Battles againſt the King's General, and been the occaſion of ſpilling much *Spaniſh* Blood. *Almagro* ſaid much in his own defence, but finding Sentence paſs'd againſt him, he appeal'd to the King and Council of *Spain*, deſiring to be ſent home priſoner; and *Alonſo d'Alvaredo* pleaded for allowing his appeal, repreſenting to *Fernando*, that when he himſelf was priſoner to *Almagro*, along with him, they

Almagro *executed.*

had been well us'd, and that *Almagro* had releas'd *Fernando* upon his ſecurity; and therefore beg'd he would now, at his deſire, either ſet *Almagro* at liberty, or ſend him to *Spain*. But *Fernando* was deaf to all ſolicitations for him; and upon pretence that there was a Plot to reſcue him, caus'd him to be ſtrangled in the priſon, in the 75th year of his age, others ſay the 65th, and an infirm ſtate of health. Many conſiderable officers of his were likewiſe put to death in cold Blood, to the great diſhonour of *Fernando*, at whoſe inſtigation all thoſe cruelties were ſaid to have been executed.

Pizarro ſends out his Captains to make new diſcoveries.

The *Pizarro's* being now in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Coſco*, ſent out ſome of their Captains, who had declar'd moſt againſt their violent proceedings, upon new Diſcoveries and Conqueſts, with a deſign to get rid of them, and to quiet the mutinies like to ariſe about the diſtribution of the lands about *Coſco*, which the Brothers were in no haſte to make. But *James Alvaredo*, whom *Almagro* had left Executor of his Will, and Guardian to his Son (by an *Indian* Woman) deſir'd the Marquis to evacuate that part of the Country to the ſouth of *Coſco*, which muſt be allow'd to be without the 270 leagues ſpecify'd in the King's Commiſſion, that he might perform his truſt, by taking poſſeſſion of the Government ſouthward, in name of young *Almagro*; the Marquis haughtily anſwer'd, that his Government had now no bounds, nor would he ſuffer any one to interfere with him. Upon this *Alvaredo* march'd directly to *Lima*, where, without the Marquis's leave, he took ſhip for *Panama*, and ſo went to *Spain*, carrying with him Evidence for what he had a mind to repreſent to the Court.

The Indians appear in arms.

In the mean time, *Manco* Inca being encourag'd, by this civil war among the *Spaniards*, appear'd again in arms; and, without doubt, had the *Indians* made as good uſe, as they might have done, of this Quarrel, and prepar'd themſelves to fall upon them after the fatigue they endured in the battle of the *Salinas*, they might have recover'd their Country, and have cut the throats of both parties of the *Spaniards*. *Pizarro* being arriv'd at *Coſco*, ſent out ſeveral parties, to all the places where he heard the *Indians* were in arms, and many skirmiſhes happen'd, where the *Spaniards*, tho' they ſometimes ſuffer'd loſs, yet were in the end victorious; and conquer'd many places farther eaſt, which they had not diſcover'd before. Other *Spaniſh* Captains march'd ſouthward towards *Chili*; ſo that in a ſhort time, the Marquis found himſelf maſter of above 400 leagues from ſouth to north, and his Government conſiderably enlarg'd eaſtward. But his pride, and hatred to the men of *Chili* (which was the name *Almagro*'s Soldiers went by) procur'd him much trouble, and ſow'd the ſeeds of thoſe diſorders, which occaſion'd his deſtruction.

Fernando Pizarro goes for Spain.

Fernando Pizarro, being apprehenſive of Plots againſt his life, for his cruelty to *Almagro* and his friends, thought proper to go over to *Spain*; thinking himſelf in leſs danger from the Court, than from the private enemies he had in *Peru*. This reſolution he put in practice, and carrying all the Gold he could ſcrape together, went to *Lima*, and purſu'd his voyage to *Spain*, whilſt his Brother *Gonzalo* was proſecuting the war againſt *Manco* Inca. When he arriv'd at Court, he was arreſted at the ſuit of *Alvaredo*, who had drawn up articles againſt him before he came; and tho' *Alvaredo* dy'd ſoon after, having been poiſon'd, as was ſuppos'd; yet the things he had charg'd *Fernando* with, were ſo well atteſted, and his defence ſo weak, that he continu'd priſoner for twenty years.

And is put in priſon.

This whole year, and part of the next, were employ'd in planting Colonies in ſeveral places, both ſouth and north. One was placed in the Province of *Guamanga* ſouth of *Coſco* in 15 deg. latitude, to which they gave the name of *St. Juan de la Victoria*. And another, by *Pedro Anxures*, at *La Plata*, 21 deg. ſ. lat. on the eaſt of *Cordillera*, in the Province of *Los Charchas*, not far from *Potoſi*. And *Gonzalo Pizarro*, having chas'd *Manco* Inca to the Mountains, march'd northward to *Quitu*, where *Belalcaſar* had reduced every thing to a peaceable condition, and was now gone to *Spain*, where he got the Government of *Popayan* for himſelf, independent of *Pizarro*. This Province lies from *Quitu* northward to about 6 deg. n. lat. and joins to *New Granada*.

In the mean time the Marquis had advice, that the troubles of *Peru* having made a great noiſe in *Spain*, the King had given a Commiſſion to a Judge, to repair to this new Conqueſt, to take cognizance of the whole affair, and to make report. This news troubled him, becauſe he was conſcious to himſelf that many unjuſtifiable things had been done, and that he had enemies enough to repreſent, and prove them. But he was not ignorant that, tho' ſeveral Governors in other parts of *America*, had been condemn'd by Judges ſent from *Spain*, and carry'd thither priſoners, they were generally acquitted there, notwithſtanding the crimes prov'd againſt them,

them, in their reſpective Governments; which was ſuppos'd to be owing to the riches they had acquir'd, by which they were able to bribe the Council for *Weſt-Indies* affairs; he therefore prepar'd himſelf the beſt way he could. But the men of *Chili*, hearing that *Chriſtopher Vaca de Caſtro*, who was charg'd with the Commiſſion, was arriv'd at *Panama*, began to pluck up their ſpirits; ſo that when the Marquis ſent to *John de Sauvedra*, *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, and *Franciſco de Chaves*, to offer them lands for their maintenance, (tho' he had done all he could to ſtarve them and their Companions before) they anſwer'd in great rage, that they would rather periſh than be oblig'd to him for bread.

A Conſpiracy againſt the Marquis.

The men of *Chili*, who had behav'd with great bravery in the diſcoveries and conqueſt of ſeveral parts of *America*, were ſo hardly us'd in *Lima*, for their conſtant adherence to *Almagro*'s intereſt, that twelve Gentlemen of them ſtaid in one houſe, and had but one cloak amongſt them, ſo that they could only go abroad by one at a time; and were maintain'd by a farm which *De la Preſa* gave them out of compaſſion; but, upon his death, the Marquis took it from them. This cruelty, with other hardſhips, made the *Almagrians*, who were numerous in *Lima*, conſpire the death of the Marquis, but they were reſolv'd, by *Sotelo*'s advice, to defer it till they ſaw the iſſue of *De Caſtro*'s coming, a part of whoſe retinue was already arriv'd. But whether *Pizarro* really deſign'd to make away with the chief men of them, to prevent their proſecuting him, or that their fear that he would do ſo, precipitated their plot, is not certain. However, upon *Sunday* the 26th of *June*, 1541, *San Millan* going, in haſte, to *De Rada*, one of the chiefs of the conſpirators, told him, that he and all his companions were to be hang'd and quarter'd in two hours. *De Rada*, believing this report, which agreed with the apprehenſions they were under, gave the alarm to the reſt, and about nineteen of them, being all deſperate men, went, in arms, thro' the Market-place, crying out, *Let the King live, and Tyrants die.* In this manner, they march'd with all ſpeed to the Governor's houſe, where he was with three or four friends, and ſome ſervants about him, with his gates open, as fearing no danger; but having notice given him, that the *Chili* men were come to the houſe, he bid his Lieutenant-General, *Franciſco de Chaves*, ſhut the great door, which had he done, they might have defended themſelves till other aſſiſtance had come. But he, thinking it was ſome mutiny among the Soldiers, which his preſence would be able to ſuppreſs, inſtead of ſhutting the door, went down to them, asking them what was the matter, to which they anſwering with their daggers, kill'd him upon the ſpot; the Marquis hearing them in the gallery, had not time to put on his armour, but taking his ſword and buckler, defended the door of the dining-room, having only his Brother by his Mother's ſide, and two of his Pages with him; all the reſt of his family having either hid themſelves in the houſe, or elſe leap'd out of the windows into the garden. Thoſe four made a valiant defence for ſome time; but the aſſaſſins, being afraid of ſome aſſiſtance coming to the Marquis, preſs'd into the room, and having kill'd the Brother firſt, then fell upon the Marquis and his Pages, who, after a brave reſiſtance, in which they wounded many of the conſpirators, were kill'd at laſt.

He is murd.r'd.

Thus dy'd the Marquis *Don Franciſco Pizarro* in the 65th year of his age, who, tho' he was ſo illiterate that he could not write his own name, but drew two lines with the pen, between which his Secretary writ, *Franciſco de Pizarro*; yet he was a man of ſtrong natural parts, great abilities both for war and peace, and was endow'd with many qualities which make a great man. And, had not too great ambition and jealouſy of power made a breach between him and his friend *Almagro* (for which, perhaps, *Almagro* was as much to blame as he) and had not the ſame jealouſy, or rather his Brother's hatred ſhed the blood of that unfortunate old man, which his followers reveng'd in as unjuſtifiable a manner; the Marquis would have dy'd with as good a character, as moſt of the Conquerors of the *Weſt-Indies*.

Young Almagro proclaim'd Governor at Lima.

As ſoon as this murder was committed, all the men of *Chili*, to the number of 250 appear'd in arms, and taking young *Almagro*, proclaim'd him Governor of *Peru*, and *New Toledo*; to which the Magiſtracy, ſettled at *Lima* by the Marquis in his life time, durſt not make any oppoſition; ſo that *Almagro* took poſſeſſion of the Governor's houſe, where it is ſaid, were found a million of Pieces of Eight, beſides Jewels, and very valuable Furniture. But that houſe, and *D' Alcantara*'s, the Marquis's Brother, as alſo that of his Secretary *Picado* were plunder'd, and great riches found in them, and *Picado* put to death. Several other diſorders were committed, as might well have been expected from ſuch reformers.

Having oblig'd the City of *Los Reyes*, or *Lima*, to own *Almagro*'s authority, they ſent to all the Colonies, throughout

out the whole Empire, to follow that example; which ſome did, and others refus'd. *Alonzo d'Alvaredo*, who was in the Province of the *Chiachapuca's* to the ſouthward, having receiv'd the Declaration from *Lima*, rejected it, declaring that he would never receive orders from *Almagro* as Governor of *Peru*, unleſs he ſaw the King's Commiſſion for it. The people of *Coſco* made a dubious anſwer, till they ſent Meſſengers to ſome of *Pizarro*'s Captains, who were then in different places making diſcoveries. Among thoſe, *Holguin* had march'd eaſtward, with 100 men, but upon notice given him of this Revolution, he made haſte back to *Coſco*, and took upon him the command, ſetting up the King's ſtandard there, and ſent to the Provinces of *Arequipa* and *Los Charcas*, to ſummon all the Loyaliſts to it, againſt the *Almagrians*. Upon this, about fifty, who were friends of the faction, ſtole ſecretly out of Town, but were purſu'd and brought back.

But rejected by other Cities.

The Royaliſts having intelligence that young *Almagro* was marching towards *Coſco* with 800 men, call'd a council of war, in which it was determin'd to march directly to join *Alonſo d'Alvaredo*, becauſe they were not ſtrong enough to fight the men of *Chili*.

In the mean time, *Vaca di Caſtro* being driven by the ſoutherly winds into the Bay of *Gorgona*, and not having been able, in many days, to weather *S. Francis*'s Point, reſolv'd to travel by land to *Lima*, and was now come as far as *Quitu*, when the news of *Pizarro*'s death arriv'd. Beſides his inſtructions to enquire into the affairs of *Peru*, he had an ample Commiſſion as Governor of that Conqueſt, in caſe the Marquis ſhould die before his arrival, or during his ſtay there. When, therefore, he had intelligence of his having been murder'd, he open'd his Commiſſion at *Quitu*, where all the *Spaniards* ſubmitted to the King's authority, (*Gonzalo Pizarro* being many leagues to the eaſtward in the Province of *Canela*.) Soon after, he had a meſſage from *Alvaredo*, and *Holguin*, declaring their attachment to the King's authority, and their zeal for his ſervice; upon which, tho' he was no Soldier himſelf, he determin'd to levy all the forces he could to maintain his dignity, and to make head againſt the Rebels. He ſent to *Belalcaſar*, who readily came from his new Government of *Popayan* to join him, and he likewiſe invited *Gonzalo Pizarro* from his expedition in *Canela*.

Vaca di Caſtro *arrives with the King's Commiſſion to regulate the affairs of* Peru.

Almagro, having begun his march, there was a great diviſion among his officers what meaſures were beſt to follow. Some propos'd to move northwards and ſeize *Di Caſtro*, before he could be join'd with other forces; but others oppos'd this advice, as being too open an inſult upon the Royal Authority. Another party were for attacking *Holguin* in his march from *Coſco* to join *Alvaredo*, but that was rejected by ſome of the contrary faction; and the ſickneſs of *De Rada* (who had been made General by *Almagro*) retarded the march, till they loſt all opportunities of doing any thing to purpoſe. So that *Di Caſtro* had time to increaſe his forces, and march ſouthward, being recruited at every place where the *Spaniards* had any footing, as he paſs'd; and his authority ſubmitted to in moſt places, which were not frighten'd by the neighbourhood of *Almagro*; and even from his Army, ſeveral Gentlemen deſerted, in favour of the King's Commiſſion, and join'd *Holguin*, or elſe *Di Caſtro*. And in this march *De Reda* dy'd.

Holguin ſent out a party of horſe, who ſurpriz'd ſome of *Almagro*'s people, two of whom he hang'd, and ſent the others back, bidding them tell their new Governor, that he would beat up his quarters in a day or two, as he march'd to *Caxamalca*; but whilſt *Almagro* ſtood upon his guard, after this intelligence, to receive him, *Holguin*, who did not intend to come in his way, march'd a quite different route, in order to join *Alvaredo*, which he did; having ſo far gotten the ſtart of *Almagro*, that he purſu'd him in vain. With their joint forces they march'd, wide of *Coſco*, whither they had intelligence *Almagro* was gone, and arriv'd at *Vaca di Caſtro*'s quarters, as he was marching to *Lima*; and by the addition of their forces, they increas'd his Army to 700. When they came to him, they diveſted themſelves of all command, giving up the Commiſſions they had receiv'd from the deceas'd Marquis, profeſſing that they came, with a deſign to ſerve the King, in any ſtation he ſhould think fit to aſſign them. The Governor receiv'd them with much civility, and granted them the ſame poſts they had before, confirming their former Commiſſions; but to avoid any emulation for the chief command, he declar'd himſelf Captain-General, deſigning to execute it, in his own perſon, tho' he had not been bred in Camps.

He is join'd by Holguin *and* Alvaredo.

Upon *De Reda*'s death, *Almagro* divided the Commiſſion of General of his forces between *Chriſtopher de Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvaredo*. *Sotelo* march'd with a part of the forces to *Coſco*, without any oppoſition, and ſettled in the Magiſtracy ſuch of the *Chili* faction as he

he thought proper, in the room of thoſe who had been left there by *Holguin*. Soon after, *Almagro* arriv'd with the reſt of the Army, where he was receiv'd as Governor of *Peru*, and had a kind meſſage from *Manco* Inca. But his ſplitting the office of General was fatal to him; for, *Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvaredo* differ'd in their orders; and their diſputes proceeded to ſuch a heighth, that npon *Sotelo*'s ordering a Soldier to be hang'd for robbery, *Alvaredo* pick'd a quarrel with him, and kill'd him; which was ſo much reſented by *Almagro*, that the other fearing the effects of his diſpleaſure, reſolv'd to be before-hand with him, and to that intent, invited *Almagro* to an entertainment, with a purpoſe to murder him; but *Almagro* either having intelligence, or apprehending his deſign, feign'd himſelf ſick; and *Garcia* fretting at the diſappointment, went to his houſe to perſuade him to come to the feaſt. *Almagro*, hearing of his coming, placed ſome men in the room next to his bed-chamber, and when he was admitted, and preſs'd him to riſe, *Almagro* conſented, and getting up, call'd for his cloak; at which thoſe in the next room ruſhing in, ſeiz'd *Garcia*; and *Almagro* drawing his ſword, run him thro' the body, the others ſtabbing him to death. When this execution was over, he appointed *Balſa* as his General, and reſolv'd to march againſt the new Governor *De Caſtro*.

Diſſention between Almagro's *Generals.*

Sotelo kill'd.

And his death reveng'd.

Vaca de Caſtro took poſſeſſion of *Guamanga*, about 50 leagues ſouth-weſt of *Coſco*; but hearing that *Almagro* was upon his march towards him, and being willing to ſpare the effuſion of blood, he ſent two meſſengers to him, to deſire him to lay down his arms, and ſubmit to the King's Commiſſion. But whilſt thoſe meſſengers were in *Almagro*'s camp, a *Spaniard* was ſeiz'd, in the diſguiſe of an *Indian*, with Letters from *De Caſtro*, to *Pedro di Candia*, deſiring him to play booty with the artillery; at which *Almagro* was ſo incens'd, that he order'd the ſpy to be hang'd; and, tho' he ſeem'd inclin'd to accept the pardon offer'd, and had condeſcended to give up his pretenſions to the Government of *Peru*, provided that of *New Toledo* was allow'd him, which his Father had, by the King's Commiſſion; yet now he rejected all propoſals, unleſs *De Caſtro* would baniſh out of his Army, *Holguin*, *Alvaredo*, *De la Vega*, *Tordoya*, &c. that is to ſay, all that had been friends to the late Marquis; which was, in effect, to disband his Army.

Offers of peace ſent to Almagro.

Which he refuſes.

All thoughts of accommodation being laid aſide, the two Armies haſted to meet each other, which, at laſt, they did, in the valley of *Chupas*, not far from *Guamanga*. *Almagro* drew up his forces upon a high ground, and placed his artillery ſo as to command the plain below, giving orders to keep that poſt, and to play the cannon upon the enemy as they marched to attack them. But *Caravajal*, Serjeant-Major to *De Caſtro*, obſerving that a direct march muſt expoſe them to the artillery, advis'd to decline, under the cover of a little hill, which would ſhelter them a good part of the way; which was put in practice. And when that fail'd them, and they were in view of the battery, the cannon began to be fir'd, but not a man fell, the balls flying over their heads; which *Almagro* taking notice of, rode up to *Pedro di Candia*, and calling him Traitor, run his ſpear thro' his body; and alighting, got upon the mouth of one of the guns, low'ring the piece with his weight, and then made them fire it; which was the firſt ſhot that bore upon the enemy, and did any execution, for it took off ſeventeen men. But, by this time, the Governor's Army was ſo near, that *Almagro*'s people, impatient to engage, preſs'd to begin the attack, ſo that he advanced with his ſquadron, between the enemy and his own cannon, upon which *Suarez*, his Serjeant-Major, coming up to him, told him aloud, "That "if he had ſtaid in his poſt, as he had "adviſ'd him, he would have given him "a compleat victory; but ſince he had "put it out of his power, by other peo-"ple's advice, he would not be partner "in his defeat." And ſo went over to the Governor's ſide, encouraging them to attack the *Almagrians*, who were in confuſion by contrary orders.

The battle of Chupas.

The Battle being begun on all ſides, was fought with great bravery for ſome time. *Holguin* was kill'd with a muſquet bullet; *Tordoya* receiv'd three ſhots, of which he dy'd in two days. The fight continu'd four hours, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, and ſuch was the valour of young *Almagro*, that *Alonzo de Alvaredo* was like to be overpower'd by him; which *De Caſtro* (who had, by the repeated Inſtances of his Army, kept, with thirty horſe, in the rear) perceiving, he charg'd *Almagro* with ſuch reſolution, with that freſh party, that he chang'd the face of affairs, and gave courage to his own people, and deſpair to the enemy. *Almagro* being no longer able to make head againſt *De Caſtro*, many of his people being fled, and many ſlain; after he had done all that could be expected from a valiant man, retir'd, with only ſix in his company, and not finding any remains of his Army, after the Battle, he took the

road to *Cosco* with these few; where being arriv'd, he and his companions were made prisoners by the very Magistrates, which he himself had made, who being inform'd of the defeat at *Chupas*, seiz'd him, to engratiate themselves with the new Governor, whom they expected there in a few days.

Almagro defeated, and afterwards taken at Cosco.

This Battle was fought on the 16th of *September*, 1542. In it were kill'd, in all 500 *Spaniards*, 300 of whom were on the side of the Royalists; a great number of them were Officers, whose names (tho' it might be proper to reckon up by *Spanish* Historians, to keep up their memories in that Country) we have designedly omitted, as being of no consequence to an *English* Reader; so that we have only mention'd such as were necessary, to illustrate such parts of the Narration, as could not be well understood without it. Many of the *Almagrians* were taken prisoners, and such of them as had been guilty of the murder of the Marquis *Pizarro*, were afterwards condemn'd and executed. A great number were wounded on both sides; and not a few dy'd of cold, having been strip'd by the *Indians* in the night.

De Castro, who had carefully observ'd what pass'd in the Battle, commended the bravery of his own Officers and Soldiers, and did not at all derogate from the valour of the enemy's side; speaking in praise of *Almagro*, with a generous encomium. And having given necessary orders for the taking care of the wounded, and the burial of the dead; being inform'd that *Almagro* was confin'd at *Cosco*, he march'd thither, where he was receiv'd in great triumph. He went to visit *Almagro* in prison, and expostulated with him concerning his Rebellion; to which he answer'd, that he had no intention to rebel, but had acted agreeably to the King's Commission granted to his Father. However, all *De Castro*'s Council being profess'd enemies to the men of *Chili*, they persuaded him to put him to death; in compliance with whom, he appointed Judges, who upon an indictment of High-Treason, condemn'd him, and he was executed at *Cosco* in the beginning of the year 1543.

De Castro marches thither.

And puts Almagro to death.

During these transactions, *Gonzalo Pizarro* had suffer'd intolerable hardships in the rugged Province of *Canela*, (so call'd, by the *Spaniards*, from the Cinamon found in some parts of it.) But whether *De Castro*'s message had reach'd him, or that the ill success of his Expedition (in which he had lost two thirds of his men with cold and hunger) oblig'd him to return to *Quitu*, a little before the Battle of *Chupas* happen'd, is not certain. When he came to that City, (which had been assign'd him by the Marquis, as a part of his division) and had been fully instructed in the manner of his Brother's death; and of the Commission granted to *De Castro*, who had been own'd almost every where as Governor of *Peru*, he sent a message to the new Governor, owning his authority, and offering his assistance against *Almagro*, which *De la Vega* says, the Governor *De Castro* receiv'd kindly, and desir'd him to stay at *Quitu* to repose himself after the great fatigue he heard he had undergone; and that in compliance with this order, he staid in that City to the end of the war. But *Herrera* (who seems all along to have been an enemy to the *Pizarro* family, for what reason I don't know) asserts, that he march'd from *Quitu* to *Lima*, and there asserted his own right, and that *De Castro* and he conspir'd each others death. But indeed this seems to be ill founded; for, even as he tells the story, *Gonzalo* did not do any one act of hostility against *De Castro*; and when he was order'd to go from *Lima* to *Cosco*, he went without any hesitation, with a number much inferior to what the Governor had; which he surely would not have done, had he conspir'd against him, and been the fool to tell it; nor is it likely, that *De Castro* would have suffer'd him to have left *Cosco* with an armed force towards *Los Carcas*, had he apprehended any mischief from him. However this be, they both agree that *Gonzalo Pizarro* liv'd peaceably either at *Quitu* in the north, or at *Los Carcas* in the south parts of *Peru*, during the administration of *De Castro*; and it is true that he went soon after to *Los Carcas*.

Vega, P. 2. B. 3. Ch. 15.

Herrera, Dec. 4. B. 8. C. 3.

De Castro, having now rooted out the faction of the *Almagro's*, and the memory of the men of *Chili*, and quieted all the disturbances rais'd in revenge of the death either of *Almagro* or *Pizarro*, employ'd his time in settling the Government both in Church and State. He took special care to send Missionaries thro' the whole Country (there being now several Priests who had learn'd the *Indian* language, and *Indians* who understood *Spanish*) to convert the Natives, in which they had the better success, by putting them in mind, that their Inca *Guayanacapa* had declar'd, upon his death-bed, that the Law of the bearded men, was infinitely preferable to their own. He took great pains upon *Paullu* the Inca *Manco*'s Brother, who had stuck close to the *Spaniards*, and was a man of Sense. He receiv'd Baptism by the name

De Castro's good Government.

name of *Chriſtopher*. This Governor likewiſe ſettled the diſtricts of the ſeveral Biſhopricks, having authority both from the Emperor and Pope, for that purpoſe, and having Biſhops, and other Church men, to conſult with upon that ſubject.

Nor was he wanting in regulating the political Government; for, like a wiſe and good man, he conſulted the intereſt both of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, conſidering theſe laſt as ſubjects of *Spain*, and therefore not to be oppreſs'd more than the others. He convers'd frequently with the Natives, and particularly with Inca *Paullu*, from whom he inform'd himſelf of the beſt Laws and Regulations made, of old, by their wiſeſt Inca's; and as he found ſeveral of them very good, he conform'd his to them, as far as regarded Juſtice and Property, with reſpect to the Natives. And he took care to redreſs their grievances, in contracts and bargains, and made both their Countrymen, and the *Spaniards*, do them Juſtice as far as was conſiſtent with the Conqueſt of their Country. Nor would he ſuffer the *Spaniards* to oblige them to change their native air, to one leſs healthful, nor to uſe them as ſlaves, becauſe they were ſervants; ſo that in a ſhort time, the *Indians* came to forget that they had loſt their Country, and became very eaſy, under the Government of *De Caſtro*. And ſure it had been the wiſdom of *Spain* to have always had ſuch Governors in *America*; becauſe they would have had three times more ſubjects there, by mildneſs and juſtice, than they had, by the cruel and inhuman uſage which thoſe poor creatures often met with.

The greateſt trouble he met with was, to pleaſe the *Spaniards*, who thought they had every one deſerv'd all *Peru*, for their ſervices, eſpecially in joining the King's Standard, in the laſt civil war. However, he divided the Lands with as even a hand as he could; and when he could not ſatisfy their demands and extravagant claims, he gave them Commiſſions to make new diſcoveries, and plant new Colonies, where they had been before, or in other parts as they thought moſt proper, as the Marquis *Pizarro* had done before him. An expedient which rid him of the importunities of many unreaſonable people; and the expectation of Mountains of Gold, made thoſe Adventurers eaſier than a greater tract of ground than ever any of their anceſtors had been maſters of, would have done. Thus he ſent *Pedro de Vergara* back to the *Pacamoros*, to the eaſtward of the northern part of *Peru*, from whence he had come, upon notice given him of the death of the Marquis *Pizarro*. *Diego de Rojas*, *Nicolas de Eredia*, and *Philip Gutierrez*, went to the Province of *Muſſu*, or *Moxos*, which is likewiſe eaſtward of *Peru*. And *Monroy* march'd to *Chili* to reinforce *Valdivia*. Others went to other places, where they had various ſucceſs; but the civil broils, often brought them together; where they eſpous'd ſometimes one cauſe, ſometimes another, as their intereſt or inclinations led them.

All things being now quietly ſettled at *Peru*, *De Caſtro* govern'd that Empire for about a year and a half, with great moderation, and to the ſatisfaction both of the *Spaniards*, and Natives. But in the year 1544, a new Scene open'd, which put the whole Empire in a combuſtion, and engag'd the *Spaniards* in a new Civil War, and a Rebellion of worſe conſequence than the former; the occaſion of which was this:

A certain Friar *Bartholomeo de las Caſas*, having been ſome time in *Mexico*, return'd to *Spain* about the year 1539. And, upon pretence of Zeal for the Propagation of Religion, propos'd a new Scheme for the Government of the *Weſt-Indies*; which was rejected by the Council for *American* Affairs, of which the Cardinal *de Loyaſa* was Preſident. However, in the year 1542, the Friar found means to be introduced to the Emperor, lately come from *Germany* into *Spain*, and having blended his new Conſtitutions, with ſome ſpecious Articles with reſpect to Religion, and ſome good Laws concerning the mild uſage towards the *Indians*; the Emperor, having join'd ſeveral others to the Council, had this Scheme debated; and tho' they who were beſt acquainted with the *Weſt-Indies* were againſt the Regulations propos'd, the Scheme was approv'd by the majority of the Council, and confirm'd by the Emperor at *Barcelona* on the 20th of *November*, 1542. Theſe Regulations conſiſted of 44 Articles, of which our Author only mentions four, as the ground of the future troubles. Vega, *P.* 2. *B.* 3. *Ch.* 20.

New laws made for the Weſt-Indies.

1. That after the death of the Conquerors, or the poſſeſſors of Plantations, all the Lands, ſo poſſeſs'd, or Cities built by any Commander, ſhould fall to the King; the Children and Widows of the ſaid Conquerors, Poſſeſſors, or Founders, having no property in them, but to have ſuch a ſhare of the Fruits of them, as the King ſhould think fit to appoint, for their maintenance.

2. That no *Indian* ſhould be tax'd, or oblig'd to pay any Tribute, in any Province where they paid perſonal ſervice; nor ſhould any of them be forced to work in the Mines, or to fiſh for Pearls; and

And where they paid corporal ſervice, they ſhould be capable of redeeming it, by a Tax upon their Goods.

3. That all *Biſhops*, *Monaſteries*, and *Hoſpitals*, ſhould give up, to the King, all the Right and Title they had to Lands, or Plantations, cultivated by *Indians*; and that all *Governors*, *Preſidents*, *Judges*, and their *Deputies*, as likewiſe all *Officers* of the King's *Revenue*, ſhould diſclaim all Right to ſuch Plantations, and that none of the King's Officers whatſoever ſhould be capable of keeping *Indian* Slaves, tho' they ſhould quit their Poſts to qualify themſelves for doing ſo.

4. That all ſuch as had Lands in *Peru*, and had been concern'd in the late diſturbances between *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, ſhould forfeit all their Power and dominion over the *Indians*; which diſabled all the *Spaniards* at once from having any Service from the Natives, there not being one *Spaniard*, in that part of the Continent, but what was engag'd, on the one ſide or the other.

The firſt of theſe Conſtitutions was contrary to the Grant already given by the Emperor, to all who ſhould venture their Lives in that Service; for they were not only to hold what ſhould be allotted them by the Governor, for the time being, during their own Lives; but their eldeſt Sons, or Daughters, and if they had no Child, their Widows were to poſſeſs the ſame during their Lives.

Tho' the ſecond ſeem'd, and perhaps was intended, for the eaſe of the Natives; yet it really was an injury to them; becauſe, if it took place, they could have no opportunity of working for their Bread, after their Land was taken from them. And had no *Indians* been employ'd in the Mines, *Spain* would have had a ſmall ſhare of the Riches of *Peru*. It would have been a thing worthy of the Emperor, to have reſtrain'd the uſing them ill, or making them Slaves; but to exempt them from ſervice was ill-judg'd, ſince it was their conſtant practice under their own Inca's.

As to the third, I wonder more at its paſſing, than I blame the rigour of it, tho' it ſeems to have made thoſe Lands uſeleſs to the Poſſeſſors, ſince it muſt be ſuppos'd, that, without people to cultivate it, Land is of no ſervice to the Proprietors.

When theſe new Laws were enacted, Copies of them were ſent to all the parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, where there were *Spaniſh* Colonies; and gave a general diſguſt. And when *Don Franciſco Tello* was ſent to put them in execution at *Mexico*, (for all, except the fourth Article mention'd, took place every where) the *Spaniſh* Poſſeſſors there, oppos'd them to a man, and the Superintendant, being a man of ſenſe, and temper, ſuſpended the execution of them in moſt of the hard Articles, becauſe he ſaw the inconvenience of them; and having repreſented to the Emperor, the ill conſequences of purſuing thoſe meaſures, he got them ſuperſeded, (at leaſt the moſt grievous of them) with regard to *Mexico*; and having quieted the minds of the ſubjects, he return'd to *Spain*.

Blaſco Nunez ſent Vice-Roy to Peru.

But that affair was carry'd after another manner in *Peru*. For *Blaſco Nunez* being ſent Vice-King to *Peru*, arriv'd at *Nombre de Dios* in *January* 1544, and, croſſing the ſhort neck of Land, came to *Panama*, where finding many *Indians*, brought from *Peru*, by *Spaniards* then reſiding at *Panama*, he diſcharg'd them all, even againſt their own wills, and order'd them to be ſent home. And when many expoſtulated the caſe with him, and told him, it would be an injury both to GOD and the King; becauſe, many of thoſe *Indians*, having embraced Chriſtianity, would be under a temptation of returning to their former Idolatry, by leaving their Maſters, beſides that their ſervice was neceſſary to procure Treaſure for the King; he made them no other anſwer, but that ſuch was his Majeſty's pleaſure, from which he was reſolv'd not to depart in a tittle; and he caus'd 300 *Indians* to be embark'd contrary to their inclinations, who periſh'd with famine and other hardſhips, without being able to reach their own Provinces. But *Nunez* talk'd ſo haughtily, and with ſuch indecent warmth upon that ſubject, that few people at *Panama* car'd to take the liberty to ſpeak to him of it; only *Carate* the Governor, finding that he reſolv'd to leave the Judges, (ſent with him from *Spain*, to aſſiſt him in the Government of *Peru*) repreſented to him, with much freedom, but very civilly, the danger of putting the new Laws in execution, in a Country ſcarce quieted after a ſharp Civil War; and therefore adviſ'd him, rather to ſuſpend the matter, till he had new inſtructions from the King, or until he had fix'd himſelf in the Government, and ſeen the true intereſt of the Country. But he reply'd, with great heat, that he would execute the King's Orders, without any delay, and he would let the Judges ſee, that he had no need of their aſſiſtance.

He arrives at Tumbez.

With this intention, he left *Panama*, with only his own family, and landed at *Tumbez* the 4th of *May*, and taking his journey by land, he publiſh'd his new Orders wherever he came; laying a Tax upon ſome, according to the number

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ber of *Indians* they kept, and taking them away from others. He likewiſe diſpatch'd expreſſes to *Lima* and *Coſco*, to let them know, that, as he was arriv'd in the Country, *Vaca di Caſtro*'s Commiſſion was void. *Di Caſtro*, having intelligence of his approach, went to *Lima*, where he determin'd to wait his coming, and to ſubmit intirely to the King's orders without murmuring.

In the mean time, the *Spaniards* of the Country, who had both from *Spain*, and *Panama*, receiv'd Copies of the new Laws, which (if put in execution) depriv'd them of all benefit of their Fatigue and Blood, employ'd in the Conqueſt of *Peru*, hated the new Vice-Roy before they ſaw him; and finding, by his behaviour in the places he paſs'd thro', ſuch as *Tumbez*, *S. Michael*, and *Truxillo* (from all which they had advices ſent them) that he put the new Laws in execution, without liſt'ning to any remonſtrance made againſt them; and hearing, from all quarters, that he was a man of an inexorable nature, they ſent meſſengers to *Coſco* and *Lima*, to deſire them to enter into ſome concert, to ſtop the execution of the Laws, and to provide againſt the impending Storm. The Colony at *Coſco* apply'd to *Di Caſtro*, before he left them, declaring that, if he would ſtand by them, they would ſupport his Commiſſion, and refuſe admittance to the new Vice-Roy; but finding him reſolv'd to obey the King's orders, and that he poſitively refus'd to engage in any meaſures againſt *Nunez*; after the principal Citizens had convey'd him a part of his way to *Lima*, they took leave of him, and return'd to *Coſco* to put themſelves upon ſome footing, whereby they might enjoy the fruits of their labours.

When *Di Caſtro* arriv'd at *Lima*, he was receiv'd with loud acclamations; but the new Vice-Roy being not far from the City, the old Governor ſent his Secretary, and Major *Domo*, to compliment him, in his Name, and by Letter aſſur'd him of his readineſs to obey his Majeſty's commands, and to ſhew all regard to his Lordſhip's Commiſſion. *Nunez* receiv'd them civilly, and ſoon diſpatch'd them, with his Compliments to their Maſter. But, at their return, they gave ſuch accounts of the ſeverity of the Vice-Roy's temper, that the Colony at *Lima* were like to mutiny, and talk'd openly of ſhutting the gates againſt the Vice-Roy: but others, of more moderate tempers, diſſuaded them from violent reſolutions, and prevail'd with them to receive him in an honourable manner.

Upon *Nunez*'s arrival, he was met by *Vaca di Caſtro*, and the principal inhabitants of *Lima*, about three leagues from the City; and by the Magiſtrates, near the Town, where *Suarez*, Commiſſary of the King's Revenue, in the Name of the Corporation, tender'd an Oath to him, obliging him to maintain all the privileges and immunities, granted by his Majeſty to the Conquerors, and *Spaniſh* inhabitants of *Peru*; and that he would hear their Reaſons, and receive their Petitions, in the Courts of Juſtice, againſt the new Regulations. The Vice-Roy would only ſwear, in general terms, to do every thing that was for the King's ſervice, and the good of the Country. This indefinite Oath troubled the *Peruvian Spaniards* very ſenſibly. However, the Vice-Roy was conducted to the Cathedral in great ſtate, and after paying his Devotions there, to the late Marquis *Pizarro*'s Houſe, where he and his Family were accommodated.

And comes to Los Reyes.

And here our two Authors, *De la Vega*, and *Herrera*, differ ſo widely in their accounts of what paſs'd, during the adminiſtration of *Nunez*, that it is impoſſible to reconcile them; but tho' I by no means approve of Rebellion in any ſhape, or upon any pretence, and conſequently blame *Gonzalo Pizarro* for carrying things farther than he ought to have done, I cannot but do this juſtice to *La Vega*, as to inform the Reader, as it appears to me, that he was, in all appearance, leſs biaſs'd by perſonal prejudice that the other Author. For, thro' the whole Hiſtory of the affairs of *Peru*, *Herrera* ſhews himſelf a mortal enemy to the whole *Pizarro* Family; and talks of all the Brothers, in the moſt indecent, virulent terms. Whereas *De la Vega*, ſpeaks favourably of them, and yet does not juſtify them, in any bad action; for he blames both the Marquis, *Don Franciſco*, and the other Brothers, for their behaviour to *Almagro*, when they had him in their power; and he owns that *Gonzalo* made a bad uſe of the power given him, and that he was a Rebel, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. I do not ſay, that this Author has no biaſs; but, as far as I can judge, it is the moſt excuſable one that can be, *viz.* his affection to his Country. Taking, therefore, things in this light, it will not be thought ſtrange if I am more inclin'd to follow *La Vega*, than the other; eſpecially when it is conſider'd that he was a Native of *Coſco*; and born ſome years before *Nunez* arriv'd in *Peru*: and, tho' he was too young to know the tranſactions of the enſuing war, when they happen'd; yet he was acquainted with ſo many of the principal actors, of both ſides, that I can not but think he had

the beſt opportunity of coming at the Truth; and I believe he has given it faithfully, in the moſt material things, where he was not led aſide by Authors who writ before him, in matters which he had no opportunity of learning from the actors themſelves. But I ſhall not follow him implicitly neither, nor take his accounts upon truſt, where his biaſs appears. To return then to our purpoſe.

The Vice-Roy being reſolv'd to execute the new Regulations, in the very Letter of them, ſo diſguſted all the *Spaniards* of *Peru*, that all Authors are agreed, that he ſoon incur'd the univerſal hatred of the whole *Spaniſh* Inhabitants; and, in a ſhort time, they began to cabal againſt him, not only in the diſtant Cities and Colonies, but in the very Town of *Lima*, where he reſided. And what encourag'd them the more to it, was, that the Judges, (ſent with him from *Spain*, as his Counſellors and Aſſiſtants) being now arriv'd at *Lima*, and ſeeing the inconveniencies of the new Laws, and judging of the ill conſequences of putting them in execution, endeavour'd to perſuade him to ſuſpend them, until he ſhould hear from *Spain*; telling him plainly, that if the Emperor had been appriz'd of the true ſtate of the Country, he would not have given him ſuch a Commiſſion. But *Nunez*, who appears to have been of a ſtiff poſitive temper, and perhaps out of a miſtaken principle of Loyalty, would obey the King's orders, to his Majeſty's prejudice; *which a Miniſter ought never to do, without having firſt repreſented things in a true Light to his Maſter*; fell into a paſſion with the Judges, reproaching them with want of Loyalty, or, at leaſt, of Zeal for his Majeſty's Service; declaring that he would, with vigour, execute his orders to the very ſmalleſt point: which, tho' the Judges, for ſome time, diſſembled their reſentment, created ſuch a miſunderſtanding between them, as ſoon became viſible to the whole City of *Lima*, and was very acceptable news to the whole Empire.

A miſunderſtanding between the Vice Roy and his Judges.

But, tho' the *Spaniards* hated the Vice-Roy, upon account of the new Laws, and his obſtinacy in rejecting all ſolicitations for ſuſpending them; *Manco* Inca, who, for a long time, had liv'd retir'd in the Mountains, and ſeem'd to have given over thoughts of Empire, being inform'd of this miſunderſtanding, between the new Vice-Roy and the Proprietors, thought it a lucky juncture for him, to recover his Right, at leaſt to a part of his Dominions. He therefore, being prompted by *Mendez*, and *Perez*, who, with ſix other *Spaniards*, had taken ſhelter with him, to skreen them from the juſtice of *Di Caſtro*, writ a Letter to *Nunez*, offering his Service to the King of *Spain*, by joining with his Vice-Roy; the *Spaniards* writing, at the ſame time, to deſire a pardon for what was paſt, and promiſing to promote his intereſt with the Inca. *Perez* was charg'd with this Embaſſy, having a ſufficient number of *Indians* for an eſcorte. The Vice-Roy receiv'd the Letters with pleaſure, granted all that the *Spaniards* deſir'd, and ſent a civil meſſage, full of reſpect to the Inca; with which *Perez* came back to the Mountains, and was receiv'd with joy both by his Companions, and the *Indians*. *Manco* gave immediate orders to levy forces; but, poor Gentleman! his unlucky Fate, occaſion'd by the brutality of this very *Perez*, diſappointed his expectation.

He had kindly entertain'd theſe eight *Spaniards*, for many months, and, being inſtructed by them, had got a Bowling-Green made, where he frequently play'd with them; but *Perez* had ſeveral diſputes with him, about their caſts, wherein he treated the Inca with little reſpect. After his return from *Lima* he grew more inſolent; and, one day, playing at Bowls with him, he us'd the Inca in ſo rude a way, that *Manco* loſing his temper, punch'd him on the Breaſt, bidding him remember whom he ſpoke to; at which the Ruffian threw the Bowl at his head, and kill'd him with the blow. This ſo juſtly enrag'd the *Indians*, that they kill'd them every man. This unfortunate accident made the *Indians* diſperſe, thinking now all the *Spaniards* equally their enemies; ſo that they reſolv'd to retire till the *Spaniards* ſhould deſtroy one another, that they might have an opportunity of killing the laſt; and ſo rid their Country of a People who had done ſo much miſchief in it.

The unfortunate death of Manco Inca.

In the mean time, the Vice-Roy, going on in the vigorous execution of the new Laws, ſtill increas'd the Diſcontents of the *Spaniards*; who finding that there was no redreſs to be expected from him, by any particular applications, notwithſtanding all that the Judges could do; they reſolv'd to join in a general Petition of the moſt conſiderable Cities, and Colonies, in the ſouth part of *Peru*. In order to this, the Magiſtrates of *Coſco* ſent Letters to *Guamanga*, *Arequipa*, and *Caquiſaca*, all in the ſouth of *Peru*, to repair to *Coſco*, by their Deputies, to conſider of the common ſafety; and after ſeveral debates, and different opinions, it was agreed to ſend for *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who was now in the Province of *Los Charcas* ſouth of *Coſco*, where his

Several Cities join, and ſend for Gonzalo Pizarro.

Brother

Brother *Fernando* and he had both Plantations, intending to make him their Solicitor to the Vice-Roy. *Gonzalo* having receiv'd their Letters, ſet out, with only ten or twelve friends, and made what haſte he could to *Coſco*; having firſt provided what Money he could, out of his own and his Brother's Plantations.

When he arriv'd at *Coſco*, they talk'd over the Grievances, which, to be ſure, he did not endeavour to leſſen, being ſecretly vex'd to ſee the Government of that rich Country torn out of his hands, firſt by *Di Caſtro*, and now by *Nunez*. However, he conceal'd his private deſigns, only he told them, that he hop'd they would not expect of him, that he ſhould throw himſelf into the Vice-Roy's power, who had given out that he had the Emperor's orders to cut off his head. If therefore they would have any thing done to purpoſe, they muſt raiſe ſuch a force as was ſufficient to guard his perſon, both againſt the *Indians* under Inca *Manco* (who at this time was alive, and raiſing forces) and likewiſe againſt any inſults he might meet with at *Lima*. This bore a long debate, there being many, who, tho' they were willing to petition, were averſe to any thing that had the face of Rebellion; but *Pizarro* cunningly work'd up the tempers of the moſt firy, and got ſome of his creatures underhand, to ſhew the neceſſity of arms, not to oppoſe the King's Authority, but to keep themſelves from having their Throats cut, or their Eſtates confiſcated by a Tyrant, who being in the *Almagrian* Intereſt, would, without the Emperor's knowledge, oppreſs all ſuch as had any intereſt in the *Pizarro* family.

He is made Procurator General for ſome Cities.

By theſe Artifices, he brought them to ſign a joint Commiſſion, from the Deputies of the Cities above-nam'd, to make him their Procurator-General, with a power to liſt men, for the ſafeguard of his perſon, againſt the *Indians* on the road. Having obtain'd this, he ſoon levy'd about 400 men, and writ very endearing Letters to other Towns, and private Plantations, inviting all the *Spaniards* to join him, for the ſafety of their Lives and Eſtates, againſt the tyranny of *Nunez*, who acted againſt the Emperor's orders, in ſhewing no regard to the advice of the Judges, in concert with whom he had been commanded to act. This bait took with a great many, ſo that *Pizarro*'s forces increas'd every day.

He raiſes forces and declares himſelf Governor.

Having thus got himſelf at the head of above 500 men, horſe and foot, he threw off the mask, and proclaim'd himſelf the Emperor's Governor of *Peru*; alledging, that it was not in his Majeſty's power to recall the Grant he had once beſtow'd upon the firſt Conquerors, which was, that every one was to enjoy the Lands aſſign'd to him for two Lives, and that the Marquis *Pizarro* was to be Governor for his life, and to leave it to his heir, for his. This plain declaration made many, who had ſign'd his Commiſſion, repent of what they had done. But it was now out of their power to diſpoſſeſs him of his authority; yet he ſtill pretended to continue upon the defenſive, and that his deſign was only to petition, and if that did not ſucceed, to keep himſelf and his conſtituents out of *Nunez*'s hands, until they might have time to ſend to the Emperor, and if that fail'd of the wiſh'd effect, he declar'd he would then ſubmit to his Majeſty's pleaſure.

Di Caſtro impriſon'd by the Vice-Roy.

When the account of the proceedings at *Coſco* was brought to *Lima*, the Vice-Roy, knowing that he was little belov'd there, caus'd ſeveral perſons, whom he ſuſpected (and among them *Vaca di Caſtro*, the late Governor) to be ſeiz'd, under pretence of intelligence with the Rebels, (for ſuch indeed *Pizarro* was now become) and ſent them aboard ſome ſhips, in the port of *Lima*. He likewiſe gave orders to augment his forces, and gave the command of them to his Brother *Vela*; providing them with all ſorts of arms; and even melting down the Church Bells to make Guns of. His Army conſiſted of 600, about 150 of which were horſe.

Forty Gentlemen of Coſco deſert Pizarro.

In the mean time, about forty of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of *Coſco*, who did not approve of this ſeditious and treaſonable manner of petitioning with Pike and Gun, deſerted *Pizarro*, who was now encamp'd not far from the City; and going home, prepar'd every thing neceſſary for an expedition to *Arequipa*, where two ſhips lay, which *Gonzalo* had bought to carry Ammunition and Proviſions to *Lima*, when he ſhould be poſſeſs'd of it. Thoſe ſhips they deſign'd to have ſeiz'd, and carry'd to the Vice-Roy; and accordingly perform'd the journey; but when they came to the place, they found that they had been prevented by *Serena* and *Carceres*, two Citizens of *Arequipa*, who had perform'd what they deſign'd, and, by bribing the Seamen, had ſail'd to *Lima*, and were graciouſly receiv'd by the Vice-Roy. This diſappointment broke all their meaſures; for there was no hazarding the going by land, becauſe *Pizarro* had guarded all the paſſes leading to *Lima*; that they were oblig'd to ſtay there forty days, to build a Boat to tranſport them to *Lima*; but that delay loſt the whole affair. For, had they gone by land (as they

they were oblig'd to do after all, becauſe their Boat ſunk as ſoon as launch'd) they had arriv'd time enough to have given reputation to *Nunez*'s party, and in all probability, they might have occaſion'd a general deſertion in *Pizarro*'s.

Pizarro having muſter'd his forces, and added to them 20,000 *Indians*, of which 12,000 were employ'd in drawing twenty pieces of cannon, which had been taken from *Guamanga*, where *Di Caſtro* had left them, began his march towards *Lima*. But the revolt of the forty Gentlemen gave him much trouble, tho' it was ſoon made up by a double deſertion from the Vice-Roy's ſide to his. For, *Pedro di Puelles*, Deputy Governor of *Guanuco* (a Colony in 10 deg. ſ. lat.) having his Commiſſion renew'd by *Nunez*, was ſent for, by him, to come to his aſſiſtance, againſt *Gonzalo*. But *Puelles*, being join'd by ſome other Colonies near him, repreſented to his friends the Slavery they muſt be under, if the Vice-Roy ſhould get the better of *Gonzalo*; ſo that they all agreed to march and join the Rebels, inſtead of going to *Lima*. This reſolution of theirs being diſcover'd to *Nunez*, he ſent a party, under the command of his Brother, to intercept them; but that party miſſing of them, follow'd their example, and march'd to join *Gonzalo*, their leader hardly eſcaping, with a few friends, back to *Lima*.

Pedro di Puelles revolts from the Vice-Roy.

But ſo uncertain were people's minds, and ſo divided between Loyalty and Intereſt (*ſo ill it is judg'd to drive things to extremities*) that whilſt ſome recruits were upon their march to join *Gonzalo Pizarro*, others were contriving how to get from him to *Lima*. One of the chief of thoſe was *Gaſpar Rodrignez*, or as ſome call him *De Rojas*; but he having been the perſon employ'd in taking the cannon from *Guamanga*, he would not truſt himſelf with the Vice-Roy, unleſs he firſt ſign'd a pardon for that offence; which he did; but being elevated with the thoughts of *Gaſpar*'s declaring for him, he imprudently publiſh'd it in *Lima*, from whence it was immediately tranſmitted to *Pizarro*; with the pardon ſign'd, which they had taken from the Prieſt, to whom it had been deliver'd. *Gonzalo*, upon this diſcovery, adviſ'd with ſome of his friends; and ſending for *Gaſpar*, by their advice, (under pretence of communicating ſome diſpatches arriv'd from *Lima*) as ſoon as he came to him, he was ſeiz'd and beheaded, with ſome others concern'd in the Plot.

And De Rojas *thinking to revolt from* Pizarro, *is diſcover'd and kill'd.*

To compenſate this loſs, *Nunez* taking umbrage at ſome intercepted letters writ in cypher, from *Benito de Carvajal*, to his Brother, the Agent *Illan Suarez*, who was then at *Lima*, ſent for him, and commanded him to decypher the Letters, which he did without heſitation, and producing the key, made it appear, that thoſe Letters were an account of the miſunderſtandings in *Pizarro*'s Camp, and his own deſign of taking the firſt opportunity of coming to join the Vice-Roy; yet *Nunez* ſtill ſuſpected him, tho' without reaſon, and ſoon after, ſome relations of *Suarez*'s quitting *Lima* in the night, the Vice-Roy ſent for *Suarez*, and calling him *Villain* and *Traitor*, had him murder'd in his preſence. This ſtep, ſo arbitrary, and ſo unjuſt, he often repented of afterwards, and reproach'd his Brother for having brought *Suarez* to him, when he ſaw him in a paſſion; and indeed he had good reaſon to be ſorry for it, becauſe it was made a ground for his confinement very ſoon after.

The Vice-Roy murders Suarez.

Gonzalo Pizarro, being encourag'd by the arrival of *Puelles*, proceeded in his march to *Lima*; upon the report of which, the Vice-Roy, finding that he was not in a condition to fight him, and being unwilling to ſtand a Siege, determin'd to ſend the Citizen's Wives by Sea to *Truxillo*, and to march himſelf by Land, with ſuch forces as he had. This reſolution he communicated to the Judges, who boldly oppos'd it, and, by intelligence with the Inhabitants, ſeiz'd the perſon of the Vice-Roy, and, under colour of freeing him from the danger of falling into *Pizarro*'s hands, ſent him on board a ſhip, giving *De Robles* a warrant under their hands for ſeizing and detaining him, as being neceſſary for the King's ſervice.

And is confin'd himſelf by order of the Judges.

This proceeding of the Judges brought all things into confuſion at *Lima*, ſome ſetting up for *Nunez*, and others for the Judges; but indeed, the Judges were in the right to ſend him aboard, for otherwiſe he had been murder'd by *Suarez*'s friends; his Brother being arriv'd, as he had promis'd in the cypher Letters, and was ſo much incens'd for his murder, that he was reſolv'd to revenge it: whilſt, on the other hand, a conſiderable number conſpir'd to kill the Judges, and releaſe the Vice-Roy; but being diſcover'd, one of the chief of them had his hand cut off, by their ſentence, and the reſt were impriſon'd for ſome time.

In the mean time, *Alvarez*, one of the Judges, was deputed to carry the Vice-Roy to *Spain*, and the whole proceedings, during his adminiſtration, were prepar'd to be ſent along with him; but he going on board, chang'd ſides; for, tho' he had been one of the greateſt promoters of the confinement of *Nunez*, he now beg'd his pardon, promiſing to do whatever

whatever he desired; and to make good that promise, at his desire, he set sail for *Truxillo*, without waiting for the dispatches. This shock'd the judges, and made them apprehend the consequences of it. But hearing that *Pizarro* was upon his march, they sent a deputation to him, requiring him to lay down his arms, and to come peaceably to *Lima*, because all that he had given out, as the reason of his having first taken them up, was now perform'd; for they declared the new laws suspended, till farther orders from the King; which being done, and the Vice Roy sent out of the country, to be judg'd in *Spain*, there was nothing left for *Gonzalo* to do by force. In answer to this message *Gonzalo* insisted that the judges should declare him Governor of *Peru*, and to give him the investiture of it by their authority. They hesitated some time before they came into these proposals; but, upon his taking possession of *Lima*, and hanging two or three persons, in *Terrorem*, the judges got the whole inhabitants to join with them in declaring the government of *Peru* vested in *Gonzalo Pizarro*, till the Emperor's further orders.

Gonzalo *marches to* Lima.

Gonzalo Pizarro *declar'd Governor of* Peru at Lima.

Thus was *Gonzalo* in full possession of the administration, and wisely left the courts of justice to the judges, keeping the army under his own direction: but some irregularities were committed and some considerable persons were put to death, which *Pizarro* charged upon *Carvajal*, altho' it is to be suppos'd he, at least, conniv'd at, since he did not punish him.

Things being settled at *Lima* to *Gonzalo*'s mind, he judg'd it proper to send an account to *Spain* of all that had happened, and after consulting his friends about it, it was thought necessary to send two messengers, in the same ship, on board of which *Vaca de Castro* was still embark'd, and detain'd prisoner, there being no other then in the Port. But *de Castro* being afraid of some insult from *Pizarro* or *Carvajal*, and having no body aboard of their party, prevailed with the ship's crew to set sail for *Panama* before *Pizarro*'s dispatches were got ready. This provok'd the new Governor to that degree, that he in a fury imprison'd all such as he suspected to be of the King's party, (not only the inhabitants of *Lima* but those who had come from *Cosco* to join the Vice Roy,) pretending that they were concern'd in the escape of *de Castro*; and many severities and cruelties were then committed; and *Carvajal* made money of delaying some executions, till *Pizarro* was in good temper to grant pardons, which brought in bribery, and turn'd the hearts of many from the new administration.

Whilst *Pizarro* carried matters thus, with a high hand at *Lima*, the Vice Roy *Nunez* arriv'd at *Tumbez*, where he landed, and, with the sole judge *Alvarez*, erected a court of justice, and published a manifesto, containing an account of the rebellion of *Pizarro*, with all the particulars of his own confinement and escape; exhorting, and commanding all his majesty's loyal subjects to come to his assistance: but, altho' some were prevail'd upon to join him, and sent in provisions to him; yet the dread of the new laws, and the universal ill character he had acquired, prevail'd with most of those whom he trusted, to carry his manifesto, and other warrants to the *Spanish* Colonies, to go with them to *Lima*, so that *Pizarro* had intelligence of all his proceedings; and not thinking it convenient to let him sit quietly so near him, sent out a strong party to dislodge him. The news of their march coming to *Tumbez*, the Voce Roy was forc'd to leave the place, having been deserted by many of those who first came over to him; and *Bachicoa*, one of *Pizarro*'s captains, for that expedition, surpriz'd two ships belonging to *Nunez*, with which he scour'd along the coast, to hinder any assistance from coming from *Panama* to him, and took all ships which came in his way.

Nunez *arrives at* Tumbez.

The Vice Roy, together with judge *Alvarez*, march'd over the mountains to *Quitu*, in which march they suffer'd much by the ruggedness of the road, and want of provisions, so that they were forc'd to eat horse flesh, and roots and herbs. *Pizarro* pursuing him sometimes by his Captains, and sometimes in person; so that, for the space of a whole year, there was nothing but confusion and slaughter thro' the whole empire of *Peru*; the Vice Roy be-heading and hanging such of his own party, as either were betraying him, or he suspected of treachery; *Pizarro*, on the other hand, putting to death all the heads of the vice roy's party who came in his way; and these butcheries on both sides were attended with all the circumstances of cruelty and injustice; but I chuse rather to give this account of them, in general, than to descend to particulars, of small importance to an *English* reader. I shall only add, that I believe the slaughter committed by both Parties, during this civil war, had great influence upon the *Spanish* writers, and made them give characters of the different Chiefs, according to the treatment they gave their friends: altho' I cannot but commend the moderation of *La Vega*, who all along speaks with temper of *Pizarro*, tho' he does not approve his actions, nor does he justify his own father, for having espous'd his cause.

is pursu'd by Pizarro.

But the blood and ſlaughter were not confin'd to the places where the Vice Roy and *Pizarro* kept their quarters. For, whilſt they were hunting one another, and ſtarving their men in mountains and deſarts in the North, the Cities of the South were not at peace; ſome of them declaring for the Vice Roy, and ſome for *Pizarro*; and thoſe who were ſome part of the year for one party, chang'd ſides and declared for the other; ſuch as, *Coſco*, *Guamanga*, *La Plata*, and even *Lima*, which was now become the chief Colony of the *Spaniards*. Thoſe frequent revolts obliged *Pizarro* to ſend *Carvajal* into the South, where having recruited his army at *Lima*, with ſuch as were beſt affected to *Pizarro*, and at *Coſco*, he march'd againſt *Diego Centeno*, who had kill'd *Almandra*, (governor of *La Plata* for *Pizarro*) and declar'd forthe vice roy. They had ſeveral skirmiſhes together, but *Centeno* kept ſome paſſes in the mountains, where he preſerv'd himſelf for ſome time with great bravery. And altho' he was not ſo old and experienced a ſoldier as *Carvajal*, he defended himſelf ſo well, that *Carvajal* himſelf commended his conduct, particularly in one reteat, and equall'd him to the moſt famous Generals that he had known, or read of. Nor did he ever yield to *Pizarro*, but kept himſelf cloſe, after the Vice Roy's defeat, and appear'd afterwards on the King's ſide, where he did good ſervice.

In the mean time *Gonzalo Pizarro* was ſtill in purſuit of the Vice Roy, and in his march ſuffer'd much; for *Nunez* being before him, left him no proviſions for his army, wherever he came. But thoſe difficulties did not frighten *Pizarro*, who knowing that the whole ſucceſs depended upon the perſon of the Vice Roy, was reſolv'd either to kill him, or to drive him out of *Peru*; and therefore holding on his march to *Quitu*, *Nunez* left it, taking the route of *Popayan*, the Government of *Belalcazer*. *Pizarro* purſued him as far as *Poſto*, the firſt *Spaniſh* Colony in that territory; but knowing the country, thro' which *Nunez* march'd, to be ill provided, and a deſart, and being aware that his enemy would ſeize all the ſcanty proviſions there were, he contented himſelf with having obliged the Vice Roy to abandon *Peru*, and ſo return'd to *Quitu*, where he ſpent ſome time in feaſting and jollity, thinking himſelf little leſs than king of all that country without any competitor. From *Quitu* he ſent *Hinojoſo*, with ſome ſhips, to *Panama* to prevent their ſending any recruits to *Nunez*. This new admiral of his, having put into the port of St. *John*, otherwiſe call'd *Buena Ventura*, on the coaſt of *Papayan*, had intelligence that *Vela Nunez* was there, upon his march to *Panama*, having been ſent, by his brother the Vice Roy, to haſten the recruits; *Hinojoſa* ſent out ſome parties in ſearch of him, one of which brought him to the town priſoner, together with a baſtard ſon of *Gonzalo Pizarro*'s whom he had taken, and was carrying with him. Having got *Vela Nunez*, in his power, he ſet ſail for *Panama*, where he was receiv'd, after ſome ſtruggle, upon his promiſe of committing no hoſtility; which he perform'd very honeſtly; and hearing that *Verdugo*, (who had declared for the Vice King in *Truxillo*) had retir'd to *Nicaragua* in *Mexico*, becauſe he durſt not come to *Panama*; he ſent one of his officers with two ſhips after him thither. This officer was refus'd entrance at *Nicaragua*, but he took the ſhip in which *Verdugo* had made his eſcape, and ſo return'd to *Hinojoſa*.

Nunez *returns to* Popayan.

Whilſt theſe things paſt at *Panama*, *Pizarro* decoy'd the Vice Roy out of *Popayan* by a ſtratagem. He gave out that he was going ſouthward, in order to chaſtiſe *Centeno*, and having corrupted a ſpy, (ſent by the Vice Roy to *Quitu*,) he writ falſe accounts, in his cypher to *Nunez*; and made *Pedro di Puelles* write to ſome of his friends in *Popayan*, inviting them to come and divert themſelves at *Quitu*, becauſe *Pizarro* was gone to *Los Charcas*, having left him his Deputy at *Quitu*. Theſe letters, having been ſent in ſuch a way as to fall into the hands of the Vice Roy, had the deſign'd effect; for *Nunez*, believing that he had no enemy at *Quitu* but *Puelles*, march'd immediately with his own forces, and thoſe of *Belalcazar*, conſiſting in all of about 300; and *Pizarro* had taken ſuch care of the roads, that the Vice Roy knew nothing of his being in the country, till he came to *Quitu*. In the mean time, having begun his pretended march towards *Lima*, he thought fit to be ſick the ſecond orthird day, and therefore ſtop'd under colour of recovering his health, till he had intelligence that *Nunez* waswithin two or three day's march of *Quitu* and having concerted meaſures before hand with *Puelles*, they join'd to oppoſe his paſſage at a river within three leagues of the city. But *Nunez*, by *Belalcazar*'s advice, gave them the ſlip, and took another route to *Quitu*; but finding no aſiſtance there, and being purſu'd by *Pizarro*, he drew up his forces, near the city, and gave him battle; but the other was ſo much ſuperior to him in number, that after a ſtout reſiſtance for ſome time, the Vice Roy's party gave way, many brave officers were kill'd, and *Nunez* himſelf, in ſpite of his age, fighting like a heroe, was knock'd down, and by *Suarez*'s order

Pizarro *by ſtratagem brings him back to* Quitu.

Nunez *defeated and kill'd.*

der (in revenge for his brother's death) his head was cut off, and carried to *Quitu*, where it was ſet upon a pole: but *Pizarro*, angry at that indignity, order'd it to be taken down, and honourably buried with the body. Above 200 of the Vice Roy's people were kill'd in the battle, and not above 20 of *Pizarro*'s. *Belalcazar* was ſore wounded and taken priſoner, but as ſoon as he was cur'd of his wounds, *Pizarro* diſmis'd him, and he went to his government with as many of his men as were left, promiſing never to oppoſe *Gonzalo* again. Some of the priſoners (who had deſerted to the Vice Roy, and had been moſt active againſt *Pizarro*) he either hang'd up, or baniſh'd to *Chili*; and releaſed all the reſt, taking them into his army, in the ſame ſtations they had under *Nunez*. He likewiſe forgave the Vice Roy's Brother, but to prevent his doing any thing againſt his intereſt, he took him with him to *Lima*.

Pizarro having now no enemy to make head againſt him in *Peru*, march'd to *Lima* very peaceably, eſtabliſhing the colonies as he paſt, and giving very prudent orders both with regard to the *Spaniards* and *Indians*. When he arrived there, he took care to lay aſide the fifths for the King, and iſſued out all his orders in his majeſty's name, as his brother the marquis had done. And for ſome time, he govern'd with great moderation, and with all the marks of loyalty. But *Carvajal*, having defeated *Mendoza*, and ſent his head to *Arequipa*, together with three other heads of the chief officers of *Centeno*'s party, march'd to *Lima*, where *Pizarro* careſs'd him as his beſt friend; and this *Carvajal* being of a ſour cruel temper, put the governor upon ſeveral harſh and bloody acts, and particularly he put *Vela Nunez* to death, for attempting to eſcape.

Whilſt *Pizarro* was making way for his advancement in *Peru*, the news of the troubles there, had reach'd the court of *Spain*, which gave them great uneaſineſs. The Emperor being, at that time, in *Germany*, his ſon Prince *Philip* took cogniſance of the matter, with the council of the *Indies*, who were much divided in their opinions about the remedy to be apply'd to the preſent diſtemper: ſome adviſing to ſend forces to ſubdue *Pizarro*; but others thinking of more moderate ways, it was, at laſt, with the approbation of the Emperor, whom they had conſulted upon the ſubject, agreed to ſend a perſon of wiſdom and temper, with a commiſſion of *Preſident*, to ſettle the affairs of *Peru*; and according as he ſhould find matters at his arrival there, either to ſend *Nunez* back to *Spain*, and to confirm *Pizarro* in the government, or to puniſh him as a rebel.

De la Gaſca ſent from Spain as Preſident of Peru.

To perform this important piece of ſervice, they pitch'd upon *Pedro de la Gaſca*, a prieſt, and one of the council of the inquiſition, whoſe good ſenſe, and ſmooth temper were much wanting to rectify a diſordered ſtate. His commiſſion dated at *Vienna* in the year 1546, gave him as abſolute power over all perſons and cauſes in *Peru*, as the King himſelf had. He could puniſh or pardon treaſon, make or repeal laws, and, in ſhort, perform all acts of ſovereignity; as he ſhould judge moſt for the ſervice of GOD, and the King.

With this commiſſion, *Gaſca* ſet ſail from *Seville* in ſpring 1546, and arriv'd at *Nombre de Dios* about the middle of *July*, and croſs'd over the mountains to *Panama*, where *Hinojoſa* then was with his fleet. The preſident was receiv'd in that city, with much reſpect, where he treated every body with great civility; and having had ſeveral conferences with the admiral, he perſuaded him to eſpouſe the royal intereſt, which, in a little time, he comply'd with, the Preſident having ſhew'd him his inſtructions, to repeal the new laws, and to grant a free pardon for all that had been done, during the civil war. But they agreed to keep the thing ſecret for a while, till they ſhould firſt ſee after what manner *Pizarro* would receive a meſſenger whom *Gaſca* deſign'd to ſend to him, with the emperor's letter, and one from himſelf. *Hinojoſa*, in the mean time ſent him an account of the preſedent's arrival, and of the repeal of the new laws, and adviſ'd him to accept of the pardon, and ſubmit to the King's authority.

Vega p. 2. b. v. c. 5.

Upon the arrival of this intellignce at *Lima*, there was great variety of opinions among *Pizrrro*'s chief confidents. *Carvajal*, as *De la Vega* ſays, declar'd his opinion for ſubmitting to the King, ſince the preſident had orders to repeal the new regulations, which were the occaſion of taking arms, and likewiſe to grant a pardon for all that was paſt, without any exception. But this was oppos'd by others, who ſaid that theſe were gilded pills, to entice them to lay down their arms, and then to lead them to execution. They were therefore of opinion, that a meſſage ſhould be ſent to *Gaſca* to return to *Spain*, and not to ſet his foot in *Peru*, upon pain of death. Others again adviſ'd to invite him to *Peru*, and as ſoon as he came, to put him in arreſt, or to murder him. However, at laſt, it was agreed upon, to ſend an embaſſy to *Spain*, and in the mean time, to keep the preſident as long at *Panama* as they could, and when he ſhould come to *Peru*, to enter into a treaty with him, and to ſpin out the negotiation to ſuch a length, that they might

Different opinions at Lima how to behave towards him.

might give time to their meſſengers to return from *Spain*, with new orders. When this was concluded on, they choſe *Aldana* with two others to go to *Spain*, who, upon their arrival at *Panama*, went to *Hinojoſa*, and told him their inſtructions; but in a few conferences with them, he perſuaded them to follow his example, which they did, going with him to the preſident, and offering their ſervice to the king.

The preſident ſends letters to Pizarro.

In the mean time, the preſident ſent *Paniagua* to *Peru* with the king's letter to *Pizarro*, and another from himſelf; in both which the fault of the civil war was laid upon *Blaſco Nunez*'s obſtinate temper, and *Pizarro* was, in mild terms, exhorted to return to his duty; upon which, the new laws were to be abrogated, and not only a pardon granted, but *Pizarro* and his family were to be rewarded, for their ſervices to the crown. When *Paniagua* arriv'd at *Tumbez*, he made the beſt of his way, without any oppoſition to *Lima*, where *Pizarro* receiv'd him with outward civility, but deſir'd him to meddle with nothing belonging to the government, as he valued his own ſafety.

Having conſider'd the letters from the king, and the preſident, with *Carvajal* and the judge *Cepida*, *Pizarro* call'd a meeting of all his chief officers, and the principal inhabitants of *Lima*, to the number of eighty perſons, and ſhew'd them the letters, deſiring their opinions, the aſſembly was divided according to their different tempers; but *Carvajal* ſtill inſiſted that the terms offer'd them, were ſufficient to make them eaſy; and therefore preſs'd their ſubmiſſion to the king's authority. All people of temper and moderation came into his ſentiments; but the warmer ſpirits prevail'd, who adviſ'd *Pizarro* not to part with the authority he was in poſſeſſion of; nor to truſt to the fair-promiſes of the preſident, who was veſted with ſuch an unlimited power, that, by virtue of the commiſſion he had, he could chop off all their heads as rebels, if they once laid down their arms.

Paniagua, in the mean time, was viſited privately, by ſeveral of the principal people of the place, and even by ſome the moſt intimate confidents of *Pizarro*, and had aſſurance from them, that when the preſident ſhould appear in *Peru*, and ſet up the royal ſtandard, they would join him with all their friends. This made *Paniagua* ſuppreſs a ſecret inſtruction given him by the preſident, which was, that if he found *Pizarro*'s intereſt very ſtrong in the country, he ſhould offer to confirm him in the government of *Peru*, upon his ſubmiſſion to the king. This, *De la Vega* ſays, *Paniagua* often declar'd afterwards, and repented that he had not diſcover'd it to *Pizarro*, as the beſt expedient to prevent the miſchief that happen'd from his ambition.

Pizarro who cou'd not brook being diveſted of that authority he believ'd ſo juſtly due to his family, for having added ſo conſiderable an empire to the crown of *Spain*, and thinking himſelf ſure of his army, and the affections of his people, which he knew would make him ſuperior to any force that could be brought againſt him by the preſident from the continent of *America*, rejected the good council of his lieutenant general, and writ a letter to the preſident, in which he gave an account of the great ſervices which his family had done to the crown, by reducing the empire of *Peru* under obedience to his majeſty; he boaſted of the loyalty of his brother the marquis, and his other brothers, and ſhew'd the little advantage they had got to themſelves, for all the treaſure they had ſent to the king, ſince none of them had a foot of land in the new conqueſt. And as to himſelf, "he "declar'd that his heart abhor'd the "thoughts of rebellion; and that he had "oppos'd *Nunez*, as the beſt ſervice he "could do to the crown; for had he "yielded to that vice roy, and ſuffer'd "the new laws to take place, the coun-"try had been loſt by the imperious tem-"per of that miniſter, and the rebellion "of the *Indians*." He therefore concluded, that he hop'd he ſhould not be term'd a traitor, for ſupporting that authority, which had been put into his hands by the king's judges, and which had, by the King's own commiſſion, to his brother the marquis, granted the government of *Peru* to the ſaid marquis for his life, and to any one he ſhould name as his ſucceſſor, for one life more; which was no greater favour than all the conquerors were entitled to both in *New Spain*, and *Peru*; ſince all the lands given them, at the diſtribution, were for two lives, before *Nunez*'s arrival. With this letter he diſmiſs'd *Paniagua*, who was very glad to get ſafe back to *Panama*, not thinking himſelf very ſecure at *Lima*; nor had he been ſo, if *Pizarro* had been inform'd of his ſeeret meetings with the inhabitants.

Pizarro *anſwer's the preſident's letter.*

Several cities revolt from Pizarro.

Centeno, who had been reduced by *Carvajal*, to abſcond, being now inform'd of the arrival of the preſident's agent, came out from his retirement; and *Paniagua* having ſcatter'd privately, in ſeveral places, copies of the repeal of *Nunez*'s laws, and of the general pardon, many cities declar'd for the king, ſuch as St. *Michael*, *Truxillo*, and *Quitu*, in the the north, and *La Plata* and *Arequipa*, in the ſouth. Some horſe from *Arequipa* getting

getting intelligence of *Centeno*'s appearing with only five men, went to join him, and chose him for their captain; and, in a short time, they encreas'd to about 80 horse; and holding a council of war, they determin'd to march to *Cosco*, where *De Robles* was governor for *Pizarro*, with a garrison of 300 men. At their approach to the city, they made a halt, and agreed to attack it by night, and to amuse the enemy, they took off the bridles from their mules and other carriage beasts, and ty'd lighted matches to the pummels of their saddles, making the *Indians* drive them to one side of the town, and to enter a certain street with great noise, whilst *Centeno* with his party, taking a compass about the city, enter'd the opposite street. This stratagem took; for, the *Indians*, performing their part, drove the mules with terrible cries up the street, which giving the allarm to the garrison brought the soldiers to that place; so that *Centeno* marching without opposition, came unexpectedly upon their rear, and put them in such confusion, that the garrison, who were not very well affected to the governor, nor to *Pizarro*, deserted to *Centeno*, and welcom'd him to the city. *De Robles*, upon this revolt, took sanctuary in a convent, but being discover'd and brought before *Centeno*, his own haughty and imperious behaviour procur'd his death, the general ordering him to be beheaded.

Centeno *takes* Cosco.

By this time the president was landed at *Manta*, a port subject to *Quitu*, where having publish'd the general pardon, he was join'd by the chief persons of note in the north, and hearing of the taking of *Cosco*, he sent letters to *Centeno*, commending his zeal for the king, and giving him assurance of the repeal of the new laws, and an authentic copy of the pardon; which *Centeno* transmitted to *Arequipa* and *La Plata*; from which two places, he was join'd by such a number of forces as encreas'd his army to 1000 men, with which he was resolv'd to give battle to *Pizarro*, who was still at *Lima*, and but ill secur'd of the affections of his people: For, the conditions offer'd were all that honest men had ever desir'd; nor did they think themselves oblig'd to cut the throats of their countrymen (especially against the king's commission) to support the ambition of *Pizarro*.

In the mean time, *Pizarro* was in great perplexity; every day bringing him bad news. The desertion of his fleet, and the revolt of his ambassadors; the landing of the president, together with the northern garrisons having join'd him; the taking of *Cosco*, and the unexpected encrease of *Centeno*'s forces, were so many thunder strokes to him: yet being a man of resolution, he prepar'd himself for war, notwithstanding all these disappointments. He therefore muster'd his forces, to the number of about 600, and march'd them out of town to prevent desertion; and sent to call back *D'Acosta*, whom he had dispatch'd with 300 men to reduce *Truxillo*.

The president sent four ships to the bay of *Lima*, under the command of *Aldana*, to receive deserters, which had good effect, many going off daily from the camp, either to the ships, or towards *Truxillo*, to meet the president; the greatest care having been taken to prevent any march southward, in order to hinder any desertion to *Centeno*. These frequent desertions much troubled *Pizarro*, for he was reduced to about 300; and which was worse, the greatest part of the quality, and rich men of his party had left him; and many in whom he repos'd the greatest trust. This oblig'd him to remove his camp from the neighbourhood of *Lima*, which he did, and march'd towards *Arequipa*, in which march he was join'd by *Acosta* with 180 horse, a seasonable addition to his small army.

Frequent desertions from Pizarro.

Pizarro was no sooner gone, but the city of *Lima* declar'd for the king; nor did *Rebera*, whom *Pizarro* had left governor of it, oppose their intention. Upon the news of this, *Aldana* landed his men, and took up his quarters in the city, sending expresses to the president, now upon his march to *Truxillo*, of all that had happen'd; altho' he had been inform'd of a good part of it by the deserters. The president had with him above 400 men, and his forces were daily encreasing by such as went to him from *Lima* and other cities which had declar'd against *Pizarro*; and knowing that *Centeno* was already superior to the enemy in number, he held on his march towards *Lima*, having no apprehension of any danger from *Pizarro*.

Lima *declares for the king.*

Whilst he was upon the road, *Pizarro*, being almost desperate with his ill success, resolv'd to march southward towards *Potosi*, (the silver mines of which, so beneficial to *Spain*, had been found out the year before, by chance;) near that place, on the east side of the mountains, they design'd to make a colony, it being almost out of the empire of *Peru*; and if they should be disturb'd there, they were resolv'd to go farther south, and plant in *Chili*. But *Centeno* being southward of him, *Pizarro* resolv'd to force his way thro' his army, and to get to the mountains. However he try'd first to bring him over to his side, which would restore his affairs. He therefore sent a gentleman to him to represent, "the trouble "he was under, for having him his ene-

Letters pass between Pizarro *and* Centeno.

" my, whose life he had spar'd when it " was in his power, and when his friends " advis'd him, to take it away; he told " him that he had been one of the first " who had promoted, and sign'd his com- " mission as procurator general; and yet " had deserted him, when he was made " governor. But he had so great an " esteem for him, that he would forgive " all that was past, upon his coming " over to his party, and would shew him " as much friendship as he did to any of " his officers". To this, *Centeno* returned a very civil answer, in which, " He acknowledg'd *Pizarro's* favours, " and thank'd him for them; he own'd " that he had concurr'd in making him " procurator, because he thought sub- " jects might lawfully represent their " grievances, without the imputation of " disloyalty: But he had deserted him " when he commenced governor, with- " out the king's commission, nay against " his authority, at that time vested in " *Nunez*; because he could not then be " of his party, without being guilty of " treason; and he concluded by telling " him, that in return for the pardon " which he had offer'd him, he would " use all his interest with the king's pre- " sident, to obtain a pardon for *Pizar-* " *ro*, provided he would lay down his " arms, and submit to the royal autho- " rity".

Pizarro was enrag'd at this answer, and resolv'd to make his way through *Centeno's* army, or to perish in the attempt. He therefore gave orders for the march, of which *Centeno* being inform'd, took up a pass in the plain of *Guarina*, which he design'd to keep, and drew up his army there, altho' he himself was so sick, that he was forced to be carried in a litter to view the ground. The night before the battle, *Acosta*, with a party of horse attack'd *Centeno's* camp, with a design to kill him; but being repuls'd, he retir'd without any loss.

The battle of Guarina.

Upon the 20th of *October* 1547, both armies were drawn up within 600 paces of one another; *Centeno's* consisting of 1,000 (some say 1,200) men, and *Pizarro's* not 500. But *Carvajal's* judgment and experience made up the defect of number; he order'd the whole body to stand firm, in the ground he had drawn them up in, and to keep up their fire, till the enemy should come close to them. On the other hand, *Centeno's* forces, thinking themselves sure of the victory, were eager to attack, against the inclination of their generals; and, at last, march'd, of their own accord, without orders, to the engagement; and with such precipitation, that they broke their ranks, and put themselves in disorder before they had receiv'd the first fire. But when they had discharg'd their own muskets, without any effect, because of the distance; and that the foot were now come within less than 100 paces of *Pizarro's* men, *Carvajal* gave the signal to fire, which was done so *a propos*, that 150 of the king's party fell with the first fire, among whom were some of their best officers; and having spare muskets by them, ready charg'd (which had been left by the deserters) before *Centeno's* pike-men could reach them, they gave a second fire, which put the other side into such confusion, that they turn'd their backs and fled outright. But the horse on the left wing, behav'd after another manner, for they being superior to *Pizarro's*, and well supplied with officers, bore down *Pizarro's* cavalry, and cut many of them to pieces. *Pizarro* himself being so beset, that with much to do, he took shelter amongst his infantry. The horse on the right had orders to charge *Pizarro's* victorious foot; but *Carvajal* kept them so intire, and made such a seasonable fire upon the horse who advanced to attack them, that they wheel'd about, having lost their captain *De Rios*, and several other officers. La Vega, *Pag.* 2. B. v. *chap.* 19.

The slaughter was great on both sides, *Pizarro* having left above 70 horse and only 15 foot, and *Centeno* had 350 kill'd, among whom were their major-general, and most of their foot officers, besides *De Rios*, and the standard-bearer. There were of *Centeno's* side almost as many wounded, many of whom died after the battle.

Centeno *defeated.*

Centeno himself seeing the execution and flight of his infantry, from the litter, in which he was carry'd, forgot his sickness with the surprize of the defeat, and mounting a horse made after the fugitives, but not being able to make them rally, giving all over for lost, he pursued his journey thro' bye-ways to *Lima*, from whence he sent an account of his defeat to the president, who was upon his march to that city from *Truxillo*. Many others of his army made their escape, and join'd the president; but a good number of them were prisoners, and some listed themselves with *Pizarro*, who being conqueror, gave the pillage of *Centeno's* camp to his soldiers. Several parties were sent out to pursue those who had fled, in hopes to light upon *Centeno*, but having miss'd of their aim, they return'd; and *Pizarro*, having staid some time there to dress the wounded, and to bury the dead, march'd to *Cosco*, having sent a part of his forces before him to take possession of the city; and after his arrival there, he detach'd several parties to *La Plata*, *Arequipa*, and other places, to raise money; the captains of which parties, did many acts

of

of cruelty and oppreſſion; killing and plundering ſuch as had ſerved the king, or had declared their inclinations to the preſident; nor excepting even women from death or ill uſage, to the great diſcredit of *Pizarro* and his intereſt. But here *De la Vega* gives an inſtance of *Carvajal*'s gratitude; for, when he found, at his going to *Arequipa*, that a great number of the better ſort of citizens had left it, he ſent 25 of the beſt horſe in purſuit of them, who brought them all back: and *Carvajal* ſeeing *Corneja* among them, (who at his firſt coming to *Peru*, had kindly entertain'd him and his family, till the marquis *Pizarro* provided for them) he took him aſide, *and blam'd him for retiring for fear of him, who could not be ſo loſt to honour, as to forget the favours he had received from him, and the generous hoſpitality he had ſhew'd to himſelf and family.* And aſſuring him of pardon for all the royal party for his ſake, he diſmiſs'd him, with all the priſoners.

When the news of the defeat at *Guarina* arrived in the preſident's quarters, every one was ſtruck with it; and indeed it was a happy providence for the loyaliſts that they were appriz'd of it ſo ſoon; for, having been inform'd before, of the ſtrength of *Centeno*, and *Pizarro*'s weakneſs, the preſident was upon the point of diſmiſſing the ſeveral captains to their reſpective provinces, and of disbanding his army, as thinking them burthenſome to the country, and a hindrance to farther plantations; and had that been once done, it would not have been eaſy to have got together another army, able to make head againſt *Pizarro*. But the account of the battle coming to *Gaſca* as he was upon his march through the *Sauxa* to *Lima*, chang'd their former reſolutions; and inſtead of disbanding his forces, he ſent to *Lima* to raiſe more, and gave orders to bring all the artillery belonging to the ſhips in that port; both which ſucceeded happily; and the preſident, altho' he was inwardly griev'd at the ill ſucceſs of *Centeno*, yet, to animate his army, made a moſt religious ſpeech to them, wherein he told them, *That perhaps providence had permitted this defeat, to give* Pizarro *either time to repent, or that he might fill up the meaſure of his iniquities, and to humble them for their too great dependence on human force, and the arm of fleſh.* He therefore exhorted all his officers to be diligent in their ſeveral charges, and to depend upon GOD Almighty for ſucceſs.

Before the preſident march'd againſt *Pizarro*, he was join'd by *Pedro de Valdivia*, the governor of *Chili*, with about 12 horſe. This Gentleman, having found that there was need of more forces for the conqueſt of that country than he had there, embark'd at St. *Jago*, with a ſmall retinue, for *Lima*, bringing with him a conſiderable quantity of gold and ſilver, to furniſh himſelf with men and arms; but finding how matters went, at his arrival in the port of *Lima*, he march'd directly to the preſident, where he was received with all the demonſtrations of joy, and all the marks of honour, as being juſtly eſteem'd the beſt ſoldier in their army, and the only perſon fit to match *Carvajal*.

Gaſca *marches againſt* Pizarro.

The preſident's army was now encreas'd (by the arrival of *Belalcazar*, and ſome other planters from the north, and by his general *Hinojoſa*, and many ſoldiers, and ſeamen from the fleet) to above 1,500. And it was agreed, in a council of war, to quit the route to *Lima*, and to march in queſt of *Pizarro*, who, they were inform'd, deſign'd to leave *Coſco*, and being fluſh'd with ſucceſs, was determined to move towards them. By this time *Centeno* was come to the king's army with many gentlemen who had eſcap'd from *Guarina*, and had met by chance in or about *Lima*. The preſident therefore moving his camp, march'd towards *Coſco*, and came as far as the river *Abancay*, where, as we obſerved before, *Almagro* defeated the army led by *Alonzo de Alvaredo*, one of the marquis *Pizarro*'s generals.

In the mean time, *Pizarro* (having neglected the advice of *Carvajal*, which was to burn the city of *Coſco*, and to avoid fighting the preſident, but to ſtarve him, by deſtroying all the proviſions wherever he paſs'd, except ſuch as was neceſſary for his own army;) upon intelligence of the preſident's march, call'd a council of war, where *Carvajal*, with much aſſurance, told *Pizarro*, that if he would give him 200 foot and 50 horſe to ſtop the paſs of the river at *Apurimac*, he would crown him king at *Coſco* in eight days. But *Pizarro* having a ſecret diffidence of *Carvajal*, notwithſtanding his great ſervices, refuſed that command to him, and beſtowed it upon *Acoſta*, to the great mortification of *Carvajal*, who notwithſtanding that denial, gave *Acoſta* ſuch advice as might have ruin'd the preſident had it been follow'd. He told him, that *Apurimac* was about nine leagues off, and therefore adviſed him to march four leagues, next day, without ſtopping, which he might do, with eaſe, by two a-clock after noon; and then he might refreſh his men, one hour; and ſo purſue his march to the top of the mountain, above the river, where he would find a ſpring of fine water, well known to many in the preſident's army. Thither he might march without fatigue,

by

by nine at night; and after ſupper, he adviſ'd him to repoſe all night, and the next day; becauſe it was impoſſible for the preſident's army to have the bridge, they were oblig'd to make, ready before the night following; by which, having paſt the river, they would come up the hill, without any order, to drink of the ſpring; as not imagining to find an enemy before them; ſo that, upon his firſt fire, he would defeat their army, altho' he did not kill one man. Had *Acoſta* follow'd theſe inſtructions, there had been an end of the preſident's government, in all appearance.

The next morning *Acoſta* began his march with 200 musketeers a horſeback, and thirty launces, all choice men; but inſtead of ſtopping only one hour, after they had march'd the firſt four leagues, he took up his quarters there for that night, and the next day, delay'd the time ſo much, that a good part of the king's army had taken up the ground, which *Carvajal* had nam'd for *Acoſta's* quarters, and where an unexpected attack upon the firſt that came up the hill, (as *Carvajal* gueſs'd,) without order or officer, would, in all probability, have caus'd a general deſſertion; for *De la Vega* ſays, a falſe alarm had like to have had that effect, without an enemy.

Ubi ſupra ch. 32.

Whilſt *Acoſta* was upon his march, the preſident arriv'd at the river; and began to make his bridge, having brought his materials, ready fram'd for that purpoſe. But, there being a neceſſity to paſs ſome of his men, in order to fix the ſtakes on the other ſide, to which cords were to be tied to draw the frames over; about 200 men paſt on floats, altho' with great danger, by reaſon of the rapidity of the river. However they got to the other ſide; but it was ſo difficult to lay the bridge, that it coſt them above four and twenty hours, before they could make it capable of receiving the horſes; and therefore many horſe men ſwam over to guard the workers in caſe of an attack, of which ſeveral were carry'd down, and loſt. Notwithſtanding which diſadvantages, a good part of the army got over, and, as we have ſaid, aſcended the hill to the fountain; ſo that *Acoſta's* ſcouts diſcover'd them, and gave intelligence to their captain, who rode out with ſix of his party, to reconnoitre them, and finding them too numerous, ſent an expreſs to *Pizarro* for a freſh recruit.

The preſident paſſes the river Apurimac.

Pizarro, finding the opportunity loſt, and that the preſident's whole army muſt have paſt the river, before his new detachment could arrive; determin'd to march with all his force, and to give the enemy battle; and in order to it, commanded his officers to be ready, in four days, to leave *Coſco*, and to march to *Sacſaguana*, four leagues from the city, where he reſolv'd to wait for the preſident. This reſolution was oppos'd by *Carvajal*, as the certain overthrow of all their hopes. He told *Pizarro*, *that the preſident out number'd him, and had many good officers in his army, and that they would all ſtand by him*; *whereas, in* Pizarro's, *there were* 300 *men, who had been under* Centeno, *and would certainly deſert, upon the firſt opportunity, beſides many others of whom he was not ſure. He ſhow'd him, that his going to meet the enemy, ſav'd them ſo much fatigue, and therefore adviſ'd him rather to march, as many leagues ſouthward to a place he could ſhew him, where it was impoſſible to force him to fight, againſt his will, and where he might ſtraiten the enemy for want of proviſions.* But *Pizarro* rejected his propoſal; and indeed he ſeem'd to have been doom'd to deſtruction by the great avenger of rebellion; for had he follow'd *Carvajal's* council, in ſeveral ſteps of this war, he had a fair proſpect of retrieving his affairs.

He march'd out of *Coſco*, about the beginning of *April* 1548 at the head of 900 men; and as he came firſt to the plain, he took up the higheſt ground, where he ſtaid three days, before the other army arriv'd; and for three days more, they encamp'd in ſight of one another. At laſt, upon the 9th of *April*, both armies drew up in order of battle; the general officers on both ſides having, like men who underſtood their buſineſs, diſpos'd their troops to the beſt advantage; and ſo remarkable was *Valdivia's* skill that way, that as ſoon as *Carvajal* view'd the diſpoſition of the preſident's forces, he ſaid, Valdivia *muſt be in that army, for there is not an officer in* Peru *could have drawn up an army in that order but himſelf.* But there is no occaſion to deſcribe the order of the two armies, where there was not a blow given. For, as ſoon as they were drawn up, on both ſides, there was ſuch a general deſertion from *Pizarro*, that the preſident deferr'd the engaging, in hopes that he ſhould be conqueror, without blood, as indeed he became in a very ſhort time; and *Pizarro* was ſo ſtruck with it, that he had no heart to give the ſignal. The firſt who revolted was *Garcelaſſo de la Vega*, our author's father, who went over by himſelf, and was received well by the preſident, to whom he declar'd, that it had been his intention, for ſome time, to engage in his majeſty's intereſt, as ſoon an as opportunity offer'd. His example was follow'd by many others, and then the whole right wing went over in a body, ſubmitting themſelves to the preſident; and after

Pizarro *marches againſt him.*

His army revolts.

ter them whole ſquadrons of horſe did the ſame.

Carvajal, (who was ſo diſguſted at the miſmanagement of every thing, by *Pizarro*'s obſtinacy, that he would take no command, but had put himſelf in the firſt line of the foot) ſeeing this univerſal defection, which it was not in his power to prevent, began to ſing aloud, with a mixture of ſpight and contempt; *thus, mother, the wind carries away my hairs by two and two.* The pike-men, ſeeing themſelves left alone, threw down their arms and fled; which deſtroy'd the very appearance of *Pizarro*'s army; there were not kill'd above a dozen, and thoſe by their own people, at the beginning of the deſertion.

Pizarro having now no body near him but a few officers, turning to *Acoſta*, ſaid, *brother* John *what ſhall we do?* the other reply'd, *Sir, let us die like old* Romans; *no*, ſaid *Pizarro, rather like chriſtians*; and ſo mov'd towards the other army, with the few friends who had ſtaid with him. As they were marching ſlowly, *Pizarro* ſpy'd *Pedro de Villavincentio*, and finding upon enquiry, that he was *ſerjeant major* of the preſident's army; he made up to him, telling him, that *he was* Gonzalo Pizarro, *and was going to ſurrender himſelf to the* emperor. The other thank'd him for the honour done him, and would not ſo much as take his ſword or dagger from him, which were all the arms he had. As he was going with him to the preſident, *Centeno* met them, and ſaid to *Pizarro, my lord I am heartily ſorry to ſee you in this condition. Pizarro* ſmil'd and anſwer'd him, *captain* Centeno, *my buſineſs is finiſh'd to day; to-morrow you yourſelves will lament my fall.* Being brought before the preſident, *Gaſca* reproach'd with his diſloyalty, and accus'd him of taking the government upon him againſt the emperor's orders, and of having killing the vice roy *Nunez*. To which *Pizarro* anſwer'd, *that he had not aſſum'd the government, but that it had been confer'd upon him by the king's judges, and that it, of right, belong'd to him, by the king's commiſſion to his brother. He repreſented to him the ſervices which he and his family had done to the crown, for which they had had no recompence; and that he did not look upon himſelf as a traitor, for having maintain'd that dignity, to which he had been rais'd by the king's own commiſſion, and the act and deed of his judges.* This bold vindication of himſelf, in his abject ſtate, nettled the preſident; ſo that he objected to him his ingratitude to the emperor, who had rais'd him, from the dunghill, to honours which did not belong to his family; to which *Pizarro* reply'd, *that he was a gentleman before he came to* Peru; *and if his family was poor, they did not owe their becoming rich to any thing, but their own bravery: and if his majeſty had beſtow'd any titles of honour upon them, he thought the adding ſo conſiderable an empire, to the crown of* Spain, *had well deſerv'd more rewards than they had receiv'd.* The preſident offended at his freedom, order'd him to be taken away, and he was conſign'd to *Centeno*, who had deſir'd to have him in cuſtody, and ſhew'd him as much reſpect as formerly.

Pizarro *ſurrenders himſelf.*

His converſation with the preſident.

The other officers who ſurrender'd with *Pizarro*, were deliver'd to different guards; and that ſame day old *Carvajal*, endeavouring to make his eſcape, and falling under his horſe, in a brook, whoſe banks, were high, was brought back to the field of battle; and, being known, he was like to have been ill uſed, but *Valdivia* and *Centeno* protected him; to the laſt of whom he was given in charge by the preſident; and was uſed by him with great humanity. Carvajal *taken.*

All apprehenſions of war being now thus happily over, the preſident conſulted his officers about the priſoners, who unanimouſly agreed, that it was beſt to try and paſs ſentence upon them, in that very place, for fear of accidents; and ſo *Alonzo d'Alvarado* and *Chianca* being appointed judges, *Pizarro, Carvajal, Acoſta* and *Guevara* were condemn'd to be hang'd, but the preſident, in conſideration of the patent of marquis, granted to *Franciſco Pizarro*, chang'd *Gonſalo*'s ſentence to that of beheading. And accordingly, the next day, *Pizarro* was excuted, in the 45 year of his age; who, in a better cauſe, and in better times, would have been an ornament to any country. And I cannot help ſaying, that if *Charles* V. had not been miſinform'd of the behaviour of the *Pizarro* family, and of the true intereſt of *Spain*, with regard to *Peru*, *Gonſalo Pizarro* had liv'd and died governor of that country, without the imputation of a rebel or traitor, and neither *Nunez* nor *Gaſca* had been ſent to ſuperſede that family, in the government of an empire, which they had acquir'd, by the moſt romantic courage; and which (as far as appears to me) they had govern'd with the greateſt prudence; bating the misfortunes of war, for which no general thinks himſelf accountable, nor can the mildeſt ſoldier always prevent. Pizarro *beheaded.*

I would not be thought to juſtify *Gonzalo Pizarro* in carrying on the war againſt the emperor's commiſſion. I hate rebellion as I do the ſin of *witchcraft*; but there are ſome circumſtances, in the ſtory, that might have led him into withſtanding *Nunez*, with the concurrence of

the generality of the kingdom, as a bad minister, until he should represent the grievances of the country, to his sovereign; which, altho' they cannot justify, may, at least, extenuate his crime. But when the just grievances were redress'd, and things set upon a right bottom, he ought to have taken *Carvajal*'s advice, and have submitted himself to his *lawful prince*, altho' he and his family were not well used, nor rewarded according to their merit. But this only by the bye.

The other officers, who surrender'd with *Pizarro* were hang'd the same day; and *Carvajal* (of whom *La Vega* tells very merry stories, both in his life, and at death) was hang'd and quarter'd, and his head, together with *Pizarro*'s sent to *Lima*, and set up in the market place.

The next day after these executions, the president pursu'd his march to *Cosco*; having dispatch'd *Mexia de Gusman* and *Martin de Robles* thither before, to secure any of the *Pizarro* faction, and to keep the city in peace. He likewise dispatch'd *Alonzo di Mendoza* with a party, to *Los Charcas*, and *Potosi*, in pursuit of *Espinosa* and *Diego Carvajal*, two of *Pizarro*'s captains; who were taken and executed. The president was receiv'd, at *Cosco*, with great acclamations, and spent some days in feasting, and diversions of several kinds; after which, he gave a new commission to the same judges, who had condemn'd *Pizarro*, to try and pass sentence upon the other prisoners; many of whom they sentenc'd to be hang'd, and a great number of soldiers to be whip'd, and sent to the gallies, to the great scandal of the *Indians*, who thought it more infamous to be whip'd than hang'd. After which executions perform'd, *Gasca* proclaim'd a general pardon.

The president enters Cosco;

But now his troubles were but beginning. For, when the rebellion seem'd to have been pluck'd up by the root, the distribution of the land, and rewarding the officers and soldiers, gave him much more uneasiness, than the subduing the rebels had done: there being scarcely a soldier, who had join'd with him at his first landing, or deserted to him from *Pizarro*, but expected to be made a lord of a manor; and when they were disappointed of their views, as many of them were, (for indeed it was impossible to satisfy all their demands,) they began to murmur, and, at last, openly to tax the president, of injustice and partiality; which he wisely foreseing, retir'd with the bishop of *Lima* to *Apurimac*, about 12 leagues from *Cosco*, forbidding any of the people to follow him, but such as he appointed. In this place he staid to adjust the division of lands. Here he liv'd three months with close application, and notwithstanding the petitions, and claims daily sent to him, he distributed most of the lands in favour of his general *Hinojosa*, and his people, who had first deliver'd up the fleet to him; as indeed he had promis'd to them at *Panama*.

But returns to Apurimac, *to divide the lands of* Peru,

When this division was made, he went directly to *Lima*, leaving the bishop at *Apurimac*; who was to return to *Cosco*, to publish the distribution in that city, together with a letter from the president, in vindication of himself. As soon as the bishop arriv'd at *Cosco*, he appointed a day for the publication, and order'd the father provincial to preach a sermon, exhorting all people to rest satisfy'd with their lot, in the division; and that those who had been past by in it, should have patience till new land should be discover'd, in which they might have shares. The president's letter was address'd *To the right noble, and right worshipful lords, and gentlemen, and sons of gentlemen, in his majesty's service at* Cosco. The substance of it was, shewing the esteem and affection he had for them; his care in distributing the lands impartially, according to the merits of the persons whom he had made proprietors; and his grief that he could not satisfy them all; but promising to banish all the disloyal out of the country, as also all that had continued neuters, and to distribute their lands to them, as they should come into his hands; in the mean time he exhorts them to patience, and promises them his friendship. But neither did this letter, nor the sermon quiet the pretenders: for, as soon as the distribution of the land was read, there was all the appearance of a general mutiny. They complain'd loudly, that the president had enrich'd those who had been deep in the rebellion, and left out of the division such as had been always loyal. For, *Hinojosa* had for his share, of *Pizarro*'s lands, to the value of 100,000 ducats a year; besides a rich silver mine at *Potosi*, which was worth as much more; whereas *Centeno*, who had done long and good service to the king, had no addition made to his estate in the new division.

which division disgusted many.

But he who made the greatest noise about the inequality of this division, was *Hernandez Giron*, whose former estate, in *Pasto*, did not exceed 600 ducats, and had by the president's partition, about 10,000 allotted him. He exclaim'd so much against the injustice done him, that they who knew his turbulent temper, said it was only a pretence to raise a new rebellion; and therefore they thought it bad policy in the president to give him a commission, with the title of governor of the *Chuncos*, towards the south east, which he was to conquer; but he excepted out of his commission the frontiers of *Cosco*,

La

La Paz and *La Plata*. And indeed the conjectures of thoſe prov'd true, for he began a new rebellion which coſt a deal of blood, and ended not but with his life; as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Nor was *Centeno* leſs diſpleas'd; ſo that taking his leave of the preſident, he went to his former plantation near *La Plata*, where, giving out that he would pick up as much money as he could, and go over to *Spain*, he was poiſon'd at an entertainment.

The preſident was a man of that temper, that he bore the impertinence of many, who ſpoke amiſs of him, and ſome even to his face. And, by good words, and by granting commiſſions for new diſcoveries (which took off many of the grumblers to other places) he kept them quiet, for above a year. But, at laſt, he was ſo tir'd with daily ſolicitations, and importunities, that he was reſolv'd to return to *Spain*; and accordingly, he ſet out from *Lima* in *January* 1550, leaving the new grants of land, and ſome other orders, ſeal'd up, with the biſhop, to be publiſh'd eight days after his departure; and being impatient to be gone out of the very ſight of *Peru*, he would not ſo much as touch at any port upon that coaſt, to refreſh himſelf, but made the beſt of his way to *Panama*, having on board a million and a half of gold and ſilver, for the king's uſe; notwithſtanding all the expence of the war. He likewiſe carry'd with him judge *Cepida* priſoner, to be try'd in *Spain*. Being arriv'd at *Panama*, he brought his treaſure a ſhore, and giving order that it ſhould be ſent after him to *Nombre de Dios*, on the north ſea, he ſet out, to paſs the mountains for that place, where he arriv'd the 26th of *April*.

The preſident leaves Peru.

He ſtops at Panama *and goes to* Nombre de Dios.

He was not gone above two days from *Panama*, before ſtrange convulſions happen'd in that city upon the following occaſion. *Rodrigo Contreras* had ſucceeded his father-in-law *Pedrarias d'Avila*, in the government of *Nicaragua*; and being, by the new laws, depriv'd of the ſervice of his *Indians*, he went to *Spain* to find redreſs; but being diſappointed by the council's approving of what had been done, he ſent the news of it to his family at *Nicaragua* with expreſſions of great reſentment. His two ſons, *Ferdinand* and *Pedro*, being young men of great ſpirits, were ſo enraged at this treatment of their father, that they made ſecret cabals with ſome malecontents, who had fled from *Peru*, and particularly with *John Bermejo*, and agreed to take arms, and raiſe forces to invade *Peru*; *Bermejo* aſſuring them, that with 300 men, they might carry that empire, by being join'd with a conſiderable number of people who only wanted a head to bring them together, to oppoſe the government. Encourag'd by this incendiary, the brothers privately provided arms and liſted men; and when they had got a ſufficient number, of fugitives from *Peru*, and thoſe of *Nicaragua* whom they either cajol'd or frighten'd into their ſcheme, the firſt act of revenge they ſet about, was the murdering the biſhop of the place in his own houſe in the city; which having accompliſh'd, they run arm'd into market place, and ſet up a ſtandard crying out *liberty, liberty*: and having heard that the preſident *Gaſca* was ſoon expected at *Panama*, they ſeiz'd ſome ſhips, and burn'd the reſt, intending to intercept the preſident, and to make themſelves maſters of the king's treaſure. To this end, having ſhip'd about 300 men, they ſet ſail for *Panama*; but, before they arriv'd, they had notice that *Gaſca* was landed; upon this intelligence, they reſolv'd to enter the port by night and to ſeize him in his bed, knowing where he had lodg'd.

The Contreras's *ſack* Panama,

At their arrival, they enter'd the town, as they had propos'd, and went to the houſe where they ſuppos'd to find the preſident; but being inform'd that he was gone, they rob'd the houſe, and ſeveral merchants houſes, and the treaſury, in all which they found near two millions of ducats, beſides vaſt quantities of *Spaniſh* goods: and being inform'd that ſeveral loads of gold and ſilver were already ſent off for *Nombre de Dios*, they detach'd *Salguero*, with a party of men, to ſeize them before they reach'd the foot of the mountains, on the north ſide. He had ſo good ſucceſs, that he got 70 load, amounting to the value of 570,000 ducats and ſent them all to *Panama*.

Sieze moſt of the preſident's treaſure;

The people of *Panama* were ſo ſurpriz'd at this unexpected attack, that they were in no condition to oppoſe them, and had they gone to their ſhips with the treaſure they had got, and ſet ſail for *Peru*, they might have done miſchief enough. But ſuch riches, which they were not accuſtom'd to, turn'd their brains, and precipitated them into ruin; ſo that, inſtead of ſailing to *Peru* with their own four ſhips (and four others which they had ſeiz'd in the port, and were theſe in which the preſident had come,) they divided their forces into four bodies. The elder *Contreras* march'd with about 50 men towards *Nombre de Dios* to kill the preſident, or make him priſoner; *Pedro* took 50 more to guard the ſhips; *Bermejo* ſtaid with 150 at *Panama* to keep the city in aw; and *Salguero* with the reſt went in ſearch of more gold. *Bermejo* was ſo infatuated with the ready obedience he had found in the city, that he only took an oath of obedience

obedience from the principal citizens, and march'd out with all his forces to get what horſes and mules were in the country about.

He was not gone many hours, when the citizens call'd a council, and having enter'd into an aſſociation to defend their city; they rung out their bells to allarm the country, which was well ſtock'd with *Spaniards*, every one of which had a number of blacks. Upon hearing the bells of *Panama*, many of the neighbouring gentlemen came in, and, in a ſhort time, of *Spaniards* and blacks, (to whom they gave arms) they muſter'd 500; thoſe who fled out of the city upon the firſt alarm, having return'd upon the ſound of the bells. *Bermejo* having an account of this revolt, as he call'd it, from two of his people, who had ſtaid behind him upon ſome occaſion, march'd back to the town; but *Azevedo*, a gentleman of courage and prudence, adviſ'd the city to march out, and attack him, leſt he ſhould ſet fire to it, to divert them from fighting; becauſe the houſes were, for the moſt part, of timber or thatch. This, with ſome ſtruggle, they agreed to, and attacking *Bermejo* with a ſort of deſperate courage, and *Azevedo* leading on the blacks with bravery and conduct, they defeated the enemy altho' *Salguero* join'd *Bermejo* in the action. Both thoſe chiefs were kill'd, with about 80 of their men, and as many more were taken, and put to death after they were brought back to the city. Some few that eſcap'd, gave notice to *Ferdinand Contreras*, who was marching to *Nombre di Dios*; but upon hearning of the defeat of *Bermejo*, he bid his men diſperſe, and make the beſt of their way to the ſhips, he himſelf intending to go thither. Moſt of his men were taken, by parties ſent out for that purpoſe; and they found a man drown'd in a moraſs, whom they took for *Ferdinand* by his hat, and a gold chain, which he us'd to wear; and therefore they cut off his head and ſet it up with *Bermejo*'s in *Panama*. The other brother, retiring with his fleet, upon the report of the defeat of *Bermejo*, was purſu'd by a great number of boats; ſo that landing his men, the boats follow'd him, and he himſelf with about 10 men eſcap'd to the woods; the reſt were taken and hang'd; but *Pedro* was never heard of.

But ere defeated.

Upon the defeat of this ill conducted rebellion, moſt of the treaſure was recover'd, both the preſident's and of thoſe who attended him; and being reſtor'd to the proper owners, and all things rectify'd at *Panama*, *Gaſca* ſet ſail for *Spain*, where he arriv'd happily in the month of *July*, after having been out of it above four years. His return, with ſo much gold and ſilver, was very acceptable to the emperor, who made him biſhop of *Placentia*, and afterwards king *Philip* tranſlated him to the biſhoprick of *Ciguenza* in *Spain*, where he dy'd. But to return to *Peru*.

The preſident *Gaſca*, at his departure from *Lima*, had left the government of *Peru*, in the hands of the judges, under the title of lords juſtices of the kingdom, but having receiv'd an expreſs from *Spain*, either at *Lima* or *Panama*, (for authors differ as to the place) exempting the *Indians* from all perſonal ſervice; and being ſufficiently aware, that ſuch an order, in *Nunez*'s time, had occaſion'd the civil war, he ſent the orders to the juſtices, but withal, gave his opinion, that they ſhould not put them in execution, till he ſhould ſpeak with the emperor upon that ſubject. Notwithſtanding this caution, they were reſolv'd to publiſh the orders, and to ſee them perform'd. This, meeting with the turbulent mutious humour of ſeveral captains, diſguſted for having been neglected by the preſident, or not rewarded according to what they thought they had deſerv'd, kindled a new flame, or rather ſtir'd up the fire, which was only cover'd but not extinguiſh'd.

Troubles in Coſco.

Hernandez Giron, who had receiv'd a commiſſion for new diſcoveries ſouth eaſtward, (as we ſaid before;) march'd to *Coſco*, of which place he was an inhabitant; and proclaiming his commiſſion there, got a body of above 200 to join him. But upon the publiſhing the new orders, the city of *Coſco* began to be mutinous, and *Saavedra*, the governor, apprehending the ill intention of *Giron*, deſir'd he would begin his march to his new diſcoveries, and eaſe the inhabitants of the burthen of his men: but finding that he made no haſte to remove, the governor appear'd in the market place, with a number of arm'd citizens, nor inferior to *Giron*'s; and they had undoubtedly come to blows, if ſome, more moderate than the reſt, had not gone between them, and propos'd an intervew, which they had in a church pitch'd upon for that purpoſe; where it was agreed that *Giron* ſhould withdraw his forces, and go himſelf to *Lima*, to anſwer the complaints laid againſt him; to which he ſolemnly ſwore: but afterwards, pretending that his ſoldiers would not let him obſerve his oath, the governor ſent a warrant for him, and put him in priſon; upon which his ſoldiers were ſo ſurpriz'd, that inſtead of endeavouring to reſcue him, they diſpers'd, and left the city. However *Saavedra* releas'd him, upon his promiſe to go to *Lima*, which he perform'd, and, after ſome ſhort confinement, he was ſet at liberty, and nothing was attempted farther by him, till ſome time after.

But

But there ſoon broke out a new mutiny at *Coſco*, at the head of which were *Miranda*, *Barrionuevo* and *Melgarejo*; but this being diſcover'd to *Saavedra*, he refus'd to meddle in it, ſaying that he would not create more enemies to himſelf, ſince the royal council at *Lima* put thoſe he had already, in a condition to do him a miſchief, for doing his duty. When this was repreſented to the juſtices at *Lima*, they appointed *Alonzo D'Alvaredo* governor, or may or of *Coſco*, who, upon his arrival there, making a thorough inquiry into the mutiny, and finding the three gentlemen, above mention'd, to have been guilty, had them all three executed; by which he quieted the ſedition in *Coſco* for that time.

Quieted.

In theſe kindof ſeditions was the whole year 1550, and the beginning of the following year ſpent; in which many loſt their lives, and ſome of them for no other crime than murmuring at the new orders. But a new vice roy was ſent by the emperor to *Peru*, who was *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, (ſecond ſon to the marquis de *Montexar*, count of *Tendilla*,) who had been vice roy of *Mexico*. He arriv'd at *Lima* about the end of the year 1551; but being in a very bad diſpoſition of body, he could not attend the affairs of the government as he would have done; and therefore the juſtices ſtill kept their power. To keep all things quiet in the ſouth parts, the council ſent a commiſſion to the general *Hinojoſa*, to be ſuperintendant of *Los Charcas*; which was ſign'd by the vice roy, ſoon after which he dy'd at *Lima* in *July* 1552, very much lamented, and left the government of *Peru* threatned with deſolation and confuſion, which ſhortly after it fell into.

Mendoza ſent as vice roy.

His death

Alvaredo had kept ſuch a ſteady hand over the malecontents of *Coſco*, that they had been pretty quiet for ſome time; but hearing of ſome diſturbances in other places, and being reſolv'd that they ſhould not be abetted from his city, he gave publick orders, that none ſhould leave the place, upon any pretence, without leave. But *Don Baltazar di Caſtilla*, being afraid that the governor ſuſpected him, left the city about midnight, and with ſome of his friends well arm'd got to *La Plata* where *Hinojoſa* reſided, and where were likewiſe *Don Sebaſtian Caſtilla* and *Egas de Guſman*, who had eſcap'd from *Coſco* ſome time before, in the ſame manner. As ſoon as *Alvaredo* was inform'd of Don *Baltazar*'s going thither, he ſent an expreſs to *Hinojoſa*, to warn him of the danger he was in from ſuch ill neighbours, for that having been diſappointed of their deſign of murdering the governor of *Coſco*, they would attempt to kill the ſuperintendant of *Los Charcas*; but *Hinojoſa* not imagining gentlemen well born, as the *Caſtilla*'s were, capable of ſuch a baſeneſs, receiv'd *Baltazar* very civilly, exhorting him to continue loyal to the king, and promiſing him all the aſſiſtance in his power. This intrepidity of his, and dependance upon other people's honour, becauſe he had a good ſhare of it himſelf, were the occaſion of his death; for upon the 6th of *March* 1553 D. *Sebaſtian* with a party of ruffians murder'd him in his own houſe; and having riffled it, they run out to the market place crying, *Long live the king, the tyrant is dead.*

Hinojoſa *murder'd by Don* Sebaſtian Caſtilla.

This aſſaſſination had been, underhand, carry'd on by ſome diſappointed officers and ſoldiers, from the time that the new diviſion of the lands had been publiſh'd; but of late had been chiefly fomented by the *Caſtilla*'s, who as ſoon as they had committed the murder, were join'd by all the grumblers in *Hinojoſa*'s army, and then they compell'd the reſt to join them, for fear of their lives; ſo that all *La Plata* was at their devotion, and Don *Sebaſtian* was proclaim'd general. The firſt thing they did was to ſend a party under the command of *Ramon* to murder *Alvaredo*; but in the march, *Ramon* perſuaded his men to deſert the general they had lately choſen, and to declare for the king, which they did, and join'd *Alvaredo* at *La Paz*, which was within his diſtrict of *Coſco*. The news of this revolt ſurpriz'd Don *Sebaſtian*, ſo that conſulting the officers about it, *Vaſco Godinez*, who had promoted the rebellion, took him aſide from the reſt, and told him, there was no ſecuring himſelf nor them, but by the heads of 20 which he could name to him, who were well affected to the king, and thoſe being now in the army, no time was to be loſt, but he muſt immediately execute them. Don *Sebaſtian* was confounded at the propoſal, and refus'd to do it; which the other ſeeing, deſir'd him to ſtay there till he return'd; and immediately going to the place where thoſe gentlemen were, and not having conveniency to ſpeak to them in private, he ſqueez'd the hands of ſome of the principal of them, which, *De la Vega* ſays, was the ſign before given them to prepare for what he was to go about; but he was only follow'd by one *Hernandez*, with whom he return'd to Don *Sebaſtian*, and both of them falling upon him, kill'd him upon the ſpot. After which *Godenez* drag'd out the body to the market place, uſing the ſame words they had done after the murder of *Hinojoſa*. *Let the king live, the tyrant is dead.* There were but five days time, between the death of the old general, and the new.

And Don Sebaſtian *by* Godenez.

As ſoon as *Godenez* had done the murder, he call'd ſome of the magiſtrates of the city; telling them, that he had done all this for the ſervice of his majeſty; but that there was a neceſſity of chuſing him chief juſtice of the city; and general of the army, and likewiſe to make over to him *Hinojoſa*'s eſtate. The magiſtrates being over-aw'd by the ſoldiers, and not being over confident of the honour of the general, thought it was not prudent to diſoblige him, and therefore, only deſiring him, that they might have it under *Fernandez*'s hand (who was a lawyer) that they might grant ſuch commiſſions legally; which being deliver'd to them, they ſign'd two commiſſions, one for general of the forces, and another for chief juſtice of *Los Charcas*. By virtue of the laſt, he try'd and hang'd ſuch as he did not like of the officers, and ſent a party to *Potoſi*, which took up *Guzman*, who by a warrant from him was hang'd and quarter'd. But his chief crime, (as that of ſeveral others whom he diſpatch'd) was, his knowing how far the new general had been inſtrumental in the murder of *Hinojoſa*; and whatever ſhould happen, *Godenez* was not willing to have witneſſes alive of his villanies, even altho' they had been accomplices in them.

But being aware, that his authority was not well founded, without the concurrence of the lords juſtices, he ſent two of his friends to *Lima*, with orders to repreſent the important ſervice he had done his majeſty, by cutting off the ringleaders of the rebellion, and therefore deſiring their confirmation of his commiſſions. But the juſtices having heard of the tranſactions at *La Plata*, before his meſſengers arriv'd, had wiſely ſent a commiſſion to *Alonzo D' Alvaredo*, as governor of *Los Charcas*; upon the receipt of which, he was preparing to go thither; but firſt ſent an account of his commiſſion, and withal gave out, that he had orders to reward all who had contributed to the overthrow of the rebels, and particularly to give the eſtate of *Alonzo de Mendoza* to *Godinez*. This report, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, and written to *Godinez* by ſome of his own friends, altho' it made him rant and ſwear, at the injuſtice of the judges, in cutting off his hopes of *Hinojoſa*'s eſtate, which he had allotted to himſelf; yet it kept him from providing for his own ſafety; ſo that when *Alonzo Velaſquez* was ſent to *la Plata* to ſeize him, he made no attempt to eſcape, but receiv'd him in a ſurly way, as being to beſtow upon him a recompence beneath his merit. But when the captain ſeiz'd his arm, and told him he was his priſoner, and order'd him to jail; he curs'd, and tore his beard, and did many things like a deſperate perſon.

Godinez *arreſted,*

In the mean time *Alvaredo* having ſetled all his affairs in the province of *Coſco*, came to *Plata*, where, by virtue of a commiſſion from the lords juſtices, he ſet up a criminal court, and brought all delinquents before him (a great many of which had been ſeiz'd by his orders in different places) giving them fair play for their lives; and allowing them time and means to clear themſelves: but being a man of ſtrict juſtice, and of a ſevere temper, he pardon'd none who were prov'd guilty. Thus he condemn'd *Godinez* to be hang'd and quarter'd; together with ſeveral others, which ſentence was accordingly executed. And indeed the ſeſſions for trying the rebels laſted ſo long, and ſo many were concern'd in the guilt, that there was great uneaſineſs in other places; but no where more than in *Coſco*, where *Hernando Giron* (formerly mention'd) reſided. *and executed.*

Giron being a proud haughty man, and of a turbulent ſpirit, very unwillingly ſubmitted to the governor of *Coſco*, and ſeldom convers'd with any of the gentlemen of the city, but kept company with the ſoldiers, whom he courted and made friends of. Whether his behaviour had really given umbrage to the governor, who kept a correſpondence with *Alvaredo*; or whether *Giron*'s own guilt made him apprehend being call'd to an account, is not certain; but he was reſolv'd to free himſelf by an inſurrection. To this end, he daily improv'd the diſlike which many people had againſt the continuance of the proſecutions at *La Plata*; moſt wiſe men being of opinion, that a few of the moſt guilty having been made examples of, to deter others, the government had done better to have pardon'd the reſt. But *Giron* thinking there was no ſafety for him, but by cutting off thoſe he had reaſon to be afraid of, and having no concert with the citizens, as having neglected them, reſolv'd to proſecute his deſign, by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſoldiers. And therefore, taking the advantage of a wedding feaſt of one of the gentlemen of the city, to which he had been invited; he went thither, after the governor, and the other gueſts were ſet at table; and being follow'd by ſome of his mirmidons, he enter'd the room with his ſword drawn, his followers with their partizans in their hands, to the great ſurprize of the whole company; but to give them the greater terror and a diffidence in one another, he ſaid aloud, *Gentlemen, fear nothing, you know I only execute the plot agreed on between us.*

Giron *rebels in* Coſco.

The governor of the city, who was at the upper end of the table, retir'd, with much precipitation, to another room, where the ladies were, and was follow'd by

by a great many gentlemen: ſome of whom going from thence into a back court, found a ladder there, by which they went over the wall, into another houſe. *Garcelaſſo de la Vega*, ſeeing the others eſcape that way, came back to the governor, to perſuade him to get off, in the ſame manner, but he would not ſtir; ſo that *La Vega*, and his ſon, our author, went over the wall, and drew up the ladder, to prevent being purſu'd.

In the mean time *Giron* and his people had kill'd *Palomino*, who was ſetting with his back to the door, at which the aſſaſſines enter'd; they likewiſe kill'd *Juan de Morales*, a merchant, who endeavour'd to put out the candles, to help them to eſcape in the dark. After this execution, *Giron* broke open the door where the laides were, who beg'd of him that he would not kill the governor, and upon his promiſe to do him no hurt, he deliver'd himſelf up; *Giron*, believing he ſhould have the whole city to join him when he had the governor in his power, left him under a ſtrong guard, and went to the market place, but he was join'd by very few; inſomuch as not having men enough to guard the ſtreets leading out of the town, moſt of the principal inhabitants, believing that he was much ſtronger than he really was, made their eſcape by themſelves, or by two's and three's, without having time to concert meaſures together.

He ſeizes the governor of Coſco,

Altho' none but three perſons of any reputation in *Coſco* came to offer their ſervice to *Giron*, yet having the governor his priſoner, and the principal people being gone, the rebels did what they pleas'd, and ſo *Giron*, going to the houſes of the chief citizens, told them he had done nothing upon his own account, but for the publick good, and in concert with the principal people of *Peru*, and therefore deſir'd the ladies to perſuade their husbands to appear, for the ſafety of their liberties, ſince he intended to do nothing but to get the new laws ſuſpended, as they had been in the late preſident *Gaſca*'s time. But being aſſur'd, by moſt of them, that their husbands had left the city, he made proclamation of this, as his deſign, and in ſome days, there being none to controul him, he muſter'd about 150 men in *Coſco*; and appointed officers under him.

And releaſes him.

He then ſent a party with the governor of *Coſco*, and having conducted him 20 leagues out of town, they let him purſue his journey to *Lima*, with his own people, without offering any violence to him.

His next care was to ſend accounts to the neighbouring cities towards the ſouth, that all *Coſco* had join'd him for the cauſe of liberty; which had ſuch an effect upon *Guamanga* and *Arequipa*, that both thoſe cities ſent congratulations to him, and offer'd him their aſſiſtance. Theſe embaſſies he boaſted much of, and indeed they gave great credit to his enterpriſe, and to help it out, he pretended to have receiv'd advice from the province of *Los Charcas*, that they had declar'd for him, and had ſlain the ſuperintendant *Alvaredo*. But his artifices laſted but a ſhort time; for the ambaſſadors from the above mention'd cities, at their return, giving but a mean account of his forces, and intereſt at *Coſco*, the magiſtrates repented of what they had done, and declar'd for the king. Nor did they ſtick to that reſolution, but chang'd as each party ſeem'd to prevail; or as they apprehended miſchief from the neareſt army.

Upon the 4th of *January* 1554 *Giron* ſet out from *Coſco* with 300 men, and was ſoon afterwards join'd by *Vaſquez* with 200 more. With theſe he propos'd to march to *Lima*, before *Alonzo D'Alvaredo* ſhould be able to reach him with his army of 800, which he had levied in the ſouth parts. But he was ſcarce gone from *Coſco*, but *Saavedra*, who had lurk'd privately in the city, ſhew'd himſelf in the market place, and lifting all that he could, march'd for *Potoſi*, to meet *Alvaredo*.

Giron marches from Coſco.

In the mean time, the lords juſtices, hearing of this new rebellion, immediately diſpatch'd a new and fuller commiſſion to the mariſchal *Alvaredo*, making him captain general of *Peru*, and impowering him to take what money he ſhould think proper, for the ſervice of the war, out of the king's treaſury; and, if that fail'd, they gave him an unlimited credit: and at the ſame time they ſent him a new act of council, for ſuſpending the new ordinances for two years. Theſe orders came luckily, for about forty priſoners at *La Plata*; who, in all probability, would have follow'd their companions to the gallows, but for this new rebellion. But as ſoon as *Alvaredo* got thoſe inſtructions, he broke up his ſevere ſeſſions, and releas'd his priſoners to recruit his army. And one merry fellow, who expected to have been hang'd, appearing at liberty in the ſtreet, an acquaintance of his bad him thank GOD for his deliverance; to whom he replied, *I thank* GOD *with all my heart, and S.* Peter *and S.* Paul, *and S.* Franciſco Hernandez Giron, *by whoſe means I am ſav'd, and in return of which I can do no leſs than go and ſerve him.* And he was as good as his word, upon the firſt opportunity.

Giron was adviſ'd to march directly to *La Plata* to encounter *Alvaredo*, and perhaps, had he taken that council, he might have ſucceeded better. For, altho' that

that gentleman was a good ſoldier, it is certain, that he was but little ſecure of his army; the bloody ſeſſions had rais'd a great cry againſt him, and his having rejected the interceſſions of ſome of the moſt conſiderable people of the province and army, for ſome of their friends, had diſguſted them at him. But *Giron* was intent upon reducing *Lima*, thinking that if he could aboliſh the council, or change it, he might bring all *Peru* under his power, and ſtill act with a colour of loyalty; for he ſtill pretended, that his was the *royal* army; and the army at *Lima* he call'd, *the army of the juſtices*.

The juſtices at *Lima*, hearing of *Giron*'s march that way, rais'd an army, but had a great diſpute about chuſing the general; the archbiſhop giving them great diſturbance, by his being a pretender to it. At laſt it was compromis'd, and the office divided between the archbiſhop, and *Santillan*, one of the lords juſtices. Having thus diſpos'd of the commiſſion of general, with great wiſdom, to two perſons, who were not likely to agree in their opinions, the army took the field, and march'd to oppoſe *Giron*'s march to *Lima*. But when the armies came near each other, the lieutenant general, *Meneſſes*, labour'd much to get leave to force the enemy to a battle, but the two generals being of different minds, they loſt ſeveral opportunities of making an end of the war at once. But *Giron*, finding that his men began to deſert, retir'd towards *Pachacamac*, and *Meneſſes* having got leave, purſu'd their rear with a ſmall party, but was repuls'd, and loſt fourteen men.

The jealouſies encreas'd ſo much between the generals, in the king's army, that the lords juſtices, at laſt, were forc'd to remove them both; which they did, with much to do, making *Meneſſes* general. But before he could quiet the jealouſies of the army, *Giron* had march'd to *Naſca*, northward of *Coſco*. So that to prevent his going towards *Quitu*, where he had many friends, the army under *Meneſſes* march'd to *Pachacamac*. But upon advice of *Alvaredo*'s coming to *Coſco*, where he had an army of 1100 men well appointed, *Giron* chang'd his route, marching ſouthwards, but kept wide of *Coſco*, ſo that the mareſchal *Alvaredo*, who had given orders to repair the bridges at *Apurima*, and *Abancay*, upon intelligence of *Giron*'s march, countermanded thoſe orders, and caus'd the bridges to be burnt; and, with all his forces, took the route to *Parinacocha* near the *Cordilleras*, whither he was told *Giron* was going. Whilſt he was on this march, and had arriv'd at a place call'd *Gualaripa*, he heard that the enemy was within four leagues of him. *Giron*, on the other hand, having intelligence of the mariſchal's being ſo near him, took up his quarters in a ſtrong place call'd *Cuchinca*, near a river, which was only paſſable at one place thereabouts, where he poſted *Pedrahita* with a choice body of men, in ambuſcade.

Alvaredo declared his intention, in a council of war, of attacking the enemy in their quarters; but the moſt part of the officers were againſt it, becauſe, ſome deſerters having deſcrib'd the place, they foreſaw that it was to ſacrifice their men, at a great diſadvantage. However, the general being poſitive, they were forc'd to ſubmit. *Alvaredo* order'd 150 muſketiers under *De Robles*, to paſs the river, and to attack upon the left, and *Ramon* with the like number, upon the right; whilſt the main body was to march, and draw up in a plain between the two. But his orders were, that no attack ſhould be made till he gave the ſignal by firing a gun, and then both wings ſhould fall on at the ſame time. But upon *De Robles*'s paſſing the river, *Pedrahita*, from his covert, ſet unexpectedly upon him, and broke his order, and being reſolv'd to conquer or die, he ſoon put that party to the rout. *Alvaredo* advanced with the main body to ſuſtain them, and paſs'd the river with only a few, the army refuſing to follow him, ſo that being unable to recover the diſadvantage, and being himſelf wounded, he was forced to repaſs the river, which *Giron* ſeeing, purſued him with his main body, and falling furiouſly upon *Alvaredo*'s men, he defeated them. The general himſelf, finding that his people would obey no orders, fled with ſome few friends. In this action there were 100 kill'd of his men, 300 wounded, and many more taken. *Giron* having loſt only ſeventeen, and about 40 wounded. After the Action 300 of the Priſoners liſted themſelves with *Giron*.

Upon advice of this defeat of the mariſchal, *Meneſſes* march'd to *Guamanga*, and ſo to *Chupas*, and *Abancay*, where they had intelligence that *Giron* was, in the valley of *Yucay*, about ſix leagues from *Coſco*, having paſt by that city without ſtopping, and only ſent for his wife to come to him. At *Abancay* the mariſchal *Alvaredo* came to the king's army, much dejected for his defeat at *Cuchinca*. In the mean time, *Giron* mov'd his camp to *Coſco*, but making no ſtay there, march'd farther ſouth, the king's army purſuing him. But, to make an end of this confus'd tedious ſtory, *Giron* arriving at *Pucara*, *Meneſſes* follow'd him; and having ſome skirmiſhes with him, by parties, *Thomas Vaſquez* revolted from the rebels, to the great mortification of *Giron*, who, almoſt

Meneſſes *declar'd general of the army of* Lima.

Alvaredo *attacks the rebels*

But is defeated.

A skirmiſh between the armies.

almoſt in deſpair, drew up his forces, conſiſting of about 560 *Spaniards*, and 250 blacks, whom he had trained up. With theſe he attack'd the king's forces in the dark; but *Meneſſes*, having had intelligence of his deſign, by two ſoldiers who had deſerted, was prepar'd to receive him. The fight continued in great confuſion for two hours, but the body of both armies, not knowing where to engage, ſtood in their ranks. *Giron* retir'd with the loſs of twenty men kill'd, and 150 taken or deſerted. The next day two ſoldiers more deſerted to *Meneſſes*, and brought with them a ſilver helmet, which they ſaid *Pedrahita*, *Giron*'s major general, had ſent as a pledge of his following them; which he did that evening.

This laſt ſtroke ſo confounded *Giron*, that he mov'd his camp at the beginning of the night, with a deſign to go to *Arequipa*; but before he had marched four miles, three captains and a major with 150 ſoldiers deſerted in the dark. Thus was *Hernandez Giron* as good as abandon'd by his whole forces; and the deſerters having inform'd *Meneſſes* of his retreat, he purſu'd him with a party of 150 horſe, ſending other parties different routes to intercept him. *Tello* and *de Serna*, with a ſmall party of about 80 horſe and foot, overtook him in a valley upon the road to *Lima*, accompanied by about 100 men, *Giron* drew up to fight them, but 20 of his men chang'd ſides, and after the firſt fire, almoſt all his men deſerted him; ſo that the king's party ſurrounded him, and the few that remain'd with him; and *Gomez D'Arias*, taking hold of the top of his helmet, bad him yield himſelf; but he refuſing to give his ſword, altho' *Arias* had hold of his wriſt, *Silveſter* put the point of his ſpear to his breaſt, bidding him deliver his ſword, or he was a dead man. *Giron* ſeeing it was to no purpoſe to reſiſt any longer, quited his ſword, and being ſet behind *D'Arias* they carry'd him with his companions to *Lima*, as being neareſt, where they conſign'd them into the hands of the mayor, taking a receipt in form, of having deliver'd them to ſafe cuſtody. This happen'd in *October* 1554, and now, the rebellion being at an end, the juſtices preſt by the army to diſtribute the lands and effects of the rebels to them, determin'd to march firſt to *Lima*, that being the place of juſtice; and accordingly, on the 19th of *November* they ſet out from *Coſco*, leaving *Garcelaſſo de la Vega* governor of that city.

Giron *defeated.*

And taken.

The juſtices return to Lima.

As ſoon as they arriv'd at *Lima*, the priſoners were brought to trial; and without ceremony, were hang'd and quarter'd; which put an end to the troubles of *Peru*. And here likewiſe ſhould end our farther account of this part of the world, (reſerving the natural hiſtory both of *Mexico* and *Peru*, to a particular chapter in this our TRAVELLER;) but conſidering, that the diſcovery of *Chili*, *New Granada* and *Popayan*, with the places adjacent, was begun and, in ſome meaſure, carried on, under the direction and influence of the *Pizarro*'s, and by perſons who came into *Peru*, during their adminiſtration, we thought it not improper to give ſome account of them in this place; eſpecially conſidering that the authors we have conſulted, in the preceding ſheets, put their adventures together. Having therefore only given hints at the planting thoſe countries in our accounts of *Peru*, we ſhall as far as our deſign'd brevity will allow, ſpeak more at large of the diſcoveries of them, and of their firſt planting with *Europeans*. And becauſe *Chili* was the firſt diſcover'd in order of time, we ſhall begin with it.

We took notice * that, in the year 1536, *Almagro*, march'd to the kingdom of *Chili*, thro' the terrible mountains of the *Cordilleras*, where he loſt ſeveral of his *Spaniards* and their horſes, and ſeveral thouſands of the poor *Indians* who went along with him under *Paulu*, the brother of *Manco Inca*. But *Almagro* ſtaid ſo ſhort a while in that country, that we may ſay, he rather look'd at a part of it, than made any conqueſt in it.

* *Page* 113.

After the defeat and death of *Almagro*, there was no attempt made upon *Chili*, till 1541, and then *Pedro di Valdivia*, (who had ſerv'd marquis *Pizarro*, at the battle of the *Salinas*, and had the government of *Los Charcas* aſſign'd to him,) beg'd leave, and a commiſſion to make diſcoveries in *Chili*; which was granted him. When he was arriv'd, thro' the ordinary difficulties of the road, to *Copayapo*, where *Almagro* deſign'd to have ſettled, *Valdivia*, conſidering that this being juſt upon the confines of *Peru*, the *Spaniards* would be for going back thither, upon every little diſguſt, reſolv'd to plant a colony farther ſouth; and therefore left the pleaſant fruitful vale of *Copayapo*, and march'd to that of *Guaſco*, and from thence ſtill farther ſouth, to the 33 deg. of latitude, where he laid the foundation of St. *Jago*, and built a fort, for defence of his colony againſt the natives, who were a warlike people. They ſubmitted to him for a while, being terrify'd at the horſes and fire arms, as all the *Indians* were at firſt; but when they came to be a little us'd to them, that extreame terror went off, and they began to cabal againſt him, intending to fall upon the garriſon, when he ſhould go abroad with his horſe, as he frequently did. But the conſpiracy being diſcover'd by means of ſome of the *Indians* whom he had

Valdivia *goes to* Chili.

Builds S. Jago.

had gain'd by good uſage; *Valdivia* ſeiz'd ſome of their *Curaca's*, or lords, and put them into his fort under a guard; notwithſtanding which, upon his going out with 60 horſe to a river, 14 leagues from St. *Jago*, the *Indians* attack'd the fort, which was defended by his lieutenant *Monroy*, who kept them in play from morning to night. And here, *Herrera* tells us of a bold, but cruel action of a lady, not much becoming her ſex and condition. He ſays, the lady *Agnes Suarez*, to prevent the *Indians* releaſing the curaca's, without any orders for it, kill'd all the priſoners with an ax. But the encloſures made about the fort, being a hindrance to their horſe in attacking the *Indians*, the *Spaniards* agreed to abandon the fort, and march'd (with the martial lady, and all the women and children in the centre) to the rivers ſide near by; and when the *Indians* purſu'd, the horſe charg'd them with ſuch violence, that having made a terrible ſlaughter among them, they fled. However during the action, the *Indians* ſet fire to the barracks, and burn'd a great quantity of proviſions, to the great mortification of *Valdivia*.

His fort attack'd in his abſence.

Dec. iv. B. 7. *ch.* 2.

But are repuls'd.

This attack, and the great difficulty and danger of getting proviſions, now that the *Indians* had declar'd againſt them, made the *Spaniards* weary of *Chili*. But the general being reſolv'd to hazard all rather than leave that country, ſet immediately about building new barracks, and ſent out ſtrong parties for proviſions; the fatigue of which was ſo inſupportable to his men, that they conſpir'd to murder him, and to return to *Peru*. But he, having notice of the plot, cruſh'd it in the bud, and puniſh'd the chief mutineers, and aſſum'd the title of governor of *Chili*, to procure the greater reſpect from his little army; and being a man of undaunted courage and bravery, and of no leſs prudence and conduct, in a ſhort time, he ſubdu'd the *Indians* of the vale of *Chili*, who were the moſt conſiderable of any in his neigbourhood, and having made them his friends, he began to work the mines of *Quillota*, and built a fort, for the defence of his miners, putting a garriſon in it. And having a navigable river at St. *Jago*, he order'd a frigate to be built, for the conveniency of trade to *Peru*.

Valdivia *ſends* Monroy *to* Peru.

But being in want of recruits from *Peru*, he would not wait till his frigate could be ready, and therefore he ſent 30 horſe to the valley of *Guaſco*, and from thence, he order'd *Monroy* to go to *Peru*, with ſix horſe-men, and (to entice the *Spaniards* of *Peru*, by the riches of *Chili*,) he caus'd ſix pair of ſtirrups, with buckles for as many breaſt plates, and girts, with hawk's bells to every one of them, to be made of pure gold, as alſo the pummels of ſix ſaddles, which *Monroy* was to carry with him. But as they were preparing to enter the deſart of *Atacama* (which as we obſerv'd before, is the utmoſt limit of *Peru*, adjoining to *Chili*) the *Indians* of the vale of *Copayapo*, fell unexpectedly upon *Monroy*, and kill'd five of his men, he himſelf and *Miranda* eſcaping upon their horſes bare back'd; but being wounded in ſeveral places, their horſes tir'd, and they without arms, they became priſoners to *Coteo* an *Indian* commander, who purſu'd them with 100 archers, and brought them back to his *curaca*, whoſe wife was heireſs of the whole vale. As they were bound in order to be put to death, that lady (by good providence) took pity of them, and riſing up haſtily, unbound them with her own hands, bidding them fear nothing, for they ſhould not die; then ſhe order'd water to waſh their wounds, and gave them ſome liquor to drink, after ſhe had drank of it before them. For, all which, *Miranda*, who underſtood the language, gave her moſt hearty thanks. Here they continu'd ſix months, and were well treated, and to divert themſelves, and pleaſe the *curaca*, they perſuaded him to ride, which he lik'd very well, and having five horſes, beſides thoſe of *Monroy* and *Miranda*, the *curaca* and ſome of his chief officers mounted ſome of them almoſt every day, the *curaca* having a launce and a naked ſword carry'd before him, which they had taken from the *Spaniards*. But *Monroy* being weary of ſtaying among the *Indians*; as he was riding, one day, with the *curaca*, he clos'd with him, and wounded him in ſeveral parts of his body, with a little knife, of which he dy'd ſome months after; at the ſame time *Miranda* ſnatch'd the launce from the one *Indian*, and the ſword from the other. As the *curaca* fell from his horſe, the reſt of the *Indians*, who were a foot, fled with the utmoſt fear; ſo that *Monroy*, *Miranda* and one *Caſco*, who had ſtaid among the natives from the time that *Almagro* had been at *Copayapo*, rode off towards *Atacama*; and, by a wonderful providence, met an *Indian* woman, driving one of their ſheep laden with toaſted *Indian* wheat, which being in different bags, they took upon their horſes, and ſo had ſuſtenance to paſs the deſart, of above 60 leagues, (as we obſerv'd before) and coming to *Lima*, addreſt themſelves to *Vaca di Caſtro*, the new governor of *Peru*; who conſidering the importance of *Chili*, ſent him back, after the defeat of young *Almagro*, to reinforce *Valdivia*, with 60 men. But what excuſe *Monroy* made to the fair lady who had ſo generouſly ſav'd his life, and, in

The Indians *kill five of* Monroy's *men, and make himſelf and* Miranda *priſoners:*

They eſcape to Peru.

p. 114.

in recompence for it, had her husband murder'd by him; our author does not say; and indeed, as it could bear no excuse, I suppose he made what haste he could thro' the vale of *Copayapo*, at his return.

In the mean time, *Valdivia* had his hands full at St. *Jago*. He was intent upon his gold mines at *Quillota*, and left *Gonzalo de los Rios* to keep the fort, and gather the gold. But the *Indians*, who had sagacity enough to find out a proper bait for *Spaniards*, brought a pot full of grains of gold to the captain, telling him, they would give him as much of it as he pleas'd; and so decoying him and his party at a little distance from the fort, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and kill'd all his men, except one free'd black, who with the captain made an escape on horse back. *Valdivia* being inform'd of this, and of his frigate's being burnt, when it was almost ready to be launch'd, march'd from St. *Jago*, with 50 horse, and made some examples of the most forward natives, and having establish'd peace with the rest, built a strong house in the valley of *Quillota*, and left a garison in it.

In this condition *Valdivia* continu'd during all the troubles of *Peru*, till *Monroy*'s return; because his men being reduc'd, it was not practicable to enlarge his conquests, not having people enough to make colonies, or to send garisons to any other places, altho' his courage and conduct were not inferior to any of the conquerors of *America*. He therefore contented himself with keeping the ground he had, and employ'd the *Indians*, who were his friends, in working the mines at *Quillota*, not knowing what was become of *Monroy* till he return'd in the year 1554, there having been no communication between *Peru* and *Chili*, by reason of the civil war, in all the time from *Monroy*'s setting out from St. *Jago* to his return to it again.

Monroy *returns with recruits,*

Valdivia, having got this seasonable recruit, which, tho' a small one, was very acceptable to him, he wisely thought it best policy to secure the country between his city of St. *Jago*, and *Peru*, before he ventur'd to conquer farther south. In order to this, he founded a city at *Coquimbo*, about 60 leagues north of St. *Jago*, being in 30 deg. south lat. nearer the sea than St. *Jago*. In this place, the longest day, (*viz.* the 11th of *December*,) is 14 hours: here there is a small river, which serves to water the whole country round, and makes it produce every thing in great abundance. And near it is a hill which produces a good quantity of gold. In maintaining this new plantation, and that of St. *Jago*, with the mines of *Quillota*, *Valdivia* spent the years 1544, and 1545, and very much he could compass it.

Coquimbo *founded.*

Whilst *Valdivia* was carrying on his discoveries and conquests in *Chili*, one *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz* appear'd in *Peru* producing a commission from *Charles* V. as governor of all to the southward of the coast of *Peru*. But the commission having been first legally granted, by vertue of the emperor's commission, to *Pedro de Valdivia*, it was not thought proper to supersede it, especially considering that there was some informality in *Hoz*'s commission. The council of *Lima*, therefore, desir'd this new governor, to go on to *Chili*, and sent a recommendation with him to *Valdivia*, who, upon his coming, assign'd some lands to him, but did not own his commission. And when he found, that there was a necessity for his own going to *Peru*, to get more forces, that he might keep his ground in *Chili*, he took no notice of *Hoz*, but left a deputation with *Francisco de Villagra* to govern *Chili* in his absence.

The manner of his leaving *Chili* was artful enough. He spoke to several money'd men of his following, to lend him money, that he might send *Villagra* to *Peru* for recruits; but they refusing his request, he gave out a licence to as many as pleas'd to depart with *Villagra* with all their effects. About 20 of his people embraced the opportunity, and carried all their riches aboard the frigate which he had made, after the first was burnt. When they were gone aboard, *Valdivia* came down to the shore, and, having made an entertainment for them, invited them ashore, which they accepted, and came in the boat. As they were at dinner, he recommended *Villagra* to them as a person he had a very great value for, and therefore hop'd they would shew him kindness upon his account; which they all promis'd; but as they were ready to depart, *Valdivia* jump'd into the boat, and made the sea men set off, calling to his guests to remember their promise and be kind to *Villagra*, with whom he had left a deputation to be their governor, in his absence. Thus he went a board the frigate, and took an exact account of every man's money in his pocket book, intending to pay them honestly, (the whole sum being about 80,000 pieces of eight) and weighing anchor, he set sail for *Peru*, where he arriv'd, and join'd the king's forces, against *Gonzalo Pizarro*, as we related in the proper place.

Valdivia *leaves* Villagra, *his deputy, and sails to* Peru.

La Vega P. 2. B. v. ch. 19.

It is natural to believe that the gentlemen who were thus trick'd were not in good humour for some time; but *Villagra*, having now full power, quieted them by degrees, and the rather because there was no remedy, there being no other ship upon the coast of *Chili*. However *Hoz* taking

taking advantage of this diſcontent, endeavour'd to make a party for himſelf, by virtue of his commiſſion formerly mentioned; but *Villagra* being inform'd of it, ſeiz'd *Hoz*, and cut off his head, and hang'd one *Romero*, who was deepeſt in the plot. And thus he brought all the *Spaniards* in *Chili* into good obedience; having nothing to do, but to keep their ground againſt the *Indians* till *Valdivia*'s return.

He returns to Chili.

As ſoon as *Gonzalo Pizarro* was defeated, *Valdivia* ſet out for *Chili*, with a new and full commiſſion from the preſident *Gaſca*, as has been ſaid before. At his arrival, with a conſiderable reinforcement, he approv'd of what *Villagra* had done; but having intelligence that the *Indians* of *Copayapo* had kill'd captain *Bon* with 40 men, who were coming to him from *Peru*; and that *La Serena* (a new city built between St. *Jago* and *Guaſco*) had been burnt by thoſe *Indians*; the governor ſent *Aguirre*, with a ſufficient number of men to rebuild that city; which he did, and chaſtis'd the *Indians* who had revolted.

These things being happily perform'd, and all things quiet in the north, *Valdivia* bent his thoughts to make diſcoveries towards the ſouth. And therefore, taking with him 150 men, he march'd thro' the provinces of *Arauco* and *Tucapel*; in both which he had many encounters with the *Indians*, but being always victorious, he ſubdu'd them, and brought them to deſire peace: and marching to the valley of *Andalien*, he founded the city of *Conception*, upon the ſea coaſt, in the 37 deg. of lat. But ſoon after this, the *Indians* brought a formidable army againſt him, which they divided into ſeveral bodies, and attack'd him. He fought them for the ſpace of a whole day, and altho' he was in danger of being defeated by their numbers; yet at laſt he put them to flight, having made a terrible ſlaughter amongſt them. Then he built a fort, at his new plantation, and being attack'd there, he gave the *Indians* another overthrow.

The city of Conception *built.*

Having now a breathing time, he ſent *Alderete* with 70 horſe to view the cities of *Arauco* and *Tucapel*, who marching ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on the other of the river *Biobio*, ſaw many cities, and vaſt plains, where were many inhabitants, but they were for the moſt part retir'd to the mountains. *Aldarete*, having run thro' a great tract of land, return'd to *Valdivia*, who, upon his report, determin'd to make a progreſs thro' thoſe provinces the year following.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1551, having left a gariſon well ſtor'd with ammunition and proviſion in the fort of the *Conception*, he ſet out, with all his forces, along the plains of *Ongol*, ſouth of his new city, and at ſeveral places defeated the *Indians* who oppos'd him. At laſt he founded another city, which he call'd *Imperial*; and, to perſuade his men to a vigorous defence of this new city, he divided the lands amongſt them. From thence he march'd, ſtill ſouthward, to the valley of *Marequina*, where he had advice that 180 new men were come from *Peru* to St. *Jago*. He ſent orders to *Villagra* to bring ſuch of them as were able and well arm'd; which being done, the governor march'd with a pretty army, compos'd of *Spaniards* and north *Chilians*, towards a river, in 41 deg. ſouth lat. to which he gave his own name, and is ſtill known, by the name of *Baldivia* river (changing the V into B) where is a ſpacious harbour, near which he built a city, which ſtill retains his name.

The city Imperial *founded.*

As likewiſe Valdivia *or* Baldivia.

From thence, he ſent *Alderete* north weſt towards the ſnowy mountains, which are a continuation of the *Cordilleras*, which run thro' the ſouth of *Peru*, and all along the eaſt of *Chili*, and terminate in the magellanic land. Near theſe mountains, *Alderete* founded *Ciudad Ricca*, call'd in our maps *Villa Ricca*, or the rich city, but the ſituation was, after ſome time, chang'd to where it is now, in 38 deg. lat. nearer the ſea coaſt, on the ſide of a large lake. All matters having ſucceeded ſo proſperouſly with *Valdivia* in this country, he return'd to *Imperial*, all the *Indians*, as he paſt, ſubmitting to him; and having divided all the lands of thoſe conqueſts, among his men, keeping moſt of the *Arauco* and *Tucapel* provinces for himſelf, and built three forts within eight leagues of one another in that country; which done, he march'd to *Conception*, and then to St. *Jago*. From thence he diſpatch'd *Alderete* to *Spain* with the king's mony, and a particular account of the country, and of his own labour in the conqueſt of it.

Villa Ricca *built.*

Alderete *ſent to* Spain.

In the year 1552 a new ſupply of men arriv'd from *Peru* under the command of captain *Avendano*, who brought with him, by land, 350 horſes and mares, for breed: there came alſo ſome other *Spaniards*, by ſea, with their families, to ſettle in the new plantations; which indeed were too many, for the ſmall number of *Spaniards* then in *Chili*, conſidering that the country was well peopled with natives, and they a warlike nation, and not under any king, as the people of *Peru* and *Mexico* were; but in *clans* and *tribes*, ſubject to the oldeſt or braveſt of the ſeveral races. So that there being ſo many cities founded, there could be but a ſmall number of *Spaniards* in every city; and they were at ſuch a diſtance from one another

another, that when one city was vigorouſly attack'd, they could not ſend notice, or receive relief from another in a long time. For, from *Copyapo* to *Baldivia* are 900 miles, and, at that time there were ſix cities between them; and ſuppoſing there were, with the ſupplies lately come from *Peru*, 400 men in *Chili*, thoſe could make but 50 to every city; but conſidering that there was a neceſſity of keeping a body of troops, in one place, to ſuccour the country as occaſion offer'd, if 150 were in one city, or marching thro' the provinces, then every city could have but 33 men to defend it, perhaps againſt 20,000 *Indians*, who might come to attack them.

But *Valdivia*'s ſucceſs now began to leave him, and perhaps the long tide of good fortune, which had attended him, made him too ſecure, and occaſion'd a preſumption that ruin'd him. But the true reaſon of the inſurrection, in which he periſh'd, was, the love of money. For, having, as we have ſaid, reſerv'd for his own ſhare, the greateſt part of the provinces of *Arauco* and *Tucapel*, (in which he had found gold mines) he employ'd the natives to work in them, and exercis'd ſuch a tyrannical authority over them that the whole provinces were diſguſted, and join'd together, as one man, to break the yoke of bondage from their necks; the ſeveral *Curaca*'s, or heads of different clans, uniting in this, as the common intereſt of the whole country, nor indeed could they be juſtly blam'd for doing ſo. For, what brave people will ever tamely undergo the diſgrace and miſery of being *ſlaves* to *foreign Tyrants*, and *Uſurpers*, who under pretence of *Religion*, and baniſhing *Idolatry*, pillage their treaſure, and make them, and their poſterity their drudges and beaſts of burden; as if the cant of ſaving a nation from going to the devil by a *falſe religion*, were ſufficient compenſation for the *loſs* of *Liberty*, and for making them, with their own gold, bribe their task-maſters to make their *Slavery* perpetual.

The Indians *riſe in arms.*

And attacks two of the forts.

The *Indians* having concerted meaſures, at one and the ſame time attack'd two of their forts in *Arauco* and *Tucapel*, in the laſt of which, *Erozar* repuls'd the enemy ſeveral times, and ſent to *Valdivia* for aſſiſtance; but none coming in time, he deſerted the place in the night, and march'd, in ſilence, to the other which was beſieged. At laſt *Maldonado* was ſent to *Tucapel* with ſix men; but, upon his arrival, found the fort burnt, and he was attack'd by the enemy, who kill'd three of his men, he himſelf with the other three eſcaping to *Arauco*; from whence he ſent advice to *Valdivia*, who haſtily marching with 150 men, paſt the river *Biobio*, and arriv'd at the fort, where *Maldonado* adviſ'd him to ſtay, and ſend for all the force he had, to quell this inſurrection, which, he aſſur'd him, was the moſt univerſal of any he had ſeen in *Chili*. But he would not hear of delays, ſaying that the life of buſineſs was expedition.

Part i. b. vii. ch. 22. *& ſeq.*

But becauſe *De la Vega* is more full, in his relation of *Valdivia*'s defeat, than any other author I have ſeen; and becauſe he ſeems to give the moſt rational account of the manner of it, I have choſen to tranſcribe from him, at leaſt to give the reader his ſenſe, in this part of the ſtory: which is as follows,

Valdivia *engages the* Indians *with ſucceſs.*

Upon *Valdivia*'s arrival in the plain of *Arauco*, he found an army of *Indians*, to the number of 14 or 15,000, whom he attack'd, and put to flight, as uſual, and continued to do ſo in ſeveral encounters; yet they ſtill appear'd, the next day, in greater numbers, altho' his horſe made great ſlaughter among them, at every engagement. At laſt, an old *Indian* general, of great experience in war, having conſider'd both armies, and wondering that the *Spaniards* ſhould ſtill get the better of the natives, notwithſtanding the odds of their numbers; he deſir'd the *Curaca*'s and officers, of the *Indian* army, to call a council, where having found, by the anſwers made to the ſeveral queſtions he ask'd, *that the* Spaniards *were mortal*; that they were *ſubject to hunger and thirſt*; that they could be *overcome with fatigue*; and that both *they and their horſes could be kill'd*; he deſir'd his countrymen to take their repoſe, and leave the ordering of the next battle to him, and he hoped to give them a good account of the uſurpers.

But by a new device of an old Indian *general he is defeated.*

Accordingly the next morning, he divided the army into 13 different battalions, of 1,000 men each; placing them at ſuch a diſtance behind one another, as that one could engage without being encumber'd by the reſt. His orders to every battalion were, that they ſhould engage ſingle; and when they could ſtand no longer the ſhock of the *Spaniſh* horſe, they ſhould betake themſelves to flight, but with this ſpecial caution, that they ſhould take ſuch a compaſs, either to right or left, as to keep clear of the battalions behind them; and when they were out of the enemy's reach, he order'd them to fall in the rear of the laſt battalion, and there to refreſh, and reſt themſelves whilſt the ſecond battalion took up their poſt in the battle. Thus the whole 13 battalions were to engage the *Spaniards* by turns, and when they were broke, they were to fall into the rear: by which means, the firſt that fought, and were beaten, had time to rally, and would be

freſh again, before the 12, that were before them, had perform'd their part.

With theſe inſtructions, they advanc'd, and the firſt battalion ſtood the firſt aſſault for a while; but being diſorder'd by the horſe, (as the old *Indian* foreſaw they ſhould,) they fled, and obſerv'd his orders, flying to the right and left, and caſting two half circles, to fall into the rear of the 12th battalion. As ſoon as they began to flee, the ſecond body mov'd up to the attack, and did what execution they were able, and then fled, as the firſt had done; and, like them, falling into the rear, there was an experienced general there, to put them in order as they retreated. This manner of fighting kept the *Spaniards* in conſtant work, for many hours, till they had beaten 10 battallions of the *Indians* one after another, but ſtill they ſaw a dozen freſh ones before them. At laſt, after ſeven hours cloſe fighting, both the men and the horſes began to fail, and loſe that vigour which they ſhew'd at firſt. Which the *Indians* being ſenſible of, theirs encreas'd, and they ply'd them inceſſantly with freſh forces: ſo that *Valdivia* ſeeing the afternoon half ſpent, and concluding, by this new way of fighting, that they would be able to harraſs him the whole night, after the ſame manner, thought it expedient to retreat, to a place he had obſerv'd, about four miles from the field of battle; where a few *Spaniards* would be able to repulſe the whole army of *Indians*; he therefore gave orders to retreat to that poſt. But our author ſays, that order was diſcover'd by an *Indian* ſervant of his, which gave the enemy an opportunity to be before hand with him; ſo that when the *Spaniards* would have enter'd the paſs, they found the *Indians* poſſeſt of it: and being quite ſpent with labour and toil, and not having had any refreſhment, they gave themſelves for loſt, which the *Indians* perceiving, they united all their battalions, and fell upon them at once, 20 or 30 of them getting about one horſe, knocking down both man and horſe with great clubs. Thus *Valdivia* and all his men were kill'd in a moſt butcherly manner, not one eſcaping except one *Indian* boy, who fled to *Arauca* and gave the account of it to *Maldonado* who had been left there wounded.

And ſlain with all his men.

Herrera *dec.* v. B. viii. ch. 3.

Maldonado, upon this news, thought it convenient to abandon the fort of *Arauca*, and with the 15 men left there, retir'd to the *Conception*, and ſent to *Gomez d'Almagro*, to join him with the garriſon of the third fort of *Puren*. But he deferring his march a day too long, was ſet upon by the *Indians*, and loſt ſeven of his men, and made a gallant retreat with the reſt back to the fort, tho' they were all wounded, having fought the whole day, and march'd the greateſt part of the night; but as ſoon as they had got ſome reſt, they evacuated the fort, and march'd to *Imperial*.

When this misfortune happen'd, *Villagra* was at *Baldivia*, but upon the hearing of the news, he ſet out, (with his own 30 men, and ſome others he got to join him from the towns in the ſouth) for the *Conception*; and recruiting his forces, with ſome from St. *Jago*, he reſolv'd to revenge his general's death upon the *Indians*. To that end, he march'd to *Arauco* with 160 men, and ſix pieces of cannon, and having paſt the river *Biobio*, the major general *Reynoſo* fought ſome battalions of *Indians*, till *Villagra* came to his aſſiſtance; but the *Indians*, who had now learn'd the way to make their numbers of uſe to them, the battle laſted moſt part of the day, and *Villagra* being knock'd down, and his horſe kill'd, they ſo preſt upon him, that he had great difficulty to prevent being ſlain; and being mounted again, by ſome of his people, upon a freſh horſe, he thought fit to retreat, after having loſt, eight of his men. The *Indians* purſu'd him for three leagues, and kill'd fourſcore in the retreat; the reſt, almoſt by miracle, got ſafe with their general to the *Conception*; which finding not tenable, he ſent the wounded men, the women, and other uſeleſs people, by ſea, to St. *Jago*; going himſelf by land, with ſuch has had eſcap'd at the laſt battle.

Villagra *marches againſt the* Indians.

And is defeated.

When he arriv'd in this city, he found that *Valdivia* had left a will, by which he had appointed *Alderete* (now in *Spain*) his ſucceſſor in the government, and, failing him, *Aguirre*, who was (at this time) on the other ſide the mountains, and knew nothing of what had happen'd. However *Villagra* having been lieutenant general to *Valdivia*, and, upon his death, choſen general by moſt of the cities, he inſiſted upon his election, but *Aguirre* returning from the mountains, was admitted at St. *Jago* as governor; ſo that theſe two rivals were near coming to blows; at laſt, they agreed to refer the diſpute to the royal court of *Lima*; but left *Baldivia* and *Imperial*) the only two cities left in the ſouth) ſhould be loſt, before they could have the council of *Peru*'s deciſion, *Villagra* undertook to relieve them; and marching ſouthward with 150 men, he march'd thro' the rebel provinces (as they call'd them) and had ſeveral encounters with the *Indians*, who had learn'd to uſe *Spaniſh* weapons with great dexterity. Nothwiſtanding which, he, with great bravery, recover'd all the territories about *Imperial*, and ſent ſuccours

cours to *Baldivia*; till his conquests were interrupted by an order from *Lima*, that both he and *Aguirre* should give up their claim, to the *alcaid* of every city, within his own district. *Villagra* comply'd with the order. But the council of *Peru* seeing their mistake, sent him a commission, as lord chief justice of *Chili*, until *Alderete*'s arrival, whom the king had made lord lieutenant there, upon the news of *Valdivia*'s death. This was the saving of *Chili* to the *Spaniards*, for *Villagra* now exerted himself, and raising all the forces he could, he march'd against *Lautaro*, general of the *Indians*, who had done much mischief to the *Spaniards*; and having beat up his quarters by break of day, after an obstinate resistance, he kill'd him, and defeated his army.

But afterwards retrieves the Spanish interest.

By this victory, he secur'd the *Spanish* interest among the *Indians* in the several territories of the cities, then in their possession. Soon after which, *Alderete* dying at *Taboga* near *Panama*, the vice roy of *Peru*, Don *Hurtado de Mendoza*, made his own son captain general of *Chili*, and making *Villagra* and *Aguirre* both prisoners, they were sent by sea to *Peru*. A glorious recompence for all the services *Villagra* had done. But there were in *Peru*, and always have been in courts, from age to age, ministers, who have very little regard for the reputation of their masters, so they can gratify their passion, or advance their own interest. But this submission to the royal court of *Peru* crown'd his victories, which had been very considerable, and rais'd his reputation above all the selfish views of his enemies. And this being the conclusion of the conquests in *Chili*, under the conduct of *Pizarro*'s captains; we shall here leave *Mendoza*'s son to manage the *Indians*, and give some account of the progress of *Pizarro*'s other officers in the north.

Notwithstanding which he is sent prisoner to Peru.

We have already spoken of *Belalcazar*'s settling the colony at *Quitu*; and hinted at his discovery of *Popayan*; but as that was only glancing at it, in relating another story, we shall now give a fuller account of it.

Belalcazar having been sent to *Quitu*; after *Ruminavi*, one of *Atahualpa*'s generals, as we said before, soon subdu'd that country, by the interest of *Manco Inca*, and by the expectation the *Indians* had, that *Pizarro* would settle that prince in his empire; which expectation the *Spaniards* kept up in them, till they had rivetted their own power so strongly, that it was not possible for the *Indians* about *Quitu* to set themselves free. But as it was the common practice of the *Spanish* captains, who were settled in any government, to send parties out to make farther discoveries, out of their own precints, and to make a merit of those discoveries at the court of *Spain*, which generally rewarded them with the goverment of those new countries, when they were not included in the commissions formerly granted; so *Belalcazar*, being inform'd by the natives of *Quitu*, that there was a large country towards the north, rich in gold, under the dominion of *Colambaz* and *Popayan*, two brothers; he being fond of making discoveries towards the north sea, to save the trouble of carriages over the mountains, set out with 300 men, well furnish'd with ammunition; but he was no sooner out of the territories of *Quitu*, than he found the natives drawn up in order of battle, to oppose his passage, with whom he had frequent skirmishes; but by the terror of his horse and his fire arms, he still got the better of them. The greatest hardship he labour'd under was want of provisions, for the natives having been often beaten, with great slaughter, abandon'd their dwellings and carry'd away every thing to the mountains. However *Belalcazar* and his men, being inur'd to hardships, furnish'd themselves as well as they could with the natural produce of the country, arriv'd at the capital city of the province, which, from the name of the prince, they call'd *Popayan*, by which name the whole country goes to this day.

Herrera, Dec. IV. B. 3. ch. 3.

Belalcazar marches towards Popayan.

In this place, he determin'd to settle; being an open country, and not far from a large river, which by the course of it, he believ'd was the *Rio Grande*, which empties itself into the north sea. During his stay in this pleasant valley, thro' which many small rivulets ran, he sent out several parties to discover the country round, and to bring him in provisions. But the natives being a warlike people, and many of them man-eaters, there were many skirmishes between the *Spaniards* and them; but the former still kept their ground, and put the *Indians* to the rout in all the encounters they had with them; and very wisely treated all their prisoners well, to engratiate themselves with the *Indians*. The greatest disadvantage they were at was the want of being understood, for the language of that country was quite different from that of *Peru*, and the farther they penetrated into the country northward, the diversity of languages encreas'd, and they were, in some places, forced to use three interpreters to explain what one person spoke.

This city of *Popayan*, where *Belalcazar* settled his first colony, was in a pleasant valley about 60 leagues from *Quitu* in 3 deg. n. lat. so that the days and nights were of a length the whole year

year round. After he had fix'd at this city, he had very frequent skirmiſhes with the natives, who ſometimes made peace with him, but when the firſt opportunity happen'd, broke all their engagements and attack'd the *Spaniards*; but ſtill to their own loſs. After living about a year with them after this manner, he at laſt brought them to be quiet; and then he ſet out for farther diſcoveries northward, to purſue the courſe of the great river to the north ſea. He left a deputy in *Popayan*, and marching in purſuit of the river's mouth, came into that country, now well known by the name of *New Granada*, between 5 and 8 deg. n. lat. and is directly north from *Popayan*.

Belalcazar having ſettled a colony in Popayan, *advances to* New Granada.

But altho' *Belalcazar* believ'd, at firſt, that he had been the diſcoverer of this country, he ſoon was undeceiv'd. For, being arriv'd at the great river, ſome of the natives, who ventur'd to converſe with him, told him, that on the other ſide of the river, there were men ſuch as they were, and that they had ſuch creatures to carry them as his people had. *Belalcazar* paſt the river with 130 men, to ſatisfy himſelf of the truth of this report, and march'd to the province of *Bogota*, where he had intelligence thoſe ſtrangers lay. As he was upon his way to *Santa Fe*, a new colony eſtabliſh'd in that province, before he came into it, he was inform'd, that a third diſtinct army of ſtrangers, were marching from the eaſt towards the river. *Belalcazar* ſent out a party to get intelligence from whence, they came, and who they were; who, having ſeen and ſpoken with their captain, brought their own commander an account, that they were *Spaniards*, who had come from *Venezuola*, under the command of *Nicholas Federman*, to make diſcoveries.

Three different diſcoverers meet in that country.

Theſe three parties being within ſix leagues of one another, each of them ſent to enquire of the other two, who they were, which every one of them told without reſerve. They who were ſettled at *Santa Fe*, and had given the name of *Nueva Granada* to the country, had come by order of the lord lieutenant of the *Canaries*, to diſcover the *Rio Grande*, or the great river of *Magdalen*. Their captain was *Gonzalo Ximenes de Queſada*, who had march'd, by land, from the mouth of that river with 500 foot and 100 horſe; and ſome ſhips ſail'd up the river to be ſerviceable to him, in this expedition; and had join'd him much to his comfort, when he was in great ſcarcity of proviſions. And having march'd over terrible mountains, he was ſtop'd, for ſome time, by an army of *Indians*, in this province of *Bogota*, ſo call'd from the *Curaca*, to whom it was ſubject. But *Ximenes* ſoon ſubdu'd them, and took poſſeſſion of the city which this *Curaca* had built, and call'd by his own name, where he found plenty of all things, and the *Curaca* ſent him a preſent of gold, but did not come himſelf altho' *Ximenes* invited him; but *Ximenes* having intelligence of him, attack'd him in his quarters, beat his party, and *Bogota* eſcaping to the wood dy'd of a wound he had receiv'd in the action. Upon his death, *Sagipa* took poſſeſſion of his dominion, and became a friend to the *Spaniards* upon condition they ſhould aſſiſt him againſt the man-eaters. But the *Spaniards* inhumanly rack'd him to death to oblige him to diſcover *Bogota*'s treaſure.

Belalcazar, hearing of *Ximenes* and *Federman*, began to apprehend, as indeed it was very probable, that they three would quarrel about the right of conqueſt, being all come from different places, and having poſſeſs'd ſeveral places by their arms. But the prudence and moderation of *Ximenes* prevented any miſchief which might have enſu'd; for, altho' his title ſeem'd to be the beſt, both as being the firſt, and as having conquer'd the proprietors; yet he receiv'd the other two captains courteouſly, and *But agree* he and *Belalcazar* agreed to give *Federman* ſome gold, and to aſſign him a part of the country to plant, and they all three concluded to leave *Federman*'s ſoldiers in *New Granada*, that half of *Belalcazar*'s ſhould retire 80 leagues back, and ſettle a colony in the vale of *Neiva*, as being more contiguous to his own conqueſt of *Popayan*. And as to their pretenſions to the government of the new country, they agreed to go all to *Spain* together, and apply to the court for juſtice. To this end they built more brigantines to carry them down the river; and whilſt they were building, *Ximenes* planted two new colonies, one at *Tunja* 22 leagues from *Bogota*, and the other at *Velez*, 30 leagues from *Santa Fe*, and 12 from *Bogota*. This country of *New Granada* is about 130 leagues in length, and in ſome part of it 30, and in others 20 in breadth. It is bounded on the ſouth by *Popayan*; on the north by St. *Martha*; on the weſt by the ſouth ſea; and on the eaſt, by the *Terra Firma*.

When the two new brigantines were launch'd, the three captains, without pretending to command one another, went aboard, with about thirty followers, and ſail'd down the river, and from thence to *Carthagena*, where they ſhip'd for *Spain*. During *Belalcazar*'s abſence from *Popayan*, ſeveral captains, from ſeveral places, enter'd that province upon pretence of making new diſcoveries, and planted

planted colonies; but fearing *Belalcazar*'s return, they made it their buſineſs to engratiate themſelves, ſome with the *Spaniards*, others with the *Indians*, to put themſelves in a condition to oppoſe him, if he ſhould endeavour to diſpoſſeſs them. Thus *Robledo* founded ſome colonies in *Auzerma*, belonging to *Popayan*, and in the territories adjacent, ſuch as *Carrapa*, *Picara*, and *Paucura*. And *Paſcal de Andagora* did the like in the adjoining provinces. But inſtead of doing him hurt, they planted the country for him. For, *Belalcazar* having carry'd his point in *Spain*, receiv'd the king's commiſſion as *Adetuſado*, or lord lieutenant of *Popayan*, and returning by *Panama* to that country, and producing his commiſſion, the *Spaniards* receiv'd him, and thoſe gentlemen were forced to give up their pretenſions. This happen'd before the fall of the *Pizarro* family.

Belalcazar *made lord lieutenant of* Popayan.

Near about this time, there were ſeveral colonies planted towards the eaſt of *Peru* on the other ſide of the cordilleras towards *Paraguay*; but many of them were made by captains who had no relation to the firſt diſcoverers, nor can they well be brought under the title of the *Pizarro* expedition.

I have entirely avoided giving any part of the natural hiſtory of ſuch parts of *America* as we have yet touch'd upon, becauſe it had not been poſſible to have kept clear of repetitions, if we ſhould have given the natural hiſtory of every part of that continent, as it was diſcover'd; ſince many things relating to that ſubject are common to the country in general. It was therefore thought more eligible to go on with the diſcoveries of the moſt conſiderable parts of this new world, according to the order of time when they happen'd; and to reſerve the natural and moral hiſtory of the whole to a particular chapter by itſelf.

If this chapter has not appear'd ſo diverting to ſome readers, as that of the conqueſt of *Mexico*; or if any ſhall complain, that there ſeems to be more of confuſion in the narration, than there was in that; I hope they will give allowance for the ſubject, and conſider that it was not an eaſy task to give a ſhort abſtract of *murders*, *civil wars*, *invaſions*, *treaſons*, and a long chain of *confuſion* and *diſorder* for a tract of years together, and thoſe carry'd on in many different parts of the ſame kingdom at the ſame time; I ſay, that cannot be ſo eaſily put into method, as one continu'd ſtory of one man's actions, who had only one thing in view; and where the ſcene of action was confin'd to a ſmaller compaſs, both of time and place. All the apology I can make for any defects that may be found in this performance, is, that it is as well as my time and materials (together with my own ſmall ſufficiency) could allow. And if I have ſometimes taken one author's reaſoning rather than another's, and chang'd from him to the other, upon other occaſions, it was becauſe I thought there was a byaſs upon one or the other in ſome parts of their relation; which I think I have not copy'd them in. But if I have made a wrong Judgment, I muſt ſubmit that to the publick; but I have diſguis'd no facts, but told them as I found them.

CHAP. V.

The other Spaniſh DISCOVERIES *in* AMERICA.

Having given a full and particular account of the diſcovery and conqueſt of the two great empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, each by itſelf; it will not be ſo entertaining to dwell ſo long upon the other ſmaller diſcoveries, and therefore we propoſe to bring all the others, in which the *Spaniſh* nation was concern'd, into one chapter, as being of leſs conſequence than the two vaſt empires already treated of; and therefore we ſhall begin with

SECT. I.

The Diſcovery of FLORIDA.

WE took notice, * that in the year 1517, *Corduba* landed in *Florida*, (altho' it had not then receiv'd that name;) but he only water'd there, and ſail'd directly to *Cuba*. But ſome time before *Cortez* undertook the expedition to *Mexico*, *John Ponce de Leon*, formerly mention'd, † and who had been governor of *Porto Ricco*, being now ſuperſeded from that dignity, rather than be idle, reſolv'd to lay out ſome of the money he had got, in making ſome farther diſcovery, in order to gain ſome reputation, and likewiſe to encreaſe his fortune: and having

* p. 41.

† p. 34.

Herrera *dec.* I. b. ix. ch. 5.

having heard that there was land towards the north, which had not been poſſeſt by any *Europeans*, he fitted out three ſhips, with good ſtore of men and proviſions, and having paſt by ſeveral iſlands, at laſt, about eaſter, he caſt anchor near a land, which he took to be an iſland, but it prov'd to be a part of the continent. To this they gave the name of *Florida*, either from the beauty of the country, or becauſe it was diſcover'd in the eaſter holydays call'd by the *Spaniards Paſqua Florida*. He landed in two or three places, but could not make good the country, and the only advantage made by that expedition was, that *Alaminos* his pilot found a ſhort cut from the bay of *Mexico* to *Spain*, without going about *Cuba*, as all the ſhips had done before. But one ridiculous project *Ponce de Leon* had, *viz.* the finding out a certain imaginary ſpring of *Bimini*, a river in *Florida* which the *Indians* at *Cuba* dream'd to have the virtue of renewing youth; and he, being fool enough to believe them, run a wild gooſe chaſe after that ſpring. And ſo having ſpent ſome months about that coaſt and the *Bahama* iſlands, he went to *Spain* to brag of his diſcoveries.

Ponce de Leon *ſails to* Florida.

But to no purpoſe.

Another fruitleſs attempt by de Ayllon.

Such another expedition *Vaſquez de Ayllon* made to *Florida* ſome time after, with the like number of ſhips, of which he loſt one; and having landed 200 men, (a number under the conduct of *Cortez* or *Pizarro*, ſufficient to conquer half *America*) the greateſt part of them were kill'd by the *Indians*, and ſome ſay *Vaſquez* himſelf left his bones there; they that eſcap'd came back to *Hiſpaniola*, having ſeen no towns in *Florida* except *Oritza*, which they call'd *Chicora*, and *Guale* which they nam'd *Gualdape* near point St. *Hellen*.

Herrera dec. iii b. II. ch. 6.

Narvaez *undertakes the conqueſt of it.*

The next that attempted the conqueſt of *Florida* was *de Narvaez*, who having been releas'd by *Cortez*'s order after the conqueſt of *Mexico*, had return'd to *Cuba*; and now in the year 1528 ſet out from that iſland with 400 foot, and 80 horſe, on board four ſhips and a brigantine for *Florida*; they ſet ſail in *March*, and after ſome ſtorms which toſs'd them too and from about a month, they arriv'd on the 12th of *April* upon the coaſt of *Florida*. *Narvaez* landed as many of his men as the boats could carry, and the day after brought his horſes aſhore which were reduc'd to 42, the reſt being dead. He found the *Indians* houſes abandon'd, ſo that, having taken poſſeſſion of the country in name of the king of *Spain*, he march'd northward, with 40 foot and ſix horſe, ſending his pilot with the brigantine, along the coaſt, to find out a ſafe harbour for the ſhips. *Narvaez* piercing into the country ſome leagues, met with ſome ſtragling natives, but having no interpreter, they could not underſtand one another; but having ſeen ſome gold about the *Indians*, they ask'd, by ſigns, where they had it; the *Indians* pointed north weſt, and named *Apalache*. *Alvar Nunez* the treaſurer advis'd to return to their ſhips and altogether to ſail up the gulph, towards the places pointed out by the natives, but it was carry'd againſt him; ſo that having ſent for all his forces, every ſoldier taking two pound of bisket and half a pound of bacon, they ſet out with 300 foot and 40 horſe, and travell'd 15 days without ſeeing either town or houſe, and croſs'd a river on floats and by ſwimming; and having ſpent a whole day in paſſing it, they ſaw 200 *Indians* at a diſtance in arms; ſending out ſome horſe, they took ſix of them, who brought them to their houſes, where they found a very ſeaſonable recruit of corn. Being guided by thoſe *Indians*, they march'd another fortnight in ſearch of *Apalache*. At laſt on the 17th of *June*, one of the lords of the country came to them, with ſome attendants, and being ask'd for *Apalache*, ſignify'd as they believ'd, that the people of that country were his enemies. This lord they made preſents to of hawk's bells and other trifles; and he march'd with them to his own town, where he preſented them with *Indian* wheat; and purſuing their journey the next day, they march'd thro' woods and rugged ways, till about the 25th of *June*, they came in ſight of *Apalache*.

Herrera dec. iii. b. iv. ch. 4.

This town conſiſted of about 40 low houſes, in a flat country, full of woods of walnut, laurel, cedar, ſabine and other timber. In this place they found plenty of maiz, dear, rabbits, hares, as alſo bears and lions; with geeſe, ducks, herons, patridges, *&c.* There were no men in the town at their going thither; but in ſome hours after their arrival, the men returned demanding their wives and children, which the *Spaniards* deliver'd to them; only they detain'd a cacique, who had come to treat with them; which ſo incens'd the *Indians* that the next day, the natives attempted to burn the town; but the *Spaniards* taking arms, they fled to the moraſſes. Here they ſtaid 25 days, and finding, by ſome parties they had ſent out, that the country northward was a wild uncultivated waſte; and, as far as they could underſtand the cacique, being inform'd that *Aute* was a plentiful place near the ſea coaſt, they determined to march that way; and in 10 days they arriv'd, having been almoſt every day aſſaulted by the natives: but not finding it anſwer their

expectation, they departed, purſuing their march towards the coaſt.

From their firſt landing, they had march'd above 280 leagues, thro' woods and rugged roads, without having ſeen ſo much as one hill or mountain, in all the march: and were now quite fatigu'd; ſo that finding ſome rivers whoſe courſe, being ſouthward, they concluded that they empty'd themſelves in the gulph of *Mexico* upon the *Florida* coaſt; they built ſome large barks of 20 cubits long, caulking them with the films of *palmito* trees, and made ropes of the horſe-tails and mains, and ſails of their ſhirts. On board theſe veſſels they embark'd, having eaten all the horſes in this laſt march. They ſail'd ſeven days down one of thoſe rivers without ſeeing the ſea; at laſt they diſcover'd an iſland, where were five canoes landing on the iſland; they found in one houſe a number of dry'd skates, which were very acceptable to them. Leaving this iſland, and taking the canoes with them, they ſail'd down along the ſtream, till thirſt forced them to land upon the continent, where they ſaw ſome houſes, in which they got freſh water and fiſh ready dreſt, but the people were fled. However in the night they were attack'd by the natives, but beat them off. Next morning they embark'd again; but a ſtorm diſpers'd their little fleet, and the bark wherein *Nunez* was, drove aſhore upon an iſland where he was reliev'd by the natives, and ſetting out again, the bark overſet, and three of his company were drown'd; and he with the reſt got to land, without arms; the ſame *Indians* who had reliev'd them at firſt, now brought them proviſions, and ſetting down by them, lamented their misfortune, as they obſerv'd by their behaviour; they likewiſe made fires in the open fields to dry them, and prevent their periſhing with cold, it being then in *November*. After this they brought them to ſome houſes, where they entertain'd them with great hoſpitality, altho' the *Spaniards* were under great apprehenſions that all this kindneſs was in order to ſacrifice them; but they were miſtaken. A day or two after, the *Indians* brought another bark's company to join them, theſe having been ſhipwreck'd upon the ſame iſland. The two companies made up eighty perſons in all; but, being oblig'd to winter here, ſuch a number of them dy'd, that they were reduced to fifteen. The *Spaniards* call'd the iſland *Mal Hado* or ill Luck.

De Narvaez was never more heard of; and indeed from his behaviour, both in *Mexico*, and *Florida*, he ſeems to have miſtaken his talent, when he ſet about making conqueſts. The treaſurer and his company ſtaid with theſe good-natur'd iſlanders till *April*; and then all proviſions failing, the natives, as they us'd to do, left the iſland, and went to the continent, till the fruits of their own iſland ſhould be ripe, and the fiſh return. They took the *Spaniards* with them, to whom they ſhew'd the greateſt kindneſs, becauſe (as our author ſays) they had done thoſe poor people much good, in curing their ſick, by making the ſign of the croſs, and praying over them. *It ſeems the* Indians *had more faith than the* Spaniards, *or elſe ſo many of them had not dy'd, when they had the phyſicians ſo near them.* But be this as it will, it is certain that the *Spaniſh* writers take it for granted, and *Nunez*, and two of his companions, who ſtaid among the mountain *Indians*, and travell'd from place to place, they did not know where, for ſix years together, (and were all that were ever heard of, of all thoſe who march'd with *Narvaez*) made oath at St. *Michael*, on the South Sea, of their having been well treated all that time, upon the account of having cur'd all the ſick wherever they came. Thus ended *De Narvaez*'s expedition. Her. *dec.* iv. b. iii. ch. 5.

The fourth adventurer for *Florida* was *De Soto*, who had been the marquis *Pizarro*'s lieutenant-general in *Peru*; but, having foreſeen the miſchief like to happen upon the diſcord between him and *Almagro*, left that country, and went to *Spain*; but being a martial man, and of an aſpiring genius, having heard of the ill ſucceſs of *Narvaez*, he begg'd of the king, the honour of conquering *Florida* for his majeſty; which he obtain'd leave to attempt; and, to capacitate him the better to accompliſh it, he was made governor of *Cuba*; that being to be the place of arms for the expedition. Having procur'd this commiſſion, he made preparation in *Spain* for his voyage. Above 1000 men quickly liſted themſelves for this ſervice, and the reputation of the general brought many gentlemen of birth into it. Ten ſhips being got ready for this expedition, he ſet ſail from St. *Lucar*, *April* 6. 1538. Upon his arrival in *Cuba*, he put ſome things in order there, and leaving the government of the iſland in his lady's hands, he embark'd again with 900 foot and 330 horſe, from *Havana*, on the 12th of *May* 1539, and upon the 31ſt came to an anchor in the bay of *Spirito Santo*, or the *Holy Ghoſt*, being in 27 deg. north lat. on the eaſt ſide of the *Mexican* gulf, immediately landing 300 men, who lay there all night, without any diſturbance; but about break of day, being attack'd by the *Indians*, and ſuſtain'd by a freſh party from the fleet, they beat them off, and kept their *Dec.* iv. b. vi. c. 1.

Ferdinand de Soto *is made general for conquering* Florida.

He lands in Florida.

their ground; in the mean time *Soto* landed all his men, and march'd that day two leagues into the country to a town belonging to *Harrihiagua*. That cacique fled to the mountains, for fear of the *Spaniards*, becauſe he had kill'd all the *Spaniards* of *Narvaez*'s company, who came in his way, except *John Ortiz*, who had been ſuffer'd to eſcape, by the compaſſion of *Harrihiagua*'s wife, and had taken ſhelter under the cacique *Mucozo*, who had us'd him well. But the admiral being inform'd that *Ortiz* had eſcap'd, and where he was, ſent *Gallegos* with 60 horſe, to bring him, having great need of him for an interpreter. At the ſame time *Mucozo*, having heard of the arrival of ſuch an army, ſent an embaſſy of 50 *Indians* with *Ortiz* to make peace. *Gallegos* met them upon the way, and his people taking *Ortiz*, who was naked, for an *Indian*, and ſeeing them all arm'd with bows and arrows, run at them with their ſpears without command. The *Indians* retir'd to the wood, but *Ortiz* ſtood, and had like to have been kill'd by one *Nieto*, but that he jumpt aſide, and made the ſign of the croſs, and nam'd himſelf; upon which *Nieto* took him up behind him, and he encouraging the *Indians*, who had fled, they were all brought before the admiral.

Soto was pleas'd to have found *Ortiz*, whom he careſs'd, and ſpoke kindly to the *Indians*, deſiring them to thank their cacique for his kindneſs to *Ortiz*, and to aſſure him of his friendſhip. Soon after their return, *Mucozo* came to viſit the admiral, who received him after a friendly manner; he ſtaid eight days, and ſhew'd himſelf a man of good ſenſe, by his way of informing himſelf of the affairs of *Spain*, and the account he gave of his own country.

He ſends back his ſhips.

About this time, *Soto*, in imitation of *Cortez*, and other more ancient generals, ſent his ſhips back to *Cuba*, except three or four ſmall ones for coaſting, that ſo his men might not have confidence in any thing, but their valour. He likewiſe took care that no miſchief ſhould be done in his quarters, nor in any part of the cacique *Harrihiagua*'s territories, thinking to bring him to peace by this regard ſhew'd to his ſubjects; but he was very obſtinate; and his people fell upon the *Spaniards* when ever they found a fit opportunity; notwithſtanding which, the general continued his mild uſage. For, the *Indians* having ſurpriz'd a party a forraging, took one *Grajal* priſoner, and carrying him clear off, ſtrip'd him naked, and thinking themſelves out of danger of being purſu'd by the *Spaniards*, they were making merry with their wives, and deſiring *Grajal* to eat and drink: but a party of horſe ſurprizing them, they all run off, leaving the women and the priſoner, who were all brought to the *Spaniſh* quarters, and *Soto* releas'd all the women.

And treats the Indians well.

He then ſent *Gallegos* to view the country, (beyond the dominions of the two caciques mention'd,) who taking with him 60 foot and as many horſe march'd about 17 leagues, and ſent the general word, that the country abounded in vines, walnut, mulberry, plum, oak, pine and other trees, and that a city which he had ſeen, altho' abandon'd by the inhabitants, was well ſtor'd with proviſions. Upon this intelligence, *Soto* deſparing of bringing in *Harrihiagua*, left *Calderon* with 40 horſe, to ſecure the ſhipping and proviſions, with a ſtrict charge, not to diſoblige the *Indians*; and began his march to overtake *Gallegos*. He refus'd to march to *Mucozo*'s town, altho' he invited him, being unwilling to be burthenſome to him, but recommended *Calderon* to his protection; he therefore took the direct route to *Urribarracuxi*'s country, where his lieutenant was; but he could not bring that cacique to ſpeak with him. Coming to a moraſs three leagues over, he was two days in paſſing it, the *Indians* of the country whom he took for guides induſtriouſly leading him thro' the moſt difficult ways; which he diſcovering, ſuffer'd his men to ſet the dogs upon them, which ſo frighted the reſt, that they ſoon brought him into a very good road. In this march, he was often attack'd by parties of the natives, but being ſtill upon his guard, they were always repuls'd with loſs. Having paſt another moraſs with ſome difficulty, he came into the province of *Acuera*, and ſtaying there 20 days, and having ſome skirmiſhes with the natives, he proceeded to *Occali*, farther north, where the cacique came to him, whom he treated kindly and diſmis'd; and taking new guides, he march'd towards *Vitacucho*, a province of about 50 leagues in compaſs, divided among three brothers; and coming about day break to *Ochile*, he caus'd his drums and trumpets to ſtrike up; at which the cacique, one of the three brothers, got to arms, altho' *Soto* offer'd him peace; and upon his refuſing it, the *Spaniards* took ſome priſoners, and releas'd them, ſending a civil meſſage to the cacique by them; this behaviour prevail'd with him to come to the general, whom he accompany'd ſome leagues in his march; and ſent his brothers word of the civility of the ſtrangers.

Two caciques join him.

The younger brother made peace with the *Spaniards* upon his brother's recommendation, but the elder whoſe name was *Vitacucho*, after whom the province was call'd, kept the meſſengers, and by one

one of his own, reproach'd his two brothers for what they had done; bidding them tell the ſtrangers, that if they offer'd to ſet foot in his dominions he would boil the one half of them, and roaſt the other. Notwithſtanding this angry meſſage, the general returning a courteous anſwer, the cacique fell of his rage, and came to viſit *Soto*, with 500 men, gaily adorn'd. He beg'd pardon for his harſh meſſage, and promis'd good behaviour for the future; which the general accepting for an apology, us'd him well. The next day the general march'd his troops into *Vitacucho's* capital which bore the ſame name, where having ſtaid two days, the two brothers deſir'd leave to be gone, and were diſmiſs'd by *Soto* with agreeable preſents.

In the mean time, *Vitacucho*, whoſe friendſhip was only pretended, was contriving the deſtruction of the *Spaniards* under-hand; but having, by good providence for them, put ſuch confidence in four *Indians*, whom *Soto* had for interpreters, as to truſt them with the plot, telling them, that he had 10,000 men ready to put it in execution; they applauded the contrivance, and encourag'd him to purſue it; but, at their parting with him, they diſcover'd the deſign to *John Ortiz*, who giving the general an account of it, he commanded them to keep the thing ſecret, reſolving to make *Vitacucho* fall into his own trap. In the mean time he kept his guards very exact, without ſhewing any ſign of ſuſpecting the cacique. When the day propoſs'd for the execution of the plot was come, *Vitacucho* deſir'd the general to march out to the plain, to ſee his *Indians* exerciſe, and be acquainted with their manner of fighting. *Soto* accepted the invitation, telling him, that in return of his compliment, his *Spaniards* ſhould march out in order of battle, which was the greateſt honour they could pay to their friends. But to cover his deſign, he himſelf walk'd a foot with the cacique.

Vitacucho's *plot to deſtroy* Soto.

The *Indians* were adorn'd as if only for ſhow, but had their arrows cover'd with graſs lying by them, they were drawn up in a plain with a wood on their left, and a lake on their right hand, being 10,000 in number. The cacique and the general, having the ſame plot upon each other's perſons, were attended by twelve choſen men each. And when they were come to the place, where *Soto* had been told the cacique was to give the ſignal, he prevented him, by ordering a musket to be diſcharged, which was his ſignal for ſeizing *Vitacucho*, who was to have done the ſame by him, if the other had not got the ſtart of him. Upon the ſignal, the 12 men, who attended the general, quickly ſeiz'd the cacique, and *Soto*, who had his armour beneath his coat, mounting his horſe, which was brought to him, according to his private orders, and falling in with his cavalry upon the main body of the *Indians*, after a conſiderable ſlaughter, put them to flight, ſome to the wood, others into the lake. The *Spaniards* purſu'd thoſe who fled, kill'd a great number, and took many priſoners; and the general ordering his croſs bows and muskets down to the lake, ply'd the *Indians*, for near half a day, to oblige them to ſurrender. For, the lake being ſmall, the *Spaniards* planted themſelves ſo upon the banks, that the *Indians*, after they had ſhot all their arrows as they were ſwimming, (which they were ſo dexterous at, that one would ſtand upon the backs of two, and diſcharge all the arrows he had, unleſs he happen'd to be knock'd down by a musket ſhot, or by an arrow from a croſs-bow) they were forc'd to keep the middle of the lake, to be at the greateſt diſtance from the ſhot: till, at laſt, being able to endure the water no longer, ſome of the weakeſt among them came to land, and the *Spaniards*, according to orders, help'd them out, and did them no harm; which the reſt ſeeing, they all ſurrender'd, except ſeven who ſeem'd to be reſolv'd to periſh in the water rather than ſubmit; for they ſtaid in it above 20 hours. The general, ſeeing their obſtinacy, order'd 12 *Spaniards*, who were good ſwimmers, to bring them out: thoſe putting their ſwords between their teeth, threw themſelves into the lake, and coming up with the *Indians*, now ſcarce able to keep themſelves above water, they caught them by the hair, and, in that manner, drag'd them aſhore. They were brought before the general, with whom the cacique was; *Soto* ask'd them, why they were ſo obſtinate? to which four of them anſwer'd, that having been commanders, they would let their lord ſee, that they deſerv'd the truſt repos'd in them, by dying in their fidelity to him. The three others, being youths of 18 years old, ſaid, they being gentlemen's ſons, had come at the cacique's call, to gain honour, but things happening otherwiſe, they were aſham'd to return home vanquiſh'd. *Soto*, who being a brave man lov'd bravery in others, treated them with great courteſy, and when they were recover'd of their fatigue, preſented the young gentlemen with looking glaſſes and other baubles, and diſmiſs'd them. And calling the four commanders, told them in the preſence of the cacique, that they deſerv'd to die, for endeavouring to deſtroy the *Spaniards* under colour of friendſhip; but that he would pardon them, in

Turns upon himſelf.

hopes they would repair their former conduct by their future good behaviour.

The general, having eſcap'd this danger, reſolv'd to try what good uſage would do; he therefore had the cacique conſtantly to dine with him, and imploy'd about 1000 priſoners he had taken, in his own ſervice and that of his forces, without keeping any in chains. Nor was the cacique under any reſtraint, other than that of keeping within the town; which civility he made very ill uſe of; for, having ſecretly concerted matters with the *Indians*, now in the ſervice of the *Spaniards*, on the ſeventh day after the battle, as they were at dinner, *Vitacucho*, ſtarting up ſuddenly, with a great cry, (which was the ſignal) with his fiſt clinch'd, knock'd down the general, and, thinking to have kill'd him, fell upon him; but ſome of the *Spaniſh* officers who were next to him, diſpatch'd the cacique, and recover'd *Soto*. Upon the firſt ſignal given, every *Indian* attack'd his maſter, with pottage pots, Pitchers, fire-brands, or any thing they could get; but altho' they wounded ſome, the *Spaniards* taking the alarm, cut them all to pieces.

Vitacucho *kill'd.*

Having no farther oppoſition in this country, the other two brothers of *Vitacucho* making no diſturbance, the general, hearing great talk of *Apalache*, mov'd from his old quarters, in a north-weſt route, which he perform'd, without any thing remarkable, other than ſeveral skirmiſhes with the *Indians*, in the different provinces where he paſt; in which he always got the better; and towards the beginning of winter came to *Apalache*, *Capaſi*, the cacique of the place, having deſerted it. It was now the month of *October*, and therefore *Soto*, deſigning to make that town his winter quarters, having heard that the cacique had fortify'd himſelf in a wood, about eight leagues from the city, he march'd againſt him, and after a deſperate reſiſtance, the *Indians* ſubmitted, and the cacique was brought before the general in his litter, being an infirm man, and very fat. But ſome time after the *Indians* proving troubleſome, the cacique told *Soto*, that he could not get them to diſperſe, as long as he was in their quarters, but if he would ſend him ten leagues off he could then order them to be quiet; which being done, the cacique taking advantage of the negligence of his *Spaniſh* guard, crept away upon all four, till he met with ſome of his own people, who carry'd him off. When the *Spaniards* miſs'd him, they return'd to the general, telling him that *Capaſi* had flown from them, thro' the air, to which, *Soto* reply'd ſmiling, *It may be ſo, for the* Indians *are ſorcerers.*

The general Soto *marches to* Apalache.

The general, having no more uſe for his brigantines at the bay of the *H. Ghoſt*, ſent *Anaſco* to bring *Calderon* to him, and to order the ſhips to the bay of *Aute*, not far from *Apalache* on the northmoſt part of this ſea, on the *Florida* ſide. *Anaſco* march'd ſouthward with 30 horſe, and had ſome skirmiſhes with the *Indians* as he paſt, but making quick marches, he had little loſs; and meeting *Calderon* with all his men in good condition, after ſome days ſtay, he embark'd upon the brigantines, and *Calderon* taking leave, as he paſt, of the cacique *Mucozo*, who had ſtill been a friend to the *Spaniards*, march'd by land; and both thoſe captains arriv'd ſafe, within a ſhort time of one another, at *Apalache*, to the great ſatisfaction of the general, who order'd *Maldonado* to cruiſe along the coaſt towards the weſt, and to ſend him an account in two months of all the creeks, ports and capes, which he ſhould find in his courſe; which he did, telling him there was a fine harbour call'd *Achuſi*, 70 leagues from *Aute*; with which intelligence, and to hear news of his wife, the general ſent *Maldonado* to *Havana*, as alſo that the *Spaniards* of *Cuba* might be encourag'd to come to *Florida*; which was punctually perform'd by *Maldonado.*

The brigantines ſail to Aute.

Whilſt the *Spaniards* lay at *Apalache*, an *Indian* youth (who was ſervant to ſome merchants travelling that country) with ſome of his companions, being brought to *Soto*, inform'd him, that 14 days journey from thence, there was a province call'd *Cofachiqui*, which abounded in gold, ſilver, and pearls. This ſo tickled the ears of the *Spaniards*, that they long'd for the ſeaſon of marching. Accordingly, in the ſpring 1540, they began their march towards the north eaſt, and having paſt beyond the province of *Apalache*, they arriv'd at *Atalpaha*, the firſt town of which province was deſerted, only ſix *Indians*, who, being commanders, had ſtaid to ſee all the reſt ſafe out of town, were made priſoners; theſe ask'd, without any ſign of fear, whether they were for peace or war? *Soto* anſwer'd, he was not for war, but only wanted proviſions and free paſſage; the others reply'd, there was no occaſion to make them priſoners, for if that was all they wanted, they ſhould be more faithfully ſerv'd in that province than they had been in their laſt quarters; and then they conducted him to a better town, where the army was well ſerv'd for three days that they ſtaid there, the cacique himſelf coming to the general, and ordering every thing they wanted to be brought them.

Her. *dec.* iv. b. vii. ch. 3.

Soto leaves Apalache.

From thence they march'd ten days, ſtill in the ſame courſe, by *Acalaqui* and

Cofachi

Cofachi, the general preſenting the caciques, as he paſs'd, with ſome boars and ſows for breed, having brought 300 of them to *Florida*, and having had no occaſion to kill any of them for his army, and they had increas'd much in that country. In this province there were two caciques, who were brothers; they both came to the general, and behav'd in a friendly manner. The cacique *Cofachi* quarter'd the troops in his own city, and retir'd to another to give them room. He likewiſe order'd proviſions for the army, in paſſing a deſart, which he told them was a march of ſeven days to *Cofachiqui*, ſending 4000 *Indians* to carry the baggage, and 4000 more, with arms for their defence. Before they began their march, the cacique told his own general, that now he was ſupported by thoſe brave ſtrangers, he expected he would revenge his quarrel upon their old enemies the people of *Cofachiqui*; which he promiſing to do, the cacique took a rich ſable mantle which he had on, and put it about his general's ſhoulders, which was the greateſt mark of honour he could give him.

He is well received at Cofaqui.

Our author relates an odd ſtory, if it was true, that happen'd, as he ſays, the night before the march. There was an *Indian*, who was very familiarly us'd by the *Spaniards*, and whom they call'd *Peter*. In the night, a comrade of his call'd out that *Peter* would be kill'd, which alarm'd the guard; and two ſoldiers going to the place where he was, found him quaking for fear. He told them, *That the devil had dragg'd and beaten him black and blue, and threaten'd to kill him, if he went to ſhew the* Spaniards *the way, and that he had left him at the approach of the two ſoldiers.* He therefore begg'd to be baptis'd, ſince he found that the great devil himſelf fled from two chriſtians. The general being inform'd of this, ſent *Peter* to the prieſts, who having inſtructed him, gave him baptiſm, and he ſet out with the army the next day on horſeback, becauſe of his beating the night before.

An odd ſtory.

The two armies began their march apart, the *Indians* going firſt in very good order, having the baggage in the center. After them, at ſome diſtance, march'd the *Spaniards*; and at night they took up their quarters apart, *Soto* ordering his people to keep ſtrict watch, as having ſo many arm'd *Indians* in his company. Upon the third day, they enter'd the deſart, of which they had been told, and continued in it for ſix days march; but the ſeventh day, they loſt the great road, and the *Indians* did not know which way to go. But the *Indian* general made ſuch an honeſt excuſe for his people's not knowing the road, (*viz.* that they had never been at *Cofachiqui*, but had diſputes with them at the rivers, which the two nations frequented for fiſhing) that *Soto* had no jealouſy of treacherous dealing. They march'd on therefore together, till they came to a large river, which was not fordable; and their proviſions would not hold out till Floats ſhould be made. He order'd parties out ſeveral ways, with 1000 *Indians* in each party. One of theſe commanded by *Anaſco* march'd up the river, and finding a town well ſtor'd with proviſions, ſent back four horſemen to the camp; ſo that the army march'd that way. But the *Indian* general having kill'd all the people he found the firſt night, and plunder'd a temple which was the place of burial, *Soto* diſmiſs'd him and all his people the next day, making preſents to him and his officers, and giving them proviſions for their journey, with which they departed well pleas'd.

The army loſe their way.

Soto proceeded in his march up the river, thro' a fine country, but it was abandon'd by reaſon of the late ſlaughter committed by the *Cofaqui Indians*. *Anaſco* being ſent before with 30 horſe to ſearch out a paſſage over the river, it being now night, he heard dogs bark, and ſaw light, but going nearer, he perceiv'd that the light was on the other ſide of the river, of which having given an account to *Soto*, he ſent, the next day, an hundred horſe to reconnoitre the town; and with them went *Peter* and *Mark*, who were both Chriſtians, the former being the ſame that was ſaid to have been beaten by the devil. When they came over againſt the town, the new converts call'd over to ſome men they ſaw upon the ſhore; and ſoon after, ſix of the inhabitants came over in a canoe; and, by that time, the general being arriv'd, was ſeated in a chair, which was always carried with them for giving audience in ſtate, according to the cuſtom of the country. The ſix *Indians* being brought before him, made their obeyſance firſt to the ſun, then to the moon, and afterwards to the general. Then they ask'd him, *If he was for peace or war?* *Soto* anſwer'd, by his interpreter, *For peace, and only wanted proviſions.* The *Indians* reply'd, *They accepted peace, but proviſions were ſcarce, occaſion'd by a plague in their country*; *however*, they ſaid, *they would lay the matter before their miſtreſs, who was a maiden lady.* Accordingly they went back in their canoe; and ſoon after, two great canoes, with awnings, ſet out from the town, in one of which were ſeven women, and in the other, the ſix men before-mention'd.

The lady, who was ſovereign of the country which was call'd *Cofachiqui*, was one

one of the ſeven; who coming aſhore, ſate down upon a ſtool (brought with them for that purpoſe) near the place where the general was; and after ſome civilities, on both ſides, ſhe told him, *She was ſorry proviſions were ſo ſcarce with her, but that ſhe had two ſtore-houſes for the relief of the poor, one of which ſhe would willingly beſtow upon him, but deſir'd, he would leave her the other.* She likewiſe told him, *That ſhe had* 2000 *buſhels of maiz in another town, which were at his ſervice, and offer'd to quit her own houſe, and half the town (or, if he pleas'd, the whole) to quarter him and his men.*

A maiden lady, ſovereign of Cofachiqui, *comes to ſee the general.*

The general, charm'd with the frankneſs and generoſity of this proceeding, return'd her thanks in the moſt courteous manner; but ſaid, *That he could not think of putting her to the inconveniency of changing her place of abode upon his account; that he would reſt well ſatisfy'd with what favours ſhe thought fit to confer upon him and his people, and aſſur'd her, that he would take ſuch order, as that neither ſhe nor any of her ſubjects ſhould have cauſe to complain of him or any of his followers.* Whilſt he was ſpeaking, the lady took a ſtring of beads from her neck, and gave it to *Ortiz* the interpreter, to be delivered to the general, excuſing herſelf for not giving them out of her own hand to him, leſt it might be thought a breach of modeſty. The general, riſing up, receiv'd the preſent with profound reſpect, and taking a ruby from his finger, preſented the lady with it. After this ſhe took her leave, having left ſtrong impreſſions upon the general and all the *Spaniards* to her advantage, both upon the account of her beauty and graceful behaviour, and the generous offers ſhe had made them. As ſoon as ſhe was got over, canoes and floats were ſent from the town, which tranſported all the forces, who were quarter'd in the middle of the city.

The Spaniards charm'd with her behaviour.

This lady had a mother who liv'd, a widow, at twelve leagues diſtance from the town, to whom ſhe ſent to deſire her company, that ſhe might ſee the ſtrangers, whom ſhe commended for their civility and good aſpects. But the old gentlewoman not only refuſed to come herſelf, but reprov'd her daughter for having entertain'd people whom ſhe did not know. Upon her refuſal, the general ſent *Anaſco* with thirty horſe, and an *Indian* of quality to pray her to come; who having travell'd together ſome leagues, they ſate under a tree to eat; the *Indian* gentleman was very penſive, and laying aſide his ſable mantle, drew out of his quiver all his arrows one by one; they were of reeds curiouſly wrought, headed with deers bones, and fiſh bones, in a triangular form; but one arrow was headed with flint, ſhap'd like the point of a dagger; having thrown down all the reſt, whilſt the *Spaniards* were intent upon obſerving the workmanſhip of them, the *Indian* thruſting the arrow, with the flint pile, into his own neck, ſuddenly cut his throat with it, and fell down dead. The whole company were ſurpris'd at this accident, but the *Indians* ſaid they believ'd, that he had kill'd himſelf rather than be obliged to carry a diſagreeable meſſage to the old lady. *Anaſco*, hearing that the widow had remov'd her quarters, that ſhe might not be found, return'd back.

The *Spaniards* found in this country much copper of the colour of gold, but very light, and it moulder'd like earth, which made them believe that the youth who ſaid there was gold in this country, had been deceiv'd by the colour. However, they found great quantity of pearls, and the young lady, who was ready to oblige them, gave them leave to take the pearls out of the burying-place of the nobility, and that of her anceſtors, near the town. Of which pearls the king's officers weigh'd 500 pound weight; they were as large as peas.

Many pearls in Cofachiqui.

But *Soto* finding himſelf diſappointed of his expectation of gold, in this country, reſolv'd to ſearch farther, and therefore taking leave of the lady, who had entertain'd him and his men with ſo much generoſity, he divided his forces into two bodies for the conveniency of proviſions, one part of them he gave to the conduct of *Gallegos*, and kept the other with himſelf. The lady ſent four of her ſubjects with him to ſolicite the friendſhip of the cacique of *Guaxale* in favour of the *Spaniards*, or elſe to declare war againſt him. Theſe *Indians* march'd with them thro' the province of *Calaque* where they had like to have been kill'd by hail as big as pidgeons eggs, but that the trees ſhelter'd them, and the ſixth day, they arriv'd at the valley of *Xaula*, a pleaſant country, which our author ſays is north eaſt of *Cofachiqui*. But if the road mark'd in the *Engliſh* atlas, (in the map of *Miſſiſſippi*,) as the route of *Soto*, be the way he march'd, this valley as well as *Cofachiqui* muſt have been in the territory now call'd *Carolina*; and if *Cofachiqui* is what is there call'd *Cutifacoqui*, as probably it is, then his march from thence, as it is mark'd in that map, was directly north. However it be, he ſtaid a fortnight in the valley of *Xaula*, which was ſtill under the lady's dominion, and leaving it, they march'd five or ſix days over a deſart mountain, but not diſagreeable, having groves, ſprings, and paſture in ſe-

Soto *marches farther north.*

Guaxa-

veral parts of it: and coming to *Guaxale*, they ſtaid ſome days, and proceeded to *Tchiaca*, a town ſituated in a ſmall iſland upon the ſide of a river. Here the cacique told him, that, about 30 leagues off, there were mines of yellow metal; but having ſent ſome *Spaniards* to view them, they return'd with the mortifying news that they were of the copper of *Cofachiqui*. In this iſland, they got good ſtore of pearls, but by laying the oyſters in which they were, upon the fire, that they might open them with the greater eaſe, they ſpoil'd the luſtre of them. One of the ſoldiers, eating ſome boil'd oyſters, found a pearl as big as a hazel nut; which he preſented to the general as a preſent to his lady; but *Soto* refus'd it, and for the ſoldiers compliment, he paid out of his own pocket, for the king's fifth of the ſoldiers pearl, being valu'd at 400 ducats.

Leaving this iſland, he march'd ſtill north, to *Acoſte*, where finding the *Indians* leſs civil, and being unwilling to break with them, he proceeded in his route to *Coza*, which being a large province, he march'd above 100 leagues in it, thro' a fruitful country, where they were treated well wherever they came; and when he arriv'd at *Coza*, the cacique came out to meet him, attended by 1000 of his people, who wore rich mantles of furs, and gaudy plumes. Here they were kindly entertain'd; and the cacique, dining one day with the general, pray'd him to winter there, and to ſettle a colony in his country. The general thank'd him, and told him that he deſign'd to accept of his invitation, but firſt he muſt take a view of ſome other parts farther up the country, and provide for the conveniency of trade. He ſtaid here 12 days; and then, thinking that he was far enough from the ſea (for he did not know that he was within 60 leagues of the north ſea, at what is now call'd *Cape Fear*, in the ſea of *Carolina*) believing *Apalache* the neareſt ſea to him, and that, by the road he had march'd, was about 300 leagues off. Being therefore reſolv'd to viſit the harbour of *Anchuſi*; *Gallegos* having join'd him before he left the friendly iſland, he chang'd his courſe at *Coza*, march weſtward, and a little to the ſouth; the cacique of *Coza* accompanying him, till he came to the frontiers of *Taſcaluſa*, who was his enemy.

Comes to Coza.

As ſoon as he enter'd that province, his friend the cacique took leave of him, and young *Taſcaluſa* came to meet him, offering him peace and friendſhip in his father's name. This youth was not above 18 years of age, but ſo tall, that there was not a *Spaniard* in *Soto*'s army, that could reach his hand to the young gentleman's head. When they came to the cacique's city, he receiv'd the *Spaniſh* officers in his chair, without moving, being attended by a great number of men; but as ſoon as the general came up, he roſe from his ſeat, and advanced 20 paces to meet him. He was taller than his ſon, and well ſhap'd, and was a man of about 40 years old, and not fat. He entertain'd the *Spaniards* three days, and when *Soto* began his march from thence, he march'd along with him, being mounted upon one of the largeſt baggage horſes the general had, and yet his feet were not above a ſpan from the ground.

Taſcaluſa of a gigantic ſize.

The firſt night they took up their quarters near a river, which they had paſt with ſome difficulty, being ill furniſhed with floats; and two *Spaniards* being miſſing, ſome of their companions having ask'd the *Indians* for them, they anſwer'd ſurlily, that they were not their keepers. This anſwer gave ſuch jealouſy to the general, that early next morning, he ſent a party of horſe to view the town, where they were next to quarter, being only five miles diſtant, having heard that a great number of *Indians* were aſſembled under colour of ſerving the *Spaniards*. The party having reconnoitred the town, return'd, giving an account, that they had met with no oppoſition, but that the town they were to quarter in next, was ſuch as they had never ſeen in any part of *America* where they had been, being better fortify'd than any other in thoſe parts.

The general receiving this intelligence, upon his march, advanced to the front of his army, and leading the van, with 100 horſe, and 150 foot, accompany'd with the tall cacique, approach'd the town, which was call'd *Mavila*, by eight o'clock in the morning. This town conſiſted of only 80 houſes, but thoſe ſo large, that 1000 men might lodge in each houſe; and the whole was enclos'd with ramparts and a ſort of walls, with piles driven into the earth, ram'd with ſtraw and earth between the hollow ſpaces; and at ſmall diſtances there was a ſort of a tower, with loop holes for fighting under cover. In the middle of the town was a large ſquare, into which the cacique brought the general, bidding the interpreter tell him that there was a houſe for him to lodge in, and as many of his people as he thought proper, and that he had order'd huts for the reſt of the army without the town. *Soto* ſaid he would order that matter as ſoon as his major general was come up. In the mean time, the cacique retir'd to a large houſe, where he had appointed all the principal officers of his own army to aſſemble, to execute

The general comes to Mavila.

A plot againſt him.

the deſign he had projected, which was to cut off the *Spaniards* at once.

Soto, altho' he knew nothing of the plot, yet kept ſtill upon his guard, ſo that he order'd the horſes to be ready bridled till all the army were come up. And ſending *Ortiz* for the cacique, the *Indians* would not let him ſpeak to him, but *Ortiz* preſſing to get in, an *Indian* came out in an angry manner, calling the *Spaniards* names, and taking a bow, he level'd at ſome of them whom he ſaw in the ſtreet; but *Gallegos*, who by chance came by, ſeeing him draw his bow, cut him from the ſhoulder to the waſte.

The Indians *attack the* Spaniards.

The killing this *Indian* gave the alarm, and *Soto* with his people mounting their horſes, retir'd out of the town to join the reſt, and to have an opportunity of engaging the *Indians* in an open place. The cacique purſu'd them at the head of 7,000 men, who (with above as many more) had lain conceal'd in the town; but thoſe being charg'd by a troop of horſe, and a company of musketeers, they drove them back into the town, and attempted to enter with them, but ſuch a ſhower of arrows met them in the teeth, that they deſiſted, and kept their ranks, but retreated a little. The *Indians* made a furious ſalley, but were again repuls'd.

The battle of Mavila.

Thus fighting for ſome time, and all the army being, by that time, arriv'd, the general diſmounted, and making 200 men, with battle axes, cut the gate, and the ſtakes (of which their wall was compoſed,) to pieces, he mounted and march'd, into the town, where an obſtinate reſiſtance was made, the *Indians* galling the *Spaniards* from the galleries and tops of the houſes; and the women throwing ſtones, and ſhooting arrows againſt them; which oblig'd them to ſet fire to the houſes, in which great numbers periſh'd, and others ruſhing out, there was a terrible ſlaughter. This action laſted near nine hours, when towards the ſun ſetting, a great number of *Indians* getting out, by the breach made in the wall, were attack'd by the *Spaniards*, who were without the town, and many of them being kill'd, the reſt made their eſcape.

This battle was fought upon S. *Luke*'s day, the 18th of *October* 1540. Of the *Spaniards* 48 were kill'd upon the ſpot, and 35 dy'd of their wounds ſoon after; and they loſt 45 horſes. But of the *Indians* they reckon'd 11,000 periſh'd; of which 4,000 were found dead without the town, and amongſt them young *Taſcaluſa*; above 3,000 were cut to pieces in the ſtreets, and market place, and the *Indians* who were made priſoners, computed that 4,000 more had been burnt in the houſes which were ſet on fire, in which it was believ'd the cacique himſelf periſh'd. Some women who were taken, ſaid that *Taſcaluſa* had ſummon'd their husbands to *Mavila*, and order'd them to conceal themſelves there, promiſing them the ſpoils of the *Spaniards*; and, giving out that, when thoſe invaders were deſtroy'd, he would make a magnificent feaſt in honour of the ſun, all the women, both wives and maids, had flock'd thither to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity.

11,000 Indians *kill'd.*

This place was within 50 leagues of the ſea, where the river of *Alibamous* falls into it, near the bay *de la Mobile*. Here they ſtaid a fortnight, and ſent out parties all about the country to obſerve the motions of the natives: but the flower of their country having fallen in the battle, there was no ſign of any attempt to revenge their deaths, but the people brought in plenty of proviſions, and behav'd with the greateſt ſubmiſſion. One party that had been ſent to view the country towards the ſea, brought advice, that *Maldonado* and *Gomez Arias* were upon the coaſt making diſcoveries. *Soto* had a great inclination to ſettle a colony at *Anchuſi*, and therefore march'd as far as the mouth of *Alibamous*; but being afraid that his people would deſert him, upon the firſt opportunity they ſhould have of going to *Cuba*, he quitted the coaſt, and taking his courſe northweſt, met with great oppoſition in the province of *Chicoza*, which I ſuppoſe is what goes by the name of *Chicaches* in the map of *Miſſiſſippi*, that being in the courſe of *Soto* there mark'd, in about 33 deg. n. lat. Theſe *Indians* aſſembled in great numbers, and diſputed the paſs of a river with him; but he having privately built two *Piraguas* or large boats, which were finiſh'd in 12 days and putting rollers under them, he drew them to the river's ſide, and launch'd them before the *Indians* were aware of it. He put 40 musketeers and as many croſs bow men on board each boat, with ſome horſe, who getting aſhore, altho' ſome of them were wounded by the *Indians* who had ſpy'd them from the other ſide, they drove the natives from the banks, and kept their ground till *Soto* came to their relief in the ſecond cargo.

Soto *arrives at* Chicoza.

Having diſpers'd the *Indians*, they held on their march to the capital city of the province, which they fortify'd with a deſign to ſtay the winter in it; thinking that they had made friends of the *Indians*, by ſome baubles they had given them. But they had not been long there, till they were attack'd in the night by three different bodies of the natives, who fell upon the town, and ſet it on fire by ſhooting arrows to which were ty'd bunches of a certain plant, which burn'd like ſtraw; and the houſes being

thatch'd

Chicoza *burnt by the* Indians.

thatch'd, they ſoon took fire. The general ſoon had his people in order, and marching out of the town, fell in among the enemy with his uſual reſolution; and in a little time, the *Indians*, having, to their coſt, felt the ſharpneſs of the *Spaniards* ſwords, fled, having loſt great numbers of their own men, and deſtroy'd 40 *Spaniards*, ſome in the action, and ſome who had been wounded were burnt in the houſes. Moſt of the ſwine were burnt, and 20 horſes, beſide 30 kill'd in the field. Thus their intended winter quarters being demoliſh'd, they remov'd about a league farther, to *Chicacolla*, where they ſpent the winter, but having loſt moſt of their baggage in the fire, they ſuffer'd much from the cold.

The Spaniards *take up their winter quarters in* Chicacolla.

Having ſtaid in this town till march 1541, they march'd northward to *Alibamo*, where his ſcouts having told him there were 4,000 *Indians* in a fort, he attack'd them a foot, becauſe his horſe could not enter the gate. The *Indians* ſally'd out upon them, but being repuls'd, enter'd the fort again, and the *Spaniards* with them, where the *Spaniſh* blades made ſuch ſlaughter among thoſe naked men, that many of them threw themſelves down from the wall, and were kill'd by the horſe without. There were ſuppos'd to have been ſlain in this attack about 2,000 *Indians*, for they purſu'd them to a river, where they attempted to eſcape; and many were made priſoners, who liv'd peaceably afterwards, when they were releas'd. Here they were much put to it, to underſtand the natives, there being great variety of languages in that country; but the women were ſo apt to learn *Spaniſh*, that, in two month's time, they could converſe with them ſo as to be underſtood.

In 1541 *they came to* Chiſca *upon the* Miſſiſſippi.

From *Alibamo*, they march'd to *Chiſca*, upon a river, which they call'd *El Grande*, for the largneſs of it; and indeed it is the largeſt known in *North America*, and is the ſame now call'd *Miſſiſſippi*. Here they ſurpriz'd the inhabitants, and took many priſoners. Their cacique liv'd upon the ridge of a hill, to whoſe houſe they mounted by ſtairs. When he was inform'd of the *Spaniards* having ſurpriz'd the town, he call'd thoſe people who had fled to him, and conſulting what was to be done, they reſolv'd to accept the peace, which *Soto* offer'd by ſome priſoners whom he had releas'd, and ſent to make conditions. The peace was concluded, upon condition that the *Spaniards* ſhould releaſe all the priſoners, and forbear going to the cacique's houſe; the cacique promiſing to ſupply the *Spaniards* with proviſions, and not to diſturb them. Here they reſted 16 days, for the ſake of ſome ſick people among them, and then march'd up the river, to find a convenient place for paſſing it, free from wood, and the banks low, which having found, after four days march, the general order'd two piraguas to be made. Whilſt they were making, four *Indians* came to offer peace and proviſions, which they ſuppos'd was done, to ſave the corn from being deſtroy'd, it being now ready to be cut down. Here they continued 15 days; and then, the piraguas being launch'd, they paſt the river without oppoſition, and came to *Caſquin*, ſituated in a fine country near the river. This town conſiſted of about 400 houſes, compaſs'd with large fields of *Indian* wheat, and ſeveral ſorts of fruit. Here they were well receiv'd, and invited to the cacique's houſe, farther up the river, whither they went after ſome days, and were kindly entertain'd.

And from thence to Capaha.

From thence they departed for *Capaha*, a people who were enemies to *Caſquin*, the cacique of *Caſquin* went along with them, attended by five thouſand of his people in arms; having a mind to revenge himſelf of his enemies, by the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*; bu he ſaid nothing of it to *Soto*. As they drew near to *Capaha*, *Caſquin* heading the van with his *Indians*, at ſome diſtance from the *Spaniards*; the cacique of *Capaha*, not being provided for an enemy, retir'd with ſome of his people, in canoes, to a fortify'd iſland, he had, upon a canal drawn from the great river, for about three leagues. *Caſquin* advancing to the town, put many to the ſword, and took many priſoners, and particularly two beautiful wives of the cacique's; and committed many outrages, before the *Spaniards* arriv'd, and would have burn'd the town, but for fear of *Soto*'s diſpleaſure. The general releas'd ſome of the priſoners taken by *Caſquin*, and ſent them to their lord, with a meſſage of peace, which he refus'd, vowing to be reveng'd on his enemy; and therefore *Soto* prepar'd to attak'd him. *Caſquin* having all along had this deſign in his head, had order'd canoes to come up the river, and ſo along the canal; which being arriv'd, the general march'd oppoſite to the iſland, and then went over in the canoes, the *Spaniards* attack'd the firſt paliſades, and carry'd them after ſome oppoſition, which terrify'd the women ſo, that they gave a great ſhriek. The ſecond work made a ſtout reſiſtance; and the *Capaha*'s threaten'd *Caſquin*'s people, telling them that when the ſtrangers were gone, they ſhould pay dearly for their inſolence, in attacking that place, which they durſt not have look'd at, but that they were ſupported by the chriſtians. This ſo frighted the *Caſquinians*, that in ſpite of all

Which the Indians *who went with* Soto *plundered.*

Soto *attacks the cacique* Capaha *in an iſland,*

all their cacique could ſay, they run to their canoes, and took away 40 of them; and would have taken off the other 20, but that ſome *Spaniards* defended them. The *Spaniards* ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the *Indians*, retir'd from the attack; but *Capaha* would not allow his people to ſally upon them; deſigning to take that opportunity of accepting the peace, which he had refus'd before.

They make peace.

The next day, he ſent four *Indians* to *Soto*, without taking any notice of *Caſquin*, to deſire peace, and leave to ſee him. The general, being pleas'd with the meſſage, excus'd his having attack'd the cacique, which he ſaid had been occaſion'd by the rejecting the peace offer'd, and bidding them tell their lord, that he would receive his viſit with pleaſure. The day after, the cacique leaving his iſland, came back to the city, where *Soto* was arriv'd the day before, and going firſt to the burying place of his anceſtors, took up their bones, which *Caſquin* had thrown about, and kiſſing them, put them into the coffins, and then went directly to the general's quarters. Theſe two complimented each other with much civility, and the cacique having giving *Soto* a very ſuccinct account of the ſtate of the country, (altho' he was but about 26 years of age,) turn'd to *Caſquin*, and ſaid, *I ſuppoſe you are now well pleas'd, having ſeen what you never expected; thank the power of theſe ſtrangers; but they will be gone, and we ſhall underſtand one another. I beg the ſun and moon to give us good ſeaſons.* *Soto* being inform'd of what the cacique had ſaid, without giving *Caſquin* time to reply, addreſt himſelf to *Capaha*, and ſaid *He was not come into their country to encreaſe their enmity, but to reconcile them.* And in effect he ſo manag'd them both, that he made them friends, and they both din'd with him together. Then *Capaha*'s two wives were reſtor'd to him, which he ſeem'd pleas'd with; but he made a preſent of them both to *Soto*, who refuſing to accept of them. The cacique deſir'd him to beſtow them to whom he would, for they ſhould not ſtay with him; upon which the general took them.

From this city *Herrera* ſays, *Soto* return'd with *Caſquin*, and, from thence, to the ſouth, down the river a great way. This does not agree with the account given, in the Atlas, of his route, for that makes him march north weſt as far as the lake of *Mitchigamia*. But as *Herrera* ſeems to have been well acquainted with the affairs of *America*, we ſhall purſue his account of it, nor indeed is it very material, whether of the two roads he took, ſince the whole expedition prov'd of ſo little uſe, either to himſelf or to the king of *Spain*.

Herr. *ubi ſupra* ch. 6.

Soto returns towards the ſouth.

Having ſtaid ſome time at *Capaha*, and being vext that he had heard nothing, (in the long march he had made, of above 750 leagues,) of gold or ſilver mines, he reſolv'd to give over his fruitleſs ſearch northward, and to return towards the coaſt, and, at leaſt to ſettle his projected colony at *Anchuſi*. In order to which he return'd to *Caſquin*, where he ſtaid five days, and then march'd down the river to *Quiguate*, and from thence, in the ſame courſe to *Colima*, and ſo without any hoſtilities, till he came to *Tula*, where they were oppos'd by men and women, and put the whole town to the ſword. But the people of the province aſſembling four days after, fell upon the *Spaniards* in their quarters with ſuch fury, in the night, that they were much put to it to defend themſelves. The ſcuffle laſted till break of day, and then with much ado, the *Indians* were forc'd to retire, leaving many *Spaniards* to evidence the bravery of the enemy by the wounds they had receiv'd from them. And there was one *Indian* whoſe fate was much to be pity'd for his courage. After the battle, this man ſtarted up among the dead, and ſnatching up a battle, ax, which had belong'd to a *Spaniard*; when *Carauza* run at him, the *Indian* gave him ſuch a blow, that he cleft his target and wounded him in the arm; *Godoy* going to the relief of his comrade, was diſabled by the next ſtroke the *Indian* made; and *Salazar* making at him, the *Indian* avoiding a thruſt or two made at him, gave the *Spaniard* ſuch a ſtroke upon the neck, that he drop'd off his horſe; at laſt *Gonzalo Silveſter* attack'd him, and having ſhun'd a ſtroke the *Indian* made at him, with a back ſtroke of his own, cut him in the forehead, and the ſword ſlipping down his breſt cut off his left hand cloſe by the wriſt; the brave *Indian* ruſhing upon him, to have a ſtroke at his face, *Silveſter* receiv'd it upon his target, and cut him almoſt in two in the middle. Had the *Indians* been as well provided for defence as the *Spaniards* were, the latter had not travel'd ſo eaſily thro' the country of *America*. The *Spaniards* ſtaid 20 days at *Tula*, and then march'd to *Vitangue*, where, upon account of the good ſituation, and plenty of poviſions, the general determin'd to winter, which he did.

Is attack'd at Tula.

A brave Indian.

In *April* 1542 he remov'd from *Vitangue*, and marching thro' a fruitful country, arriv'd in ſeven days, to the capital of *Naguaten*; where he ſtaid 17 days. Some days after they had been there, four men of quality, with 500 ſervants came

came to wait upon the general, in the name of the cacique, and told him that their lord would come himſelf, but he did not. As they march'd from thence, they miſs'd one *James Guzman*, a gentleman of *Sevil*, and inquiry having been made, it appear'd that, ſome days before, he had loſt all that he was worth at play; that he had deliver'd his arms and horſe; but having likewiſe loſt an *Indian* woman that he had, he promis'd to give her up in five days; it was therefore ſuppos'd that the ſhame of loſing his horſe and arms, and his paſſion for the woman, had induced him to go with her to her father's, who was the cacique of *Niguaten*. Upon this intelligence, *Soto* deſir'd the four *Indians*, who were ſtill with him, to get *Guzman* reſtor'd, or he would keep them for him. They ſent one of their ſervants to the cacique, who ſent an account, that *Guzman* was there, but that he refus'd to return. One of the *Indians* deſir'd leave of the general to go himſelf to find the reaſon of it, and deſir'd they might write to the *Spaniard*; which was done. In a few days the *Indian* return'd with the letter; at the bottom of which was written with charcoal, *I will not return. James Guzman.* The cacique bid the *Indian* tell the general, *that he had us'd no perſuaſions, much leſs force, to oblige his ſoldier to ſtay; but ſince it was his own inclination, he did not think it would be juſt or honourable in him, to thruſt him from him. He wiſh'd he had many more ſuch, for he would uſe them all well; that, in the mean time, if the general would kill the four* Indians, *or ruin his country for that man's having left him, he had the power, and he might uſe it as he would.* The general, conſidering that the cacique ſaid nothing but what was reaſonable, diſmiſs'd the four *Indians* with preſents; and continu'd his march.

A Spaniard leaves the army to live with the Indians.

Theſe two laſt marches were probably to the weſtward of the great river; but the change of names of places, in that country, makes it difficult to trace him. But now intending to find a paſſage to the ſea, and judging that the river was the moſt ready way to accompliſh that deſign, he turn'd that way, and marching thro' ſeveral provinces, without any occurrence worth relating, he came to *Anilco*, where he found the cacique with 1500 men ready to oppoſe him: but upon his approach they fled, and croſs'd the river in canoes. I ſuppoſe it was one of the two rivers which fall into the *Red* river. Keeping on his march, he enter'd the province of *Guacachoia*, the chief town of which is call'd, in the Atlas, *Guachoia* in the lat. of 31, or 32. At the place where the red river falls into the great river of *Miſſiſſippi*.

Soto comes to Guacachoia.

The cacique of this place, being inform'd of the behaviour of the people of *Anilco*, who were his enemies, thought he had a good opportunity of gaining the friendſhip of the *Spaniards*, by which means, he might be an over match for his neighbours. He therefore ſent four of his chief nobility, with a number of ſervants, laden with fruit and proviſions; and finding by the accounts they ſent him, that the general ſeem'd well diſpos'd towards him, he came himſelf the 5th day, attended by 10 gentlemen, adorn'd with plumes, and furs, arm'd after their manner. *Soto* receiv'd him with great civility, and treated him, and his court handſomely. And here I can't omit taking notice of a trifling circumſtance, to ſhew that there are ſome cuſtoms practis'd all the world over, the riſe of which no body can account for. The cacique, during his firſt interview with the general, happening to ſneeze, all the *Indians* preſent, bow'd their heads, open'd their arms, and ſaluted him, ſaying in their language, *the ſun preſerve you*, others, *the ſun be with you*, or words to that effect. I hope it will not be thought, by ſome of my country men, to amount to a proof, that ſaying GOD *bleſs you* when a chriſtian ſneezes, is rank idolatry, and heatheniſm.

This cacique among other diſcourſe, deſir'd the general to march againſt the cacique of *Anilco*, offering to go along with him with an army, and to ſend 80 canoes down the great river, which might ſail up the other river to the capital of *Anilco*. *Soto* approving the project, march'd with moſt of his people, together with the cacique at the head of 2000 *Indians*, by land, ordering capt. *John Guzman* to go with his company, aboard the canoes, where were embark'd 4000 *Indians*, well arm'd after their manner; and were to join the forces that march'd by land, in three days, as they did. The people of *Anilco*, not being able to ſtand againſt this united army, the *Guacachoians* enter'd the city without reſiſtance, and put all to the ſword, without regard to age or ſex, and committed all the acts of barbarity imaginable. But *Soto*, vex'd that ſuch cruelty ſhould be exercis'd under his protection, gave orders to his men, to drive the *Indians* out of the town, and to hinder farther damage; but the *Guacachoians*, in ſpite of their endeavours to the contrary, ſet the town on fire. After this execution, which gave great uneaſineſs to the general, he would not march farther into that province, but return'd to *Guacachoia*.

He then apply'd himſelf to provide timber, with all other neceſſaries for building brigantines to carry his people

down to the ſea; deſigning to depart, as ſoon as they could be got ready. But whilſt he was thus employ'd, he was ſeiz'd with a fever; which, increaſing, he found was like to prove mortal. He therefore made his will, and prepar'd himſelf for death; and calling his principal officers to him, he, in their preſence, appointed *Louis de Moſcoſo de Alvaredo* general in his room, entreating and commanding them all to obey him, after his death, until other orders ſhould come from the king. And having recommended unanimity to the whole army, (now reduc'd to leſs than half their firſt number;) and taking leave both of officers and ſoldiers, he dy'd upon the 7th day of his fever, and was juſtly lamented by them all; having been a man of a graceful preſence, agreeble temper, brave, but merciful, generous to all; and never making a difference between himſelf and the meaneſt ſoldier, either in dangerous actions, or ſuffering fatigue or hardſhips. He dy'd in the 42d year of his age, and had ſpent 100,000 ducats of his own money (which he had got in *Peru*) upon this fruitleſs expedition in *Florida*. To prevent any inſult being offer'd to his corps, when they ſhould leave the country, they put it in a hollow oak, which they ſunk with weights, in the middle of the river, which was at that place nineteen fathoms deep, and a mile broad.

The death of Soto.

Moſcoſo Alvaredo *ſucceeds him by his appointment.*

As ſoon as the funeral was over, *Moſcoſo* aſſembling the officers, thank'd them for the honour they did him, in admitting him for their general, deſiring them to give their opinions freely, what courſe they ſhould take, in the preſent ſituation of their affairs. They return'd his compliment, by ſubmitting every thing to his conduct; ſo that he, finding the ſoldiers weary of their conqueſts, reſolv'd to quit *Florida*; and, by I don't know what infatuation, in the month of *July* 1542, they ſet out weſtward, where they march'd above 100 leagues in deſart and barren provinces; every now and then attack'd by the natives in ſmall parties, and from coverts, where they ſhot their arrows at them, without being ſeen; beſides that ſome of their guides led them into barren countries, on purpoſe to deſtroy them, for which they ſet their dogs upon one, who confeſs'd that his cacique had order'd him to lead them that way to their ruin.

The army marches weſtward.

Being quite weary of this progreſs, and having one or other popp'd off with *Indian* arrows every day, they began to repent that they had not follow'd *Soto*'s ſcheme, and having now run this wild gooſe chaſe above three months, they turn'd their courſe eaſtward, with an intention to go back to the great river, not knowing how far they were from the gulf of *Mexico*, nor indeed what latitude they were in. Purſuant to this reſolution, they march'd thro' ſome provinces they had ſeen before, without knowing them; but ſometimes holding too much to the north, in the end of *November*, they came to the great river; but, as they found afterwards, they were about 17 leagues higher than *Guacachoia*, having travel'd 350 leagues, and were now reduced to 320 foot and 70 horſe.

But returns to the great river.

The two caciques of *Anilco* and *Guacachoia*, now vy'd with one another, who ſhou'd ſhew moſt kindneſs to the *Spaniards*, inviting them to their towns; but *Moſcoſo*, being willing to reſt his weary'd men, took up his quarters in a town upon the river, call'd *Aminoia*, where they liv'd free from any inſults of the *Indians*: and as ſoon as they were well recover'd from the fatigue of their expedition, which was not before the middle of *January* 1543, they ſet about hewing of wood, and preparing iron work, for the new brigantines they propos'd to build for taking them down the river.

The Spaniards *build brigantines.*

The ſhips took them all the months of *Feburary*, *March* and *April*; and for ſails, they employ'd the blankets made of an herb like mallows, which ſpun like flax, and of the ſame they made ropes great and ſmall. Theſe as well as moſt other neceſſaries were furniſh'd from *Anilco*, to the great jealouſy of *Guacachoia*.

On the eaſt ſide of the great river, there was a young cacique, an enemy to the *Spaniards*, looking upon them as the invaders of dominions they had no right to. He therefore enter'd into confederacy with the other provinces near the river, and deſir'd *Anilco* to join with them, to deſtroy the ſtrangers; which combination, he diſcover'd to *Moſcoſo*, who now began, in his turn, to be jealous of the cacique of *Guacachoia*, becauſe he had not ſent him any account of it, altho' he concluded it had been diſcover'd to him. However he diſembled his ſuſpicion, as the confederate caciques did their deſign, ſending preſents to the *Spaniards* and proviſions from all the neighbouring provinces. But from this time *Moſcoſo* ſent thro' all the country, telling the caciques, that their ſubjects ſhould be welcome to the *Spaniſh* quarters by day, but that he had given orders to his people to admit no body in the night time. Notwithſtanding this warning, two *Indians* attempting to come over the ditch upon a tree laid croſs by way of bridge, near the poſt where *Silveſter* was keeping watch, he ſtop'd them, but they ſtriving to paſs him, he gave one of them a cut over the face, at which they both fled.

The

A confederacy of Indians againſt the Spaniards.

The next day the cacique, who was at the head of the confederacy, ſent a meſſage to *Moſcoſo*, deſiring he would put to death the centinel, who kept ſuch a poſt, becauſe he had wounded one of his people, in time of peace; the *Indian* being a gentleman, and was in danger of his life. And ſoon after another came, demanding juſtice againſt the ſoldier, for that the gentleman was dead. The general return'd anſwer that he was ſorry for the accident, but after the publick warning he had given, the gentleman had been guilty of his own death, and he could not puniſh a *Spaniſh* ſoldier for doing his duty. The confederates inſiſted no more upon it, intending in a ſhort time to take a full revenge. But their deſign at this time was diſappointed by the ſudden ſwelling of the river, which overflow'd the whole country for 20 leagues together; ſo that all the *Indians* on both ſides were forced to abandon their houſes, and retire to places at a greater diſtance; and the *Spaniards* brought their brigantines, half finiſh'd to the higheſt part of the town, for the greateſt part of it was overflow'd, and ſo went on with their work: and having occaſion to ſend to *Anilco* for proviſions, he order'd the canoes to be tied two and two together, leſt they ſhould be overſet by the trees or tops of houſes which the river had overflow'd. When the canoes came to *Anilco*, they found moſt of it drown'd; ſo that going farther, they ſaw a great number of *Indians* on the ſide of a hill, who, ſeeing the canoes, made to the water ſide to ſpeak to the *Spaniards* that were aboard. Theſe happen'd to be *Anilcans*, and the cacique was there himſelf, who hearing that they were *Spaniards* brought them aſhore, and loaded their canoes, and ſome others of his own, with the beſt proviſions he had, and the next day ſent them back to the general. *Silveſter* commanded this party with the canoes, and had brought the cacique's ſon to him, who had gone the whole weſtern progreſs with the *Spaniards*, and had learn'd their language. They had treated him ſo well, that he would gladly have ſtaid with them; but his father would not conſent to it.

Delay'd by the overflowing of the great river.

This flood continu'd from the beginning of *March* to the latter end of *April*; but the mire and dirt had ſo fill'd the ſtreets, that it was ſome weeks before they could walk in them, eſpecially conſidering that their ſhoes were made of green leather, which, with the wet, became like a piece of tripe. But they had been ſo enur'd to hardſhips, that they made light of ſuch ſmall inconveniencies; and went on with their brigantines, which were ready to be launch'd the beginning of *June*: and upon the 29th of that month, being St. *Peter's* day, the forces being all embark'd, and the general having before made peace between *Anilco* and *Guacachoia*, and taken his leave of thoſe caciques, with great demonſtration of friendſhip on all hands, ſet ſail from *Quiqualtanqui*, where they had now ſtaid ſix months.

The Spaniards ſail from Quiqualtanqui.

The confederate caciques, having been diſappointed, (as we obſerv'd) by the flood of the great river, had laid a ſcheme to deſtroy the *Spaniards* as they ſail'd down the river; and for that purpoſe had got together about 1000 canoes, ſome of which were ſo large, that they had 25 oars of a ſide; (as our author ſays, but indeed I cannot tell how to believe it, ſince they did not know the uſe of iron; nor had they any in the country, the *Spaniards* being obliged to beat the barrels of their muskets into bolts and nails for the brigantines, ſince they were of no uſe to them in war, for want of powder.) With this fleet, the *Indians* purſu'd the brigantines, and the third day after their ſetting out, the *Spaniards* ſaw them making all the haſte they could to ſurround them. The number of the brigantines was but ſeven, each of them having a canoe at her ſtern like a cock boat. On board theſe ſeven, were 350 *Spaniards*, with thirty *Indian* men and women, who ſaid they would rather die, than quit their *Spaniſh* maſters.

Her. *dec.* iv. b. x. ch. 2.

Are purſu'd by 1000 *canoes.*

To provide againſt any attack'd by water, they had fortify'd the ſides of the brigantines with planks, and hides, which was of conſiderable ſervice to them. The canoes drawing up in a line, ſent a flight of arrows among the *Spaniards*, ſome of whom were wounded by them, notwithſtanding the defence made; but they gall'd the *Indians* with their croſs bows, the only meſſive weapon they had left: and the canoes, being afraid to come within reach of their ſwords, kept at a diſtance; and, for ten days together, peſter'd them with their arrows; during which time, they ſuppos'd they had ſail'd about 200 leagues. Then the *Indian* fleet made a ſtop, and let them get before them, by which the *Spaniards* conjectur'd they muſt be near the ſea. And therefore plying their oars chearfully, as well as making uſe of their ſails, they ſpy'd a ſmall town, to which they made, and landed 100 men with eight horſes to carry proviſions, and alſo to charge the enemy if there ſhould be occaſion. This party was commanded by *Silveſter*, who going to the town found it deſerted, but well ſtor'd with proviſions, and likewiſe great plenty of skins of different kinds well dreſt; and, amongſt other things, a ſlip of the fineſt ſables of eight yards long, and an ell wide, adorn'd, at certain diſtances,

And had a flying fight for 16 *days.*

diſtances, with ſtrings of pearls, and ſmall tufts of ſeed pearls regularly placed, which was ſuppos'd to have been deſign'd for ſome publick ſhow.

But while they ſtaid here, the *Indian* canoes advanced again in ſight, which made the general order a retreat to be ſounded from the brigantines; as *Silveſter* was returning, a great many *Indians*, coming from places where they had been hid, ſhot ſome of the horſes loaded with proviſions, but did no other dammage. The canoes attack'd the brigantines as before, but ſtill at a diſtance. But the imprudence of one mad *Spaniard* occaſion'd a greater loſs then they had as yet met with in all the voyage. Upon the 16th day after their firſt embarkation, one *Eſtevanez*, a fellow of a brutal courage, having ſpirited up five more to follow him, leap'd into the canoe, which was at the ſtern of the brigantine, in which he ſail'd, and pretending that he was going to the general to propoſe ſomething of importance, got clear of the brigantine; and then rowing towards the *Indians*, call'd out aloud, *fall on, they run.* *Moſcoſo* ſeeing the raſhneſs of the attempt, made him be call'd back by a trumpet, and ſent ſeveral canoes after him, in which were 40 men, intending to have hang'd him for his temerity. At the ſame time he made the ſails be furled, and the brigantines row againſt the ſtream, to ſupport the canoes; but the *Indians*, who could out-ſtrip the brigantines when they only rowed, got the ſtart of them, and getting between the *Spaniſh* canoes and the ſhips, they ſunk them every one, and ſhot theſe that could ſwim, ſo that the whole 40, except four who eſcaped, periſhed by the madneſs of that one.

A mad Spaniard occaſions the loſs of forty.

The *Indians*, pleaſed with the victory, purſued them all that day with great rejoicings; but being weary of having rowed ſo much, and being now 400 leagues from home, they thought fit to give over the chaſe. The river was in this place, as near as they could gueſs, 15 leagues over; from which they concluded they were near the ſea; and accordingly upon the 19th day, they came within ſight of it; but not knowing whereabouts they were, they took into an iſland, where having ſtaid three days, to reſt themſelves after their fatigue, and to put any thing in order that they found amiſs in the brigantines, the laſt day they ſtaid there, ſeven canoes pop'd out from a place overgrown with ruſhes, in the head of one of the canoes was a huge black man, who in a threatning tone, call'd them robbers, and bad them be gone, or he would kill them, and burn their ſhips. *Silveſter* with 100 men, in their canoes, purſu'd thoſe ſeven, which had retir'd behind the ruſhes, and entering after them, they found about ſixty canoes there, which they attack'd, with their croſs bows, killing and wounding ſeveral *Indians*, and having overſet three of their canoes, the reſt fled. When they were return'd to their ſhips, they all ſet ſail, and keping as cloſe to the ſhore on the ſouth weſt ſide, as was convenient, they got out of the river into the ſea of *Mexico*, after a tedious voyage. Then, believing they could not be far from *New Spain*, they coaſted along, being afraid to venture far from land, for fear of the north wind, which at laſt ſeperated them, for all their caution; five of them getting into a creek, but two were blown to ſea; however after they had been toſs'd for 24 hours, they ſaw land, and making towards it, they run their ſhips aſhore, one after another upon the ſand, and ſo walk'd to the land.

They arrive in the bay of Mexico.

Gonſalo Silveſter happen'd to be in one of theſe; they deſpers'd themſelves in parties, to find ſome body that could inform them where they were; *Silveſter*, going up into the country, ſpy'd three *Indians* fiſhing on a lake, and two others gathering fruit off the trees; one of whom he took, who repeated often *Brezos*, but they did not know what he meant. In a ſmall cottage hard by, they found two baskets of fruit, a turky, a cock, and two *Spaniſh* hens, and ſome conſerve of *Maguey*. Theſe *Silveſter*, and his party, brought back to the ſhore, where the *Indian* told ſome who underſtood him, that he belong'd to *Chriſtopher de Brezos*; and that a league off there was a cacique who could read and write, whom he would bring to them; that the place they were in, belong'd to *Panuco*, which was 10 leagues up the river. They gave this *Indian* ſome toys, and ſent him to the cacique, who came with him, in four hours, bringing eight *Indians* laden with fowl, *Indian* corn, fiſh and fruit; he brought likewiſe pen, ink and paper, which enabled them to write to the governor of *Panuco* to acquaint him of their arrival. They ſent along the coaſt eaſtward in ſearch of the five brigantines, which they found at laſt, and brought them all to the ſame place. The whole crew were almoſt naked and bare footed, and in this equipage they went to *Panuco*, where they were civilly treated by the governor, who ſent an expreſs to the vice roy of *Mexico*, to inform him of their diſtreſs. He immediately ſent four horſe loads of ſhirts and other neceſſaries, ordering them to be ſent to him, which was done, they marching in different parties. But as ſoon as they were refreſh'd a while there, they were ready to tear the king's officers, (who had been with them

And ſo to Panuco.

them in *Florida*) in pieces, laying the blame upon them of their not having ſettled in that fruitful country. When the vice roy heard of it, he ſent for them, and quieted them, by promiſing to undertake that enterprize himſelf very ſoon, and to employ them in it, and in the mean time he provided for them in *Mexico*. But thoſe brave ſoldiers finding no likelihood of that expedition, ſome of them went to *Peru*, others ſtaid in *Mexico*, and ſome took on the religious habit. And thus ended the conqueſt of *Florida*, for that time, when, in all apperance, had *Soto* liv'd but one year longer, they might have planted ſeveral colonies there. But the *Spaniards* heads about that time, were ſo full of gold mines, that they deſpis'd all other methods of growing rich, and all opportunities of planting the goſpel, except in countries where they could reap a golden harveſt. I don't ſay this to caſt an odium upon that nation; for, to their honour, they have done more that way than any other nation in *Europe*. I wiſh we, who think our religion better than theirs, had half the zeal for converting the poor *Indians* that the *Spaniards* have ſhew'd; and I could give ſome reaſons why, in all appearance, by the bleſſing of GOD, we might have ſucceeded better than they.

It is needleſs to give an account of an enthuſiaſtical expedition of ſome dominican fryers, who attempted to convert the people of *Florida* in the year 1549. It was ſo quickly over that they did not live 24 hours after their landing, but were murder'd by the natives. I admire the zeal of thoſe religious men; but I cannot much applaud their prudence: for I can, by no means, think that a few prieſts (let them be ever ſo pious and learned) are fit to convert a ſavage people to chriſtianity, when they don't underſtand one word of their language, nor know any thing of their cuſtoms. And even the apoſtles themſelves had fail'd of making proſelytes, if GOD Almighty, among the other gifts he beſtow'd upon them, had not given them the gift of tongues. I have a great regard for martyrs, but I would have them to have common ſenſe.

SECT. II.

Other Diſcoveries, and Colonies planted in NORTH AMERICA.

ALTHO' we broke off *Cortez*'s conqueſt of *Mexico*, at his being in poſſeſſion of that city; yet many other parts of *America* having been diſcover'd and planted from thence, it is neceſſary to look back to *New Spain*; which we are the rather inclin'd to do, as being deſir'd, by ſome of the encouragers of this work, to purſue that ſubject a little farther. But, becauſe *Panama* was the place of greateſt note, and where all the *Spaniſh* diſcoverers either eaſt or weſt, upon the ſouth ſea, provided themſelves of ſhipping, and from whence they took their departure, we ſhall add, ſome farther account of affairs there, to what was formerly ſaid*.

* p. 39, 40.

Pedrarias being governor of *Darien*, and having very unjuſtly and barbarouſly put his ſon-in-law *Nunez* to death, as we obſerv'd before; having been informed of the riches found near the coaſt of the ſouth ſea, of which he had ſeen many marks, by the great quantity of gold brought to *Darien*, by the ſeveral parties ſent out, reſolv'd to go thither himſelf; and therefore neglecting the colony of *Darien*, which indeed was an unhealthful place, eſpecially conſidering that *Nombre de Dios*, founded about this time, was the neareſt way, by land, to the ſouth ſea, he remov'd from *Darien*, and croſſing the mountains, ſettled at *Panama*, which had been diſcover'd by *Nunez*; and for the largeneſs of the harbour, was pitch'd upon as the moſt convenient place for a city; and altho' the damps, occaſion'd by a moraſs near the place, make it not ſo wholeſome as it otherwiſe might be, it ſoon came to be one of the moſt flouriſhing places for trade in all that country; and engroſs'd the commerce both of the ſouth and north ſeas.

Panama *the chief city on the ſouth coaſt.*

Pedrarias having now no competitor, exercis'd all the authority which was before veſted, by the king's commiſſion, both in him and *Nunez*. He therefore ſent out ſeveral captains, to ſubdue the provinces thereabouts. Of all the caciques who withſtood the *Spaniſh* arms, *Urraca* gave them the greateſt trouble. The territory of this cacique was north-weſt of *Panama*, in the mountains of *Veragua*. *Eſpinoſa* having been ſent by the *Adelantado* or lord lieutenant *Pedrarias*, with two ſhips well man'd, to ſubdue the iſlands of *Zebaco*, about 60 leagues to the weſtward of *Panama*, the people of thoſe iſlands ſubmitted; and being ask'd where there was any gold to be had, they pointed to the mountains upon the continent, and named *Urraca*. This intelligence determin'd him to land upon the continent; but *Urraca* ſpying the ſhips from the hills, and hearing that the *Spaniards* had ſubdu'd ſeveral of the provinces in thoſe parts, provided what forces he could, and made ready to oppoſe them: and being inform'd by his ſpies, that they were marching towards him, he went

Eſpinoſa *ſent to ſubdue the iſlands of* Zebaco.

Marches againſt Urraca.

went to meet them with undaunted courage; and engag'd them with a great deal of bravery; and altho' the few horſe which *Eſpinoſa* had, terrify'd the *Indians* who had never ſeen any creatures of that kind before, yet they charg'd the *Spaniards* with ſuch vigour, that they were much put to it, and in all probablity had been defeated, if *de Soto* (who had been detach'd by *Pizarro* with 30 horſe) had not, by good providence, come near the place of battle, and hearing the noiſe, advanced to their aſſiſtance. This new recruit, eſpecially ſuch a number of horſe, made the *Indians* give way. However *Eſpinoſa* did not think it adviſeable either to purſue them, or to remain in their neighbourhood; and therefore, as ſoon as the night came on, he withdrew in ſilence; but ſuch was the vigilence of *Urraca*, that he had intelligence of the retreat, and knowing the ground perfectly well, he got the ſtart of the *Spaniards*, and had taken up a narrow paſs, thro' which they were oblig'd to march, where he attack'd them furiouſly. *Eſpinoſa*, who was now join'd by all *Pizarro*'s party, made a ſhort ſpeech to his people, telling them the neceſſity of exerciſing that valour which had hitherto procur'd them ſo much honour; in ſhort, that they muſt conquer or die. Having animated them by his words, he ſhew'd them good example by his actions, and being well ſeconded by *Pizarro*, fell in with the *Indians*, and by dint of ſtrokes, which thoſe naked people could not reſiſt, he broke thro' them, and retir'd to the ſhips; and ſail'd to one of the iſlands from whence he had ſet out, which the *Spaniards* call'd S. *Maria*, where they ſtaid to refreſh themſelves.

With whom he has ſeveral hot ſkirmiſhes.

From S. *Maria*, they ſail'd a ſecond time to the continent, but weſtward of their laſt landing place, to the province of *Borica*, where the ſight of the horſes frightning the army of *Indians*, drawn out to oppoſe them, they enter'd the chief town of that province, and made all the women and children priſoners, which the cacique of that province being more griev'd at, than if he had been priſoner himſelf, came, of his own accord, to *Eſpinoſa*, who generouſly releas'd all the women and children, and accepted of the cacique's ſubmiſſion. The like they did in ſome other towns weſtward, till they came to *Pariqueta* or *Nata*. Upon the coaſt ſide, having on the north eaſt the *Urraca* or *Veragua* mountains. Finding this country open, and fruitful, lying in an agreeable plain upon the river *Nata*, he reſolv'd to plant a colony, and ſent to get leave from *Pedrarias* for building a city there; which he granted, but ſaid he would ſee it done himſelf;

As alſo with other Indians.

and in the mean time, order'd *Eſpinoſa* to leave a party at *Nata*, and to come himſelf to *Panama*; which he did. But *Urraca*, having intelligence that the bulk of the *Spaniards* was gone, march'd his forces againſt thoſe who remain'd. His advanced guard caught three *Spaniards* in a houſe by themſelves, they kill'd one, took another, and the third hid himſelf; but finding an opportunity, while the *Indians* were making merry, to recover his arms, which were lying not far from him, he broke out of his hole, and catching up his ſword and other arms, he broke in upon the guard, with a furious cry and kill'd five of them: they thinking a freſh party was come unexpectedly upon them, fled out of the houſe, leaving their priſoner behind; ſo that the two *Spaniards* got out another way, and return'd to give the allarm to their captain at *Nata*. *Companon* who commanded the *Spaniards*, ſent two expreſſes to *Panama*, and in the mean time fortify'd the place he was in, as well as he could. But *Urraca* had inveſted his quarters in ſuch a manner, that he had no way free, but towards the ſea, inſomuch that not being able to ſearch for food in the country, and all his proviſions being ſpent in his little fortification; they were in a ſtarving condition, when *Herman Ponce* arriv'd with a recruit of 40 men, and proviſions from the governor; and *Urraca*, ſeeing the ſhip, and believing that the whole *Spaniſh* force was a coming, quitted his blockade, and retir'd.

A party of Spaniards left at Nata.

Pedrarias arriv'd ſoon after, and taking 150 men, and ſome ſmall guns, he and *Pizarro* (ſo famous afterwards in *Peru*) purſu'd the cacique. But he being an expert ſoldier, having intelligence of their march, poſted himſelf ſo advantagiouſly, that upon the *Spaniards* approach, *Pedrarias* ſaw the difficulty of attacking him; but knowing that all the ground they had gain'd in that country would ſoon be loſt, if they did not get the better of that warlike *Indian*; having planted his attillery ſo as to bear directly upon the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, he order'd them to fire, while he with a party took a little compaſs to attack them to the beſt advantage. The cannon being new to them, and being ſo level'd that they carry'd off whole files of the *Indians* at once, put them in ſuch conſternation, that *Pedrarias* falling upon them with his diſciplin'd forces at the ſame time, after ſome reſiſtance they gave way, and the *Spaniards* took up their ground; but not being in a condition to purſue ſo great an army, he kept that advantage, altho' *Urraca* attack'd him four days ſucceſſively. But finding that he was ſtill repuls'd with great loſs,

Pedrarias goes againſt Urraca.

eſpecially

eſpecially by the great guns, he retir'd, in order to raiſe more forces, and, to hinder the *Spaniards* from purſuing him, he order'd ſome *Indians* to ſtroll near them and ſuffer themſelves to be taken; and knowing that the *Spaniards* would inquire where gold was to be had, he inſtructed them to point to ſuch places as he named to them; and ſent a ſufficient force to ly in ambuſh on the roads leading to thoſe places. This bait took, and ſeveral *Spaniards*, who went in parties, were kill'd, and others wounded. However in the end they prevail'd, and *Pedrarias* went back to *Nata* and there planted a colony, dividing the lands, in the provinces round about, together with ſuch a number of *Indians* to every man's ſhare, who were to be employ'd in building their houſes, tilling their ground, and fiſhing for their maſters; which thoſe poor people reſented, altho' they had been put to the ſame ſervices by their own caciques before; *ſo natural is it, for people, to abhor being ſlaves to foreigners.*

Pedrarias having ſeen the new city of *Nata* (ſo call'd from the name of the cacique of the province) he left a garriſon of 60 *Spaniards* there, under the command of *Alibetz*, and return'd, with the reſt of his forces to *Panama*. *Alibetz* had ſeveral skirmiſhes with parties of the natives, and had great difficulty to keep his ground; but being frequently reliev'd from *Panama*, he went on with the building, and the city was, in time, peopled with *Spaniards*, who brought their families, ſome from *Panama*, *Nombre de Dios*, and other places on the north ſea; others from *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto Ricco*; and ſome from *Spain:* the expectation of the riches of *Peru*, ſetting all their heads upon ſettling on the ſouth ſea; from whence that great empire was diſcover'd and conquer'd, as we related in the preceeding chapter.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting on the coaſt of the ſouth ſea, *Cortez* was carrying on the conqueſt of *Mexico*, which he at laſt accompliſh'd, as has been fully related in the III. chapter of this work. But being as good as maſter of the whole empire, by ſubduing the city of *Mexico*, becauſe the whole ſtrength of that great dominion, having been ſummon'd to defend that city had been deſtroy'd in 60 pitch'd battles or form'd attacks; or had periſh'd by famine, or ſickneſs; he had nothing now to do, but to ſettle the confuſions occaſion'd by the war; and to make diſcoveries in other places, which had not been ſubject to the kings of *Mexico*. The capital city being, for the moſt part, in ruines, *Cortez* retir'd to *Guayoacan*, a league and a half ſouthweſt from *Mexico*, giving neceſſary orders for clearing the ſtreets, and repairing the houſes, in which he employ'd the *Indians*, who were now as ſubmiſſive to him, as they had formerly been to their own emperor.

But altho' *Cortez* had a great deal of reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with having conquer'd this great empire, and annexing it to the crown of *Spain*, which was the greateſt ſervice that any ſubject had ever done to that monarchy; yet as ambition is never ſatiated, he reſolv'd to enlarge the dominions of *New Spain* beyond the territories of *Montezuma*; and in order to that, he ſent out ſome *Indians* with one or two *Spaniards* who were diſcreet perſons, not to conquer, but to view the country, beyond the limits of *Mexico*. *Parillas*, a pleaſant merry fellow, who having learn'd the *Mexican* language, was very acceptable to the natives for his good humour, went as far as the kingdom of *Mechoacan*, where the report of the conqueſt of *Mexico* had made ſuch a noiſe, that upon the rumour of a *Spaniard*'s coming into the country, people of all ranks came out to gaze at him, as a ſtrange thing. But when they heard him ſpeak their language, and ſaw that he treated them with civility, and did no harm to any body, they ventur'd to touch him; and ask'd him a great many queſtions, to all which he anſwer'd with great dexterity; and having ſeen ſeveral towns, and got ſome ſamples of gold, he return'd to *Cortez* with two *Indians*, which ſome of the chief men of *Mechoacan* had given him. *Cortez* careſs'd the *Indians*, and order'd ſome of his people to ſhew them the horſes, artillery, and arms; he made the horſe men skirmiſh before them, and the muſketeers to fire, which they were much aſtoniſh'd at, and at firſt were terribly frightned. Having ſpoken kindly to them, and treated them well for ſome days, he diſmiſs'd them with ſome baubles, with which they were highly pleas'd. He would have ſent ſome *Mexicans* along with them, but they refus'd to take them, becauſe their country had always been enemies to *Mexico*, but they accepted of a convoy of *Tlaſcallans*.

Cortez ſends to view the country out of the limits of Mexico.

Soon after they were gone, *Cortez* ſent *Montano* and three other *Spaniards*, in company with 20 *Indian* gentlemen, to the capital city of *Mechoacan*, giving them inſtructions, that they ſhould endeavour if poſſible to ſee the king, and, at the ſame time, to inform themſelves of the trade and produce of the country, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the people. This company ſet out together, and in four days march, came to the frontiers of *Mechoacan*, and going on to *Taximaroa*, were receiv'd by the caci-

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que of that city, and the other citizens, in a moſt friendly manner; for the *Indians*, who had been at *Guayoacan* with *Parillas*, had given them ſuch favourable impreſſions of the *Spaniards*, that all the natives vy'd with one another who ſhould ſhew them greateſt reſpect. Having been entertain'd ſome days in this city, the cacique, at their departure, told *Montano*, that he deſign'd in a ſhort time to go and ſubmit himſelf to *Cortez*, and he did not doubt but their ſovereign, the king of *Mechoacan* would do the ſame. This city, being the frontier of the kingdom, was fortify'd with a wall two fathoms high, and one broad, made of oaken planks; which, by reaſon of their wars with the *Mexicans*, they renew'd from time to time, and it was done with the greateſt art.

Montano having ſent one of the *Indians* to give *Cortez* an account of their ſucceſs at *Taximaroa*, proceeded on his journey, and in ſix days arriv'd at *Mechoacan*; the natives, wherever they paſt, coming in multitudes to gaze at them. A little way out of the town, they were met by a number of lords, ſent by their king to compliment the *Spaniards*; the eldeſt of thoſe lords welcom'd them in the king's name, and declar'd, that he deſir'd to be a friend to *Cortez*, and a ſubject to the king of *Spain*. *Montano* made a ſuitable anſwer to the *Indian*'s ſpeech, and ſo enter'd the city, being conducted to a ſpacious houſe, where they were conveniently lodg'd, and entertain'd after a handſome manner.

Montano arrives at Mechoacan.

After they had din'd, the king himſelf came to the houſe, and with a ſtern countenance ask'd them, *whence they came? what was their buſineſs? what made them deſtroy the city of* Mexico? and told them, *If their general attempted to ſubdue him, he ſhould find it a harder task than the conquering* Montezuma. This diſcourſe ſurpriz'd the *Spaniards*; but *Montano*, ſoon recollecting himſelf, made anſwer, *that he had no reaſon to be jealous of them, for they were ſent by their general only to offer his friendſhip to his highneſs, together with that of their great lord and maſter the king of* Spain; *and to ſettle trade, and a good correſpondence between the* Spaniards *and the ſubjects of* Mechoacan. The king appear'd to be unreſolv'd how to treat them; he roſe up, and bid them repoſe themſelves, and he would give them an anſwer. Upon his going away, a ſtrong guard was put about their quarters, but no inſult offer'd to their perſons.

The king's behaviour towards them.

Towards the evening, there were great rejoicings in the city, and fires were lighted in all the towers of their temples; and the *Mexicans* were of opinion that both the *Spaniards* and they were to be ſacrificed; and it was believ'd that he once had ſuch a deſign; but that he chang'd his reſolution, by the advice of an old counſellor. He ſent for four of the chief *Mexicans*, from whom he deſir'd to know the behaviour of *Cortez*, and an account of the conqueſt of *Mexico*. Thoſe gentlemen being much in *Cortez*'s intereſt, and, having been inſtructed by *Montano*, ſpoke boldly, repreſenting the wonders that had been perform'd by the *Spaniards* both before, and during the ſiege; they told the king, that they were invincible in the field, but mild and courteous towards thoſe who accepted of peace. This account agreeing with what they had heard before, was eaſily credited by the king and council; ſo that having diſmiſs'd the *Mexicans*, whom he order'd to be treated according to their quality; after ſome conference with his council, the king went to viſit the *Spaniards* a ſecond time, and coming to them with all his people in arms, he himſelf having his bow in his hand, and a gold quiver full of arrows, at his back, they look'd for nothing but deſtruction, and were reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as they could. But they were very agreeably ſurpriz'd, when, after great quantities of deer, rabbits, quails, and great variety of other fowls alive and dead, were brought in, the king told them by the interpreter, that *he had delay'd them ſo long, by reaſon of an anniverſary feſtival which he had been oblig'd to perform; but now that it was over, he deſign'd to ſend them back to their general; and deſir'd them to acquaint him, that he was ſo taken with the report made him of his courage and conduct, that he was reſolv'd to court his friendſhip, and to ſubmit himſelf to that great monarch, who had ſuch people for his ſubjects. And therefore, he bid them prepare for their return the next day, when they had receiv'd the preſent he deſign'd to ſend them.* He likewiſe told them, *that he would ſend ſome of his chief nobility along with them, deſigning, in a ſhort time, to go himſelf to confirm what he then promis'd:* to all which *Montano* anſwer'd, with much reſpect, promiſing to deliver his meſſage to the general, and aſſuring his highneſs, *that the noblemen ſhould be treated according to their quality, and as became the ambaſſadors of ſo great a prince.*

According to the king's promiſe, the next morning, ſeveral gentlemen came to their quarters, attended by a number of men, laden with garments of the fineſt ſort; wooden ſeats curiouſly wrought; five loads of buskins made of dear skins of different colours; and ſeveral pieces of ornaments ſome of pale gold, and others of

of silver. All these were laid down in the court, upon very curious mats; and upon delicate white cloath, were deposited bars of gold and silver to the value of 100,000 pieces of eight. After this the king came, and made a favorite tell the interpreter, that what was laid in the corners of the court, was design'd for the *Spaniards* who were present; and that in the middle, for their general. And then recommending eight noblemen, (whom he had chosen to go along with them,) to their care and protection, he retir'd.

When they were ready to begin their journey, 800 *Indians* took up the present for *Cortez* and the ambassadors, marching out by two and two, and *Montano* with his retinue, and the *Mechoacan* ambassadors follow'd them, and made the best of their way to *Guayoacan*, where *Cortez* welcom'd them, having been in pain for their long stay, they having been detain'd three weeks at *Mechoacan*.

As soon as *Cortez* had inform'd himself of all that had past, he sent for the ambassadors, whom he receiv'd in great state; and they marching two and two, made their obeysance first at the door, and then in the middle of the room, where he was seated in an arm chair. As soon as they came up to him, he rose from his seat, and embrac'd them one by one. When he was seated again, the eldest of them deliver'd his commission, being in substance, *That the king his lord had sent them to assure him of his friendship, and to testify the esteem he had for him, for his conduct and bravery, who, with such a handful of men, had subdu'd the vast empire of* Mexico. And he concluded with declaring his master's resolution of coming soon to see him, and to submit himself to the crown of *Spain*. *Cortez* receiv'd their compliments with a good grace, and, *thank'd their king for his good opinion of him, desir'd them to assure him of his friendship, and that he should be rejoiced to have the honour of seeing him.* And as to them, he told them, *they were as free in* Guayoacan *as in their own houses, and might return when they thought fit; but desir'd it, as a favour, that they would stay with him some days to see his people exercise their arms.* The ambassadors extremely pleas'd with their reception, retir'd to the quarters appointed for them, where they were splendidly entertain'd, and the next day, by *Cortez*'s order the horse and foot were drawn out, and made sham fights, and the cannon were discharg'd. And thus having staid some days, they took leave of *Cortez* highly satisfy'd with what they had seen, and with the presents he made them.

Upon their return home, they gave such accounts of *Cortez*, that the king prepar'd to make him a visit; but first he was advis'd to send his brother; who accordingly went with a retinue of 2000 men, some of them carry'd a present, of garments, made of cotton and feathers, together with the value of 8000 pieces of eight in pale gold, and above 1000 marks in silver allay'd with copper, all made into vessels for use or ornament. This prince being very desirous to see such a heroe, as *Cortez* had shew'd himself to be, made a very expeditious march, and *Cortez* being inform'd of his approach, sent some gentlemen, with the interpreter, to welcome him, and conduct him to his palace, he himself receiv'd him in the antichamber, and having embraced him, led him into his appartment, and made him sit down by him; ordering dinner to be serv'd up. After they had done eating, they enter'd into a friendly conversation, by means of the interpreter; the prince amongst other things, beg'd as a favour, that *Cortez* would shew him those strange things which the ambassadors had talk'd so much of, and particularly the great canoes, as the *Indians* call'd the brigantines. *Cortez* desir'd he would repose for that day, promising to satisfy his desires the day following.

The king sends his brother to see Cortez.

In the mean time he gave orders for all his *Spanish* forces to rendezvous the next morning, and both horse and foot to divide themselves into two distinct bodies, and, to shew the prince the manner of their fighting, he order'd them to engage as soon as the prince and he came to the field; the artillery firing powder at the same time. After that show was over, they went to *Mexico*, in a stately canoe, with a rich awning, attended by many gentlemen in other canoes. Being arriv'd there, the *Mechoacan* prince took a view of the city, and could not forbear shewing compassion for the ruin of that place, which he had seen in its full splendour. *Cortez* did not fail to let him know that it was much against his inclination, that he had been forced, by the obstinacy of the *Mexicans*, to make such havock in the city, but that he design'd to repair it as soon as he could. By the time that they had seen the principal places of the city, one of the brigantines was set a float; and having 50 men aboard, ply'd about the lake for some time, to the great admiration of the prince and his retinue. After he had staid there some time, they return'd to *Guayoacan:* and the next day, having receiv'd a handsome present from the general, they parted, being very much satisfy'd with each other.

The prince, at his return, gave the king a distinct relation of all that he had seen, insisting so much upon the praise of *Cortez*, and extolling the bravery of the

And upon his return goes himself.

Spaniards, that the king would no longer delay his journey; and therefore, having provided a rich preſent for *Cortez*, he ſet out, with a royal retinue, and ſent every day an expreſs to *Guayoacan*, giving the general an account of his progreſs. As ſoon as *Cortez* had intelligence of his approach, he march'd out of the town at the head of the principal *Spaniards* all well dreſs'd, taking with him all his muſick, having been inform'd that the king had brought his along with him. When they came in ſight of one another, the muſick began on both ſides, ſo continuing till they met; and then there was a deep ſilence. The king made a low reverence to *Cortez*, who embrac'd him in a very affectionate but reſpectful manner. And then the king, excuſing his having defer'd his viſit ſo long, told him, *that he was now come to claim that friendſhip he had been pleas'd to offer him, and withal, to ſubmit himſelf and his kingdom, to his ſovereign, the great king of* Spain; *in token of which he had brought ſuch things as his kingdom afforded, as a preſent for his majeſty and him.*

Cortez was much pleas'd with the king's behaviour, and diſcourſe, to which he made a ſuitable return, letting him know, that his ſubmiſſion to the king of *Spain* would be a great advantage to himſelf, as he would explain to him more particularly when his majeſty had taken ſome repoſe after his long journey. After this ſhort converſation, they march'd together to *Guayoacan*; where *Cortez* had prepar'd the beſt appartment in the palace for the king, whom the *Mexicans*, becauſe he was meanly habited (altho' his retinue were richly dreſt) call'd *Cazonzin*, or old buſkin; but his true name was *Tangajuan Bimbicha*. He ſtaid with *Cortez* ſeveral days, and ſaw the *Spaniards* exerciſe after the ſame manner as his brother had done, to his great ſatisfaction; and when he had a mind to go home, he was diſmis'd with all the marks of eſteem; *Cortez* having firſt talk'd to him about the unreaſonableneſs of ſeveral cuſtoms they us'd, and particularly concerning human ſacrifices; and obtained liberty of ſending colonies to his country when he thought fit: which he accordingly put in execution ſome months after, ſending *D'Olid* thither, with 40 horſe and 100 foot, who were well receiv'd by the king, and planted the firſt colony at *Zinzontza*, near *Mechoacan*; weſt of *Mexico*, and not far from the ſouth ſea.

D'Olid *plants a colony in* Mechoacan.

Much abuot the ſame time, towards *November* 1522, he ſent *Sandoval* with 200 foot and 35 horſe ſouth eaſt, towards the north ſea, to chaſtiſe ſome provinces which had murder'd thoſe *Spaniards* ſent to diſcover the mines, when he was forced to abandon *Mexico* after the death of *Montezuma*. *Sandoval* went to *Guatuſco*, *Gonzocoalia*, *Gucchallon*, *Civatlan*, *Quezaltepec*, and *Tobaſco*: (where ſome ſubmitted, and others were ſubdu'd by force;) and built *San Spirito* about three leagues from the ſea. At the ſame time he ſent *Alvaredo* ſouthward, to the pleaſant valley of *Guaxaca*; (the place which afterwards, gave *Cortez* the title of marquis *della Valle*;) in this valley, about ſix leagues from the town of *Guaxaca* afterwards call'd *Antiquera*, the *Indians* made head againſt *Alvaredo* at *Ytzquintepec*; but he ſubdu'd them, by cutting off their water. This valley is in 18 deg. n. lat. about 80 leagues ſouth from *Mexico*. *Alvaredo* run thro' ſeveral provinces in the neighbourhood, ſome of which had been under the dominion of *Mexico*, and others not.

Sandoval *builds* San Spirito.

Upon *Alvaredo*'s return, having left a colony at *Antiquera*, *Cortez* ſent him with 200 foot, 40 horſe, and two ſmall braſs guns, towards the ſouth ſea, againſt the cacique of *Tututepec*, who made war upon the lord of *Tecoantepec* for having ſubmitted to the *Spaniards*, and ſending a preſent to *Cortez*. *Alvaredo* was a month by the way, and having at laſt reach'd that province, met with oppoſition at firſt, but the cacique ſubmitted, and offer'd to quarter his men in his own palace; but *Alvaredo*, being inform'd that he deſign'd to burn them there, excus'd himſelf, and ſtaid in the lower part of the town, as moſt convenient for the horſes, keeping the cacique and his ſons with him, who finding that they were priſoners, ranſom'd themſelves, and ſubmitted. Here *Alvaredo* planted a colony, and call'd his town *Segura*; but after his departure, the *Spaniards* quarrelling among themſelves, left the place, and went to *Antiquera*.

Alvaredo *plants a colony at* Antiquera.

Another at Tututepec.

By means of theſe parties, ſent out at ſeveral times, *Cortez* had diſcover'd a good part of the ſouth ſea courſe; and having gotten poſſeſſion of *Zacatula*, ſouth weſt from *Mexico*, upon the ſouth ſea, he ſent ſhipwrights thither to build ſhips, in order to diſcover farther ſouth, and appointed *D'Olid* to over-ſee the building of the ſhips, and to coaſt along, when they were ready. That captain, being then at *Mechoacan*, march'd from thence, with 100 *Spaniſh* foot, 40 horſe, and a body of natives; and upon his march, being inform'd that the *Colimans* were in arms, who liv'd upon the ſouth coaſt, not far from *Zacatula*, he took them in his way; but they being a warlike people, he was not able to ſubdue them, but ſent to *Cortez* for a reinforcement, who diſpatch'd *Sandoval*, with 70 foot, 25 horſe and a number of *Indians*.

Cortez *builds ſhips upon the ſouth ſea.*

He

He engaged with the people of *Colima*, and, after a ſtout reſiſtance, got the better of them, upon which they ſubmitted; and he founded a colony at *Colima*; and by *Cortez*'s orders, diſtributed the land among the *Spaniards* who ſettled there; and ſo returned to *Mexico*.

Cortez, after ſettling theſe colonies, upon the ſouth ſea, by his lieutenants; hearing that *De Garay* was making preparations at *Jamaica*, to ſubdue *Panuco*, upon the north ſea, he was reſolv'd to get the ſtart of him, and ſo to bring all that great country, from ſouth to north, into *New Spain*. He therefore march'd with 300 foot, 80 horſe and 40,000 *Indians* of *Mexico*, and having defeated an army of natives upon his march towards *Panuco*, ſeveral provinces ſubmitted to him, and he proceeded to *Chila*, where *De Garay* had been defeated in a former expedition, and the people truſting to their boggs and moraſſes, oppos'd his paſſage; but having provided himſelf of boats, he paſt a river, in the night time, with all his *Spaniards*, and attack'd a great army of *Panucans*, and being in good time ſupported by his *Mexicans*, the next morning, he routed the enemy with a great ſlaughter. They had ſeveral skirmiſhes in this country, and, after a great reſiſtance, at laſt, the whole country ſubmitted; and he planted the colony of *San Eſtevan del Puerto*, near the mouth of the river *Chila*, having deſtroy'd the towns of *Chila* and *Panuco* for their obſtinacy. And having chaſtis'd ſome other provinces who had rebel'd, and hang'd the cacique of *Tututepec* for revolting, he return'd in triumph to *Mexico*.

He ſubdues Panuco.

About this time, *Cortez*'s great actions having been reported in *Spain*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made againſt him, by the biſhop of *Burgos*, in favour of *Velaſquez*, the emperor *Charles* V. ſent him an ample commiſſion as general, and commander in chief in all the places conquer'd by him, with orders to all the king's officers, in the iſlands of *Cuba*, and *Hiſpaniola*, to be aiding and aſſiſting to him. When he had receiv'd this commiſſion, he ſet himſelf upon repairing the city of *Mexico*. He firſt appointed magiſtrates in it, after the model of *Spain*, appointing the different diſtricts to the care of ſuch perſons as he knew moſt capable of carrying on the work. He drew the plan of the city as he deſign'd it ſhould be rebuilt; and divided ſuch a ſhare to each of the conquerers; he laid out ſome places for churches, others for markets and publick buildings. The *Spaniſh* quarters, which began with 1200 inhabitants, were ſeparated from the reſt of the city. To pleaſe the natives, he gave one ward of the city to be built by the ſurviving ſon of *Montezuma*, and another by *Xihuacoa*, their laſt emperor's general; and allotted whole ſtreets and iſlands on the lake, to other men of quality, and gave great privileges and immunities to all citizens of *Mexico*; which brought a vaſt concourſe of people to it. *Cortez* built a fine houſe for himſelf, in the place where *Montezuma* had a palace; and in a ſhort time there were 100,000 good houſes rear'd in the city: and he took care to procure all ſorts of ſeeds, plants, and animals either from *Spain*, or the *American* iſlands, together with iron, all ſort of tools, and artificers: but eſpecially he provided artillery and fire arms of all ſorts, with ſtore of ammunition. He likewiſe ſet up printing houſes, a mint, and a college; ſo that he liv'd to ſee *Mexico*, as flouriſhing a city as any in *Europe*.

Receives the emperor's commiſſion as capt. general.

Cortez *repairs* Mexico.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing in *Mexico*, *Gonzalez D'Avila*, who had the king's commiſſion to make diſcoveries on the ſouth ſea coaſt, after *Nunez*'s death, having built four ſhips at *Acla* in the bay of S. *Michael*, or *Panama*, ſail'd weſtward in *January* 1522, and having coaſted along about 100 leagues, was forced to leave *Nino* with the ſhips to have them careen'd, and march'd up the country, giving orders to ſail the ſhips 80 leagues farther weſt, and wait for him. The rain fell ſo heavy in this march, that for 15 days together they could not ſtir, but ſtaid in one of the cacique's houſes; but the rain had ſo moiſten'd the ground all round, that the houſe ſunk plumb down, and they were forced to make their way thro' the roof, by the help of a lamp, which they kept burning before a picture of the B. Virgin. When they got out, they got up to the tops of trees, where they ſtaid two days, till the flood abated; and then made floats to go towards the ſea, it being impracticable to travel by land; and arriving at the bay of S. *Vincent*, they found *Nino*, who was juſt come thither with the ſhips.

Gonzalez D'Avila *diſcovers weſt of* Panama.

Gonzalez purſu'd his march, by land, with 100 men and four horſes, endeavouring to convert the caciques, where he was well receiv'd; particularly at *Nicoya*, whoſe cacique, of the ſame name, receiv'd baptiſm together with 6000 of his people. He gave *Gonzalez* 14,000 pieces of eight in gold, and deſir'd he would take ſix idols of the ſame metal, for he would be no longer troubled with them. From thence *Gonzalez* march'd to *Nicaragua*, about 50 leagues from *Nicoya*, in 12 deg. n. lat. The *Nicoyans* diſſuaded him from that march, becauſe of the power of *Nicaragua*, but he went on,

Converts Necoya.

on, ſending a meſſage to that cacique, that he was coming, in a friendly manner, to inſtruct him in the faith of JESUS CHRIST, and to perſuade him to ſubmit to the king of *Spain*; which if he refus'd, he challeng'd him to meet him in the field. The cacique having heard of the *Spaniards*, what conqueſts they had made upon the continent, by the ſharpneſs of their ſwords, and the fierceneſs of their horſes, ſent four gentlemen to *Gonzalez*, to acquaint him, that he accepted of his friendſhip, and would embrace his religion, if he lik'd it. When they met, the cacique entertain'd the *Spaniards* hoſpitably, gave *Gonzalez* 25,000 pieces of eight in gold, with ſeveral garments, and plumes of feathers; getting, in return, a linnen ſhirt, a ſilk looſe coat, a ſcarlet cap, and ſome *Spaniſh* baubles, with which he was pleas'd.

This cacique had ſeveral converſations, by an interpreter, with *Gonzalez* and his confeſſor, about the chriſtian religion; and ask'd very ſurprizing queſtions. Such as, *whether the Chriſtians had any knowledge of the flood that had drowned the world? whether it was to be drowned again, or the ſky to fall? why the nights were dark, and the weather cold? how big the ſun, moon, and ſtars were? and who mov'd them? what was the honour due to the* GOD *of the chriſtians, who made heaven and earth? where the ſouls were to be, and how employ'd after death? whether the king of* Spain *and the pope ever dy'd? and why ſo few men coveted ſo much gold?* To all which, *Gonzalez* anſwer'd very diſcreetly, ſo as the other appear'd ſatisfy'd, and, being farther inſtructed, was baptiſed with many of his ſubjects; the idols were all taken down, and croſſes ſet up in their temples.

And Nicaragua.

Gonzalez having ſtaid in this country ſome time, march'd on, but meeting with oppoſition from a warlike cacique, call'd *Diriangen*, he retir'd to the coaſt, and embark'd for *Panama*, having travell'd 224 leagues, and baptiſed 32,264 ſouls. He carry'd out of that country 112,524 pieces of eight, beſides the value of 145 in pearls. Upon their report, *Pedrarias* ſent to plant a colony at *Nicaragua*, about four leagues from the ſouth ſea.

Her. *dec.* III. B. i. ch. 4.

In the year 1523, new inſtructions came from *Spain* to *Cortez*. The emperor order'd him, by all means, to lay out all his care upon the converſion of the natives; and, to encourage them, he commanded, *that they ſhould be uſed as the natural* Spaniards *were*, particularly, *that no* Indian *ſhould be given as a property, to any* Spaniard, *but that they ſhould pay ſuch a tribute to the government as they could beſt afford. That no* Spaniard *ſhould uſ any of the natives ill, either in body or goods, but that an* Indian *ſhould have the ſame remedy, in his majeſty's courts, againſt a* Spaniard, *that any* Spaniard *had againſt another. That all the tythes of* New Spain *ſhould be apply'd to the maintenance of the clergy, and the ſervice of the churches. That all fines and forfeitures belonging to the crown, ſhould be apply'd to building bridges, and repairing highways. That no lawyers whatſoever ſhould practice in that empire. Nor any* Jews *or* Moors *enter that country, to the fourth generation. And finally, that no rich ſilks, nor any gold or ſilver ſhould be worn.* And *Cortez* having made it his requeſt to his majeſty, that the dominions of *New Spain* ſhould be for ever annex'd to the crown of *Spain*, the king declar'd, that it never ſhould be in the power of himſelf, or his ſucceſſors, to alienate *New Spain* from the crown, upon any pretence whatſoever. And altho' the fifth part of all the money and jewels had been hitherto paid to the crown; now, as a reward for the pains and fatigue the conquerors had been at, his majeſty only requir'd the tenth part for two years, and the ninth part for the third year, and ſo encreaſing one part every year, until the revenue ſhould come to the fifth, where it was to continue as formerly. And likewiſe they were exempted from any duty upon goods of the country, or what ſhould be imported, for ſix years; with ſeveral other immunities, and marks of honour to the conquerors; particularly coats of arms granted to ſuch as had none before, or additions to ſuch as had; the addition to *Cortez*'s being, a double ſpread eagle, and three crowns, together with the city of *Mexico*.

New inſtructions from Spain.

This ſame year, *De Garay* fitted out, at a great charge, a fleet to conquer *Panuco*, where he miſcarry'd before, and altho' he was inform'd before he ſail'd from *Cuba*, of *Cortez*'s having ſettled a colony in that province, he proceeded on his expedition, but had no better ſucceſs than formerly, and was fain to go to *Mexico*, where *Cortez* us'd him handſomely notwithſtanding his attempt to ſnatch ſome of the honour of his conqueſts from him, and in that city *De Garay* dy'd, and very poor, having thrown away great ſums of money upon his fruitleſs attempts upon colonies on the continent, when he had made himſelf rich by the iſlands. When *Garay* went to *Mexico*, his men ſtaid at S. *Eſtevan*, but not being under ſuch diſcipline as *Cortez*'s ſoldiers, *Ocampo*, the governor of that new colony, order'd them out of his garriſon, which gave them an opportunity of plundering the country, ſo that the natives getting together, fell upon them, and

Garay *miſcarries at* Panuco.

The Indians of Panuco revolt, but are reduced by Sandoval.

and kill'd 400 of them, and ate them: and being flush'd with this success, they made a general insurrection, marching to besiege *Ocampo* at S. *Estevan*. But upon *Cortez*'s being inform'd of it, he sent *Sandoval* with 100 foot, 50 horse and 20,000 *Indians* commanded by two *Mexican* noblemen. He try'd fair means to reduce the revolted *Indians*, but finding it to no purpose, he fell upon them with fire and sword, took 60 of their lords, and 100 of the richest people, with a great multitude of the meaner sort, whom he try'd and condemn'd with great solemnity, but, having no intention to put the sentence in execution, by *Cortez*'s advice, he burnt 30 of their lords, *in Terrorem*, and releas'd the rest upon their promise of living peaceably, and so return'd to *Mexico*.

Alvaredo sent to reduce some revolted provinces.

Towards the end of this year, *Cortez*, being inform'd that some provinces of the south, who had submitted to him, were in arms against his confederates, he sent *Pedro d'Alvaredo* to chastise them, with 300 foot, and 150 horse; who marching thro' *Tecoantepec* and *Sochanuso*, reduced some by fair means, and others by force, particularly the people of *Zacutalla* oppos'd him, but he got the better of them, and march'd towards *Utlatlan*, in which march he beat 4000 *Indians* in one place, and then routed 30,000 in a plain, by the help of his cavalry; and when they rally'd again, at the foot of a mountain, he attack'd, and defeated them with great slaughter. Soon after proceeding in his march towards the south sea, he defeated another considerable army of them, and having got the caciques, who were the chief promoters of the revolt, in his power, he put them to death, upon which the whole country submitted; so that by the 25th of *April* 1524, he settled every thing in the provinces of *Guatimala* and *Utlatlan*; but marching from thence to *Mopicalanco* and *Cayucatil* upon the south coast, he was attack'd by an army, which with difficulty he overcame, having many of his men wounded, and he himself got a lame leg, which from that time continu'd to be shorter than the other to his dying day. Having settled all matters here, he return'd to *Guatimala* and founded a colony there, by the name of *Sant Jago de Guatimala*, according to *Cortez*'s instructions, who sent him 200 *Spaniards* to plant it, and procur'd him the king's commission as governor of that province, which he well deserv'd.

Founds Sant Jago de Guatimala.

In the mean time, *Gonzalez* having, as we observ'd before, discover'd *Nicaragua*, sent to *Spain* to beg a commission for being governor of that province. But the governor of *Panama* supplanted him in it, by sending *Hernandez de Cordona* to possess himself of that province, which he did, *Gonzalez* having gone to *Hispaniola* to get recruits. *Hernandez* settled a colony on the cape, which he call'd *Brusselles*, having the south sea on one side, the mountains, where the mines are, on the other; and hard by is a large plain. But proceeding farther west, about 30 leagues, he founded *Granada* on the side of a lake, where he built a fort to secure his new city against the natives. But soon after *Pedrarias*, who it seems made no bones of cutting off the heads of *Spanish* officers, who had done good service to the crown, went to *Nicaragua*, and put *Hernandez* to death, under pretence that he had revolted from him; altho' the *Spaniards* of the new colonies said there was no such intention appear'd, and they profest much grief for *Hernandez*'s death.

Pedrarias sends Hernandez to plant a colony on the s. sea.

And afterwards cuts off his head.

Whilst these things were carrying on in the south, *Cortez*, finding all safe in *Panuco*, sent *D'Olid*, whom of all his officers he trusted most, to *Havana*, to buy horses and raise men, in order to sail to *Honduras*, where he hop'd to find a passage to the south sea. *D'Olid* accordingly sail'd to *Havana*, and there met with *Montejo*, who finding that *D'Olid* thought his merit not sufficiently rewarded by *Cortez*, blew the coal, and kept up the spirit of discontent in him. However he ship'd all that *Cortez*'s agents there had provided at a very dear rate, for this expedition of *D'Olid*'s cost *Cortez* above 30,000 pieces of eight. Having got all his recruits aboard, he set sail for *Honduras* gulf, lying between *Honduras* and *Yucatan* in 17 or 18 deg. n. lat. and near port *Cavallos* (so call'd from *Gonzalez*'s being oblig'd to throw a great many horses over-board because of foul weather) he built a town, by the name of *Trionfo de la Cruz*, *The Triumph of the Cross*, designing, as was said, to throw off all obedience to *Cortez*. Here he manag'd with so much discretion, that he met with no disturbance from the natives, having given them no cause of complaint against him. But *Cortez* having intelligence that he design'd to set up for himself, sent *De las Casas* with 150 soldiers, in two ships, to take him prisoner. *Casas* arriving at *D'Olid*'s new colony, and having surpriz'd two of his men, whom he found upon the shore, early in the morning, and finding the condition the garrison was in, cannonaded it. *D'Olid*, who was a brave soldier, went aboard two caravals he had in the harbour, and fought *Las Casas* for a whole day; but at last one of the caravals was sunk, but the men sav'd. *D'Olid* offer'd to submit to *Cortez*, upon condition he might keep his command. But

Cortez sends D'Olid to discover a passage between the n. and s. seas.

Cortez grows jealous of him.

a ſtorm ariſing, during the treaty, both *Caſas*'s ſhips were driven aſhore, and 40 of his men were drowned, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by ſwimming aſhore without arms.

This giving *D'Olid* the victory, he treated *Las Caſas*, and his people with great civility. And now being inform'd that *Gonzalez* was return'd to that country from *Hiſpaniola*, he march'd againſt him, with his own forces, and moſt of *Caſas*, who having ſtill had a regard for him, went along with him in this expedition; which ſucceeded ſo well, that he return'd to the garriſon with *Gonzalez* priſoner, whom he treated as he had done *Las Caſas*, allowing them the liberty of the town, and entertaining them at his own table; only he refus'd to releaſe them: they enter'd into a plot againſt him, and having hir'd *Mercado* to aſſiſt them, they two fell upon him after ſupper, when all the ſervants were retir'd, and whilſt *Mercado* held him behind, *Las Caſas* ſtab'd him with a pen knife in the breaſt and throat; *Gonzalez* wounding him in ſeveral other places. And then running out, and declaring that he was kill'd by *Cortez*'s order, the ſoldiers, who had a profound reſpect for *Cortez*, laid down their arms, and the conſpirators returning to the place where the murder was committed, and finding him dead, caus'd his head to be ſtruck off in the market place, as a traitor.

D'Olid *murdered.*

Cortez having advice of *Caſas*'s being made priſoner, but knowing nothing that had happen'd after, reſolv'd to march to *Thueras* in order to reduce *D'Olid*. But whilſt he was making preparations for that expedition, there arriv'd ſome new officers from *Spain*, ſent thither, at the inſtigation of his enemies, to inquire into his conduct. Theſe were *D'Eſtrada* the treaſurer, *D'Albornoz*, controller, *Salazar* factor, and *Almendez* inſpector. *Cortez* receiv'd them honourably, and they being intirely governed by avarice, ſet themſelves upon prying into the nature of his government, and gave ear to all the ſlanders, and title tatles of his enemies; they endeavour'd to abridge his power, and to engroſs the treaſure. *Cortez* let them go on their own way, and, in the mean time, he neglected nothing that he thought for the ſervice of the crown; and therefore ſent his lieutenants to reduce ſome provinces which had revolted, and manag'd all the military affairs without a rival.

New officers of ſtate come from Spain.

Some time having been ſpent in their clandeſtine inquiries, which *Cortez* knew well enough, but took no notice of, he declar'd his intention of going to *Honduras*, and committed the government of *Mexico* to *Eſtrada*, *Albornoz*, and the licentiate *Alonzo de Zuazo*, and taking *Salazar* and *Almendez* along with him, at their own deſire, he began his march with 150 horſe and the ſame number of foot, and 3000 arm'd *Indians*, beſides a great number for the ſervice of the army, and four pieces of cannon. He had not been long abſent, before *Eſtrada* and *Albornoz* were at daggers drawing about orders, ſo that *Cortez* was oblig'd to ſend back *Salazar* and *Almendez*, and join'd them in the commiſſion with the other three, for adminiſtring the office of governors. But this did not mend the matter; for a report being ſpread that *Cortez* was dead, they came to ſuch a heighth of diſcord, that they were upon the point of deciding the quarrel by arms; however they agreed upon pillaging *Cortez*'s houſe, and ſeizing upon all he had. And *Salazar* and *Albornez* getting the better of the other three, puniſhed all people who affirmed that *Cortez* was alive, and made publick ſervice to be performed for his ſoul, in the church: and then ſet his goods, together with thoſe of *Sandoval*, and other of his captains to publick ſale, and having arreſted *De Pax*, ſteward and kinſman to *Cortez*, they put him upon the rack, to diſcover *Montezuma*'s treaſure, which they pretended *Cortez* had hidden; and when he conſtantly affirm'd that he knew nothing of any ſuch treaſure, they hang'd him.

They pillage Cortez's houſe in his abſence.

In the mean time, *Cortez* endured great hardſhips upon his march, paſſing many rivers, moraſſes and mountains; he travelled thro' many provinces, and quartered in towns which he found for the moſt part, deſerted, the people having been induſtriouſly told, the *Spaniards* killed all the people that came in their way. But *Cortez* having ſent ſome ſmall parties out, they took ſome of the natives, and brought them to the general, who uſing them well, and giving them ſome toys, diſmiſs'd them in a friendly manner; ſo that in all the reſt of his progreſs, the natives came to him, and furniſh'd him with all neceſſaries. The caciques in ſeveral places ſubmitted, and ſome of them burned their idols at his deſire. But *Cortez* having brought *Guatimozin* the captive emperor of *Mexico*, along with him in that expedition, together with the chief caciques of the neareſt provinces, (who had ſtuck by that prince,) to prevent their making an inſurrection at *Mexico*, during his abſence; and being informed that they were conſpiring to murder him, and ſo to make their eſcape to *Mexico*, he ſecur'd them all againſt whom he had information, and bringing them to a trial, and the plot ſufficiently prov'd, he cauſed *Guatimozin* and two caciques to be hanged. The other

Cortez *marches to* Honduras.

He executes the captive king of Mexico

other guilty perſons he paſt by, but kept an eye over them. The *Indians* not knowing how he had his intelligence, believed he came by it, by a little ſea compaſs which he carried in his pocket, and therefore ſome of the caciques deſired him to look into that little box, and he would ſee that they were friends to him in their hearts. This miſtake of theirs the *Spaniards* encourag'd, as being of uſe to them at that time.

After a moſt tedious march, he arriv'd at *Nito*, where *Nieto* with about 60 *Spaniards*, who had been left there by *Gonzalez*, kept a ſort of a garriſon; here he was inform'd of the death of *D'Olid*, and that *Gonzalez* was gone to *Mexico* with *Las Caſas*. This news pleas'd him, as having prevented a tedious march. Here, by good providence, a *Spaniſh* ſhip arriv'd, with men and proviſions; all which he bought, and ſailed to the bay of S. *Andrew*; and hearing that *Las Caſas* had founded a colony at port *Hondurus*, otherwiſe called *Truxillo*, in 15 deg. n. lat. he ſailed thither, and the *Spaniards* there were ſo over-joy'd at his arrival, that they ſtrove who ſhould get firſt into the water to carry him aſhore.

Diſorders in Mexico.

Whilſt he was ſuffering great hardſhips in this expedition, the diviſions at *Mexico* encreas'd. *Salazar* and *Almendez* acted in ſuch an arbitrary manner, that they occaſion'd the death of many *Spaniards* by the revolt of ſeveral provinces, becauſe of the uncontroul'd licences of their people; and even the *Spaniards* themſelves who were in *Cortez*'s intereſt, had their cabals againſt them, which was like to embroil the whole empire. *Cortez* having intelligence of theſe diſorders at *Truxillo*, ſent an expreſs to *Mexico* with a new commiſſion to ſome of his friends, to take upon them the government, and to ſecure the perſons of ſuch as made any diſturbance. As ſoon as his letters arriv'd at *Mexico*, the captains to whom he had written, aſſembled his other friends, who being certify'd, by ſeeing his hand writing, that he was alive, went immediately and ſeiz'd the tyrants, and proclaim'd his orders, to which the whole city adher'd; ſo that putting *Salazar* and *Almendez* in two cages, made on purpoſe, they appointed *Eſtrada* and *Albornoz* to exerciſe the ſupream authority till his return.

Cortez had deſigned to have gone to *Nicaragua*, to order matters upon the ſouth ſea; but having now received an ample commiſſion from *Spain* as lord lieutenant of *New Spain*, he chang'd his reſolution, and taking upon him the ſtate and title of *Adelantado*, took ſhipping at *Truxillo*, and ſail'd to the bay of *Mexico*, and held on his march, with the general acclamations of all the places he paſt, till he arriv'd at the capital, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* receiv'd him with loud huzza's, and making bonfires and illuminations.

ortez's turn.

But altho' the fame of his great bravery made a noiſe in *Spain*, and the great and rich preſents he ſent thither, made him much taken notice of; yet he had ſo many enemies in the iſlands, and ſo jealous were others, upon the continent, of his growing power, that the court of *Spain* often changed their meaſures with regard to him, ſometimes ſending inſpectors to inquire into his conduct; and at other times judges to try him. But he had the good ſenſe to be patient under them all, and kept his authority by ſubmitting to the king's; and never loſt an opportunity with the power they left him, to advance the intereſt of the crown of *Spain*, which at laſt the court was ſo ſenſible of, that this great man got the better of all his enemies, and had great honours confer'd upon him, as he certainly deſerv'd; there being no flaw in his character, but his uſage to *Montezuma*; unleſs it may be objected to him, that the whole progreſs of his conqueſts was one continu'd uſurpation. *But I leave that among the politicians; for the gentlemen of the ſword would not condemn conquerors; altho' all the divines of both univerſities ſhould give it againſt them. But this I can bodly aſſert, that the* Spaniards *pretence for knocking the* Indians *on the head, becauſe they would not part with ſome images, and receive others, was a very bad reaſon for war. Nor can I bring myſelf to believe that kings or private perſons are to be diſpoſſeſt of what is their juſt right, for the ſake of religion; and when it is done, under that vizard, it is all grimace. It is the gold of the altar, or the dazling luſture of the king's crown, and his treaſure, that is the true motive; religion is only the ſtale to come at the other. And we have read of people who have diſpoſſeſt and murder'd kings for religion, that were themſelves a ſcandal to all religion, and had no other plot in demoliſhing a bad worſhip, but that of turning all religion out of the country.* But this only by the bye.

The noiſe of the conqueſts in *America*, brought the grandees and court of *Spain*, into factions, and there were ſo many competitors for almoſt every government in that new world, that there was ſcarce a year, but there were different generals or governors ſent to the ſame province, which ſet the *Spaniards* together by the ears, and gave the natives an opportunity to deſtroy great numbers of them as they were at variance among themſelves.

Thus

Thus were the provinces of *Nicaragua* and *Panama* upon the ſouth ſea manag'd, and thoſe of *Panuco*, *Honduras* and *New Granada* and *Yutacan* on the north ſide; ſo that the ſoldiers employ'd in conquering thoſe countries, and in planting colonies in them, were influenced rather by the affection they had to the different leaders, than by any attachment to the king's commiſſion, or to the true intereſt of *Spain*; and they fell as heartily to butcher one another, for the particular quarrel of their reſpective captains, as they at firſt attack'd the *Indians*, when they were oppos'd by them at their landing.

A moſt remarkable inſtance of this was ſeen in *Nunez de Guzman*, who having, by the intereſt of his friends in *Spain*, and perhaps by diſguiſing things by names unknown there, procur'd a commiſſion of governor of *Panuco*; (becauſe *Cortez*'s government was ſtil'd *New Spain*, or *Mexico*,) and arriv'd upon the coaſt in the bay of *Mexico*, deſigning to take poſſeſſion of the new colony ſettled thereby *Cortez*, ſince he found no encouragement in the places, he at firſt propos'd to ſettle in. He arriv'd at S. *Eſtevan*, before mention'd in the territory of *Panuco*, and being reſolv'd to have ſome dominion worth his while, upon the continent, laid claim to a part of the *Mexican* territory; and meeting with oppoſition from *Cortez*'s deputies, he ſent letters to *Spain* full of invidious reflections againſt *Cortez*, which being either ſupported, or contradicted, according to the intereſt which the enemies, or friends of that general had at court, it was thought neceſſary to call *Cortez* home to anſwer for himſelf.

Guzman *arrives at* Panuco, *and makes diſturbance.*

This order was the moſt agreeable thing that could happen'd to *Cortez*, he having deſign'd to have gone to *Spain*, of his own accord, if he thought it would not have been miſrepreſented. As ſoon therefore as he had receiv'd a letter to that purpoſe, from the biſhop of *Oſma*, at that time preſident of the council of the *Indians*, he made all the diſpatch poſſible for the voyage. He carry'd over 750 pounds (at 16 ounces to the pound) of wrought ſilver; 20,000 pieces of eight in gold; 10,000 more without allay; and jewels to a great value. At the ſame time he gave free paſſage, and their maintenance, at his own charge, to all that pleas'd to accompany him; among whom were *Sandoval*, *Tapia*, and ſeveral others, his principal officers in the conqueſt of *Mexico*, as alſo a ſon of *Montezuma*'s, and one of his faithful *Tlaſcallen* friend *Magiſcatzin*, (both which were chriſtians) and ſome of the chief nobility of *Mexico*, *Tlaſcala*, and other confederate cities. He likewiſe took along with him many curioſities of the country, and rich manufactures: with all which he arriv'd ſafely in *Spain* about the end of *May* 1528, all the world flocking to ſee ſo famous a commander; and notwithſtanding the envy of his enemies, he commanded reſpect wherever he went; and he had omitted nothing of outward pomp, to procure a good reception, wiſely judging, that a man of character is, by the vulgar, eſteem'd or diſregarded, by the appearance he makes. But, to his great grief, he loſt the brave *Sandoval*, his moſt faithful friend and companion in all his conqueſts, who dy'd ſoon after his landing in *Spain*, and was juſtly lamented by *Cortez*, and all that had been witneſſes of his courage and conduct.

Cortez *is call'd to* Spain.

As ſoon as *Cortez* arriv'd at court, the emperor did him uncommon honours; and having convers'd with him at ſeveral times, and receiv'd a full account of his conduct in *New Spain*, which was atteſted both by the *Spaniards* and *Indians* he had brought with him, he confirm'd him in the government of *New Spain*, to which were annex'd the provinces of *Panuco*, *Yucaten*, *Cozumel*, *Guatimala* and the river *De Las Palmas* in *Terra Firma*; without any regard to former commiſſions granted to others. He likewiſe beſtow'd upon him, the whole valley of *Guaxaca*, with all the cities, towns and vaſſalage belonging to it, and gave him the title of marquis *Della Valle*. Here he married *Donna Joanna de Zuniga*, ſiſter to the count *D'Aguilar*, to whom he ſent rich preſents, eſpecially one emerald, for which the marchants at *Sevil* had offer'd him 40,000 ducats.

Is highly honoured and rewarded by the emperor.

Nor did the new marquis *Della Valle* forget the friends of *Hernando Cortez*, whether in *Spain* or in *America*; but procur'd governments for ſome, and lands for others, whohad ſignalized themſelves in the wars of *New Spain*. He likewiſe ſo repreſented the great merit of the *Tlaſcalans*, that he procured an utter exemption, for them, from all veſſalage, even to the crown of *Spain*; which was both the higheſt honour, and likewiſe the greateſt advantage to that ſtate. Thus *Cortez* having ſettled all matters in *Spain* to his liking; after he had ſtaid about a year there, embark'd with his lady and friends at *Sevil* in 1529.

During *Cortez*'s abſence, *Guzman* had behav'd in the moſt arbitrary inhuman manner. He baniſhed *Pedro de Alvaredo* for refuſing to ſubſcribe his villanous repreſentations againſt *Cortez*'s adminiſtration. He was alſo charged with having ſent 17 ſhip loads of ſlaves from *Panuco*, which ruined thoſe provinces. That he had hanged ſix noble *Indians*, for not ſweeping the way before him

Guzman behaves moſt tyrannically.

him; and two *Spaniards* for ſending an excuſe that they could not attend him when he ſent for them: and that he had dragged out of a church, one of the firſt conquerors and put him upon the rack, till he was left for dead; and, when he recovered, had him whiped, his tongue bor'd, and then baniſhed him, and confiſcated his goods, for no other crime but his ſaying, that a new council would come, and do juſtice. Theſe, and many other vile and ſcandalous proceedings having been repreſented to the emperor by the biſhops and friars in *New Spain*, a new council was nam'd, to take cogniſance of thoſe complaints, and to ſuperſede the council, then at *Mexico*, and to make full reparation both to *Cortez* and the other *Spaniards*, as alſo to the *Indians* who had ſuffer'd by the tyranny of *Guzman*, and the council of *Mexico*.

But before the arrival either of the marquis, or this new council, *Guzman* ſet out upon diſcoveries, as he pretended, for the ſervice of the crown, but indeed to furniſh himſelf with gold. He march'd firſt to *Mechoacan*, where he ſeiz'd the perſon of *Canzonzin*, *Cortez*'s friend; and, under colour of his plotting to deſtroy the chriſtians, altho' he was one himſelf, he rack'd him, and afterwards burn'd him, as moſt people ſaid, to poſſeſs his treaſure. He had with him 8000 confederate *Indians*, beſides great numbers to carry the baggage, whom he us'd like ſlaves; but allow'd the arm'd *Indians* to pillage and murder wherever he came. He march'd thro' ſeveral provinces about the coaſt of the ſouth ſea, moſt of the inhabitants abandoning their dwellings, and leaving cities and provinces waſte, becauſe of the barbarities committed by his army. The cacique of *Cuiſco*, (a place near a lake,) after ſome reſiſtance, came in, and his people brought plenty of proviſions. But, upon pretence that he had not provided people enough to carry the baggage, he ſet a dog upon him, who bit and tore him moſt unmercifully. From this place he paſt by *Xaliſco*, on the ſea coaſt, which being abandon'd, he ſent a party to ſet the town on fire, and ravag'd all the country.

Marches towards the ſouth ſea.

Whilſt he was thus pillaging the provinces near the ſouth ſea, advice came, from his wicked accomplices, the old council of *Mexico*, that *Cortez* was arriv'd in *New Spain*, with power, and, as he might well judge, with full intention, to call him to account. This ſtartled him a little, however he went on, and wintered in *Chiametla*, under the tropic of *Cancer*, having ſpent the whole year 1530 in coaſting along the ſouth ſea, and the provinces adjacent. In the beginning of 1531, he ſent a party to found the town of *San Spirito*, afterwards call'd *Compeſtella*, in 22 deg. n. lat. upon the ſouth ſea; whilſt he ſuffer'd his *Indians* to burn all the towns as he march'd; and going northward along the coaſt, the rains fell ſo heavy, that his whole army ſollicited his return; which he at laſt comply'd with, or rather becauſe he did not find his account in a northen expedition. Having therefore proceeded to the latitude of 33 or 34, he return'd, and in the valley of *Culuacan*, about 30 deg. lat. he built S. *Michael*, near the river *De las Mugeres*, or of *women*, from the great number of women whom they took there. After this, he return'd to *Chiametla*, *Xaliſco*, and ſo to *Tepique*, in which province was *San Spirito*. Upon his arrival at this new colony, he took upon himſelf the title of preſident of *New Spain*, altho' he was inform'd that the biſhop of *San Domingo* was arriv'd at *Mexico* with that character. From *Compoſtella*, or *S. Spirito*, he ſent *Onate* to found a city, and plant a colony in *Teutla*, about half way between *Compoſtella* and *Mechoacan*; this colony was call'd *Guadalajara*, from *Guzman*'s place of nativity in *Spain*. He likewiſe call'd this whole province *New Gallicia*.

Plants colonies in ſeveral places.

Cortez arriv'd at *Vera Cruz* in *July* 1530, to the great joy both of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who were ſick of the tyranny and inſolence of the preſident *Guzman*, and the council of *Mexico*; inſomuch that they offer'd to *Cortez* to kill the licentiates *Matienzo* and *Delgadello*, as being his enemies; but *Cortez*, knowing that their power was now out of date, (or, at leaſt, would ſoon determine, upon the arrival of the new council, which he expected every day,) diſſembled his reſentment, and ſpoke kindly both to the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, who flock'd from all parts to him. He writ to the counſellors at *Mexico*, to notify his arrival and likewiſe, gave them an account of his commiſſion; but they, imagining, that the new counſellors, who they heard were expected, were only to be join'd in commiſſion with them, but not to ſuperſede them, being inform'd that *Cortez* had taken poſſeſſion of *La Rinconada*, near *Vera Cruz*, before he had ſhew'd his commiſſion to them, they directed the *alcade* or mayor of *Vera Cruz* to diſpoſſeſs him of that place, and commanded all the king's ſubjects to leave the marquis, and to return to their reſpective places of abode, upon pain of death. The marquis made his commiſſion be publickly read, and had himſelf proclaim'd captain general, and no body minding the orders of the council, as having no force againſt the marquis's commiſſion, he ſet out for *Tlaſcala* with a

Cortez *arrives at* Vera Cruz.

great retinue both of *Spaniards* on horſe-back, and *Indians*, and proceeded to *Tezeuco*, where he had free communication with *Mexico* by the lake, being unwilling to create any diſturbance in *Mexico* before the arrival of the new council, to whom he was reſolv'd to leave the deciſion of his own claim, and not to do himſelf juſtice, as he might eaſily have done.

And ſtays at Tezeuco.

When he was come to *Tezeuco*, his court was ſoon encreas'd, and that of the council almoſt deſerted; which, with the conſciouſneſs of their own guilt, made them raiſe men, and get the artillery made ready againſt him, in caſe he ſhould attempt to enter *Mexico* by force. But the marquis bore all with patience. At laſt the new counſellors arriv'd at *Mexico*, and took up their reſidence in the marquis's palace, with his conſent, puting a value upon it, in order to pay him for it, and immediately gave him poſſeſſion of all that had been taken from him in his abſence. They deſir'd he would come to the city to reſide, becauſe they apprehended ſome inſurrection, and knew there was no other able to keep things quiet. Then they proceeded to inquire into the miſmanagement of the government, during the marquis's abſence; and receiv'd depoſitions from ſuch as made complaints againſt the former preſident and council.

Till the new council calls him to Mexico.

Whilſt they were thus employ'd, the biſhop of *San Domingo*, whom the king had appointed preſident of the council of *Mexico*, arriv'd, who being a prudent man, and very moderate, gave ſatisfaction to *Cortez*, but forbore to puniſh *Guzman*, as he deſerv'd, in conſideration of the ill effects it might have, at that juncture, in the colonies he had planted in new *Gallicia*; in which, as in all the affairs relating to the whole empire of *New Spain*, he always conſulted the marquis, and a conſtant good correſpondence continu'd between them. He apply'd himſelf to redreſs all grievances, promoted the building of the cathedral, which *Cortez* had begun; ſet all the natives at liberty, not ſuffering any of them, to be made ſlaves; he encourag'd the firſt conquerors; and ſet up ſchools, where the *Indians* were taught grammar, which they came to be very fond of: he divided the city into pariſhes, and the kingdom into dioceſes; placing prieſts in the one and prelates in the others: he erected monaſteries, and churches; reduced revolted provinces. And, in a word, exercis'd all the parts of a good governor, with the utmoſt prudence. He not only made good all that the emperor had granted to *Tlaſcala*, but augmented their privileges, for the affection *Cortez* bore them, and for their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance in the conqueſt of *Mexico*.

A new preſident arrives at Mexico.

The marquis *Della Valle*, being now at his eaſe, fitted out two ſhips he had built at *Acapulca*; (a port now famous on the ſouth ſea) *Hurtado de Mendoza* had the command of this diſcovery, which was deſign'd to the north weſt. He ſail'd as far as *Xaliſco*, where *Guzman*, being at that time, refus'd to let them water, ſo barbarous did he ſhew himſelf in all his actions; ſo that they proceeded in the ſame courſe, for about 200 leagues farther, watering at other places, at that time, unconquer'd. But ſome of his men mutinying, he ſent the mutineers back to *New Spain*, with one of the ſhips, and continuing his courſe was never more heard of. The mutineers, not daring to land at *Xaliſco* for fear of *Guzman*, held on their courſe eaſtward; but not caring to return home, leſt they ſhould have been puniſh'd for their mutiny, they ſail'd over againſt the bay of *Honduras*, and not knowning that coaſt, they landed on ſome part of the province of *Guatimala*, not then ſubdu'd, where they were ſet upon by the natives, and all kill'd but two, who eſcaping to *Mexico*, gave all the account that ever was known of this unlucky expedition.

Cortez *ſends to diſcover the north weſt coaſt of the ſ. ſea.*

The preſident of *New Spain*, was all the while, going on with the regulations in the government, ſeeing that all the *Indians* were releas'd from ſlavery throughout the whole empire; and having taken care to have good ſtuds of mares, and a great number of cows brought over, for breed, he diſcharg'd all *Indians* from carrying burdens at any diſtance, making horſes and cows be diſtributed at reaſonable rates for carriage, and for drawing in carts. By this wiſe government, he brought the natives to a liking of their change of maſters; and had all the *Spaniſh* miniſters acted after the ſame model, the *Indians* would have found their account in adhering to the intereſt of *Spain*. But there were ſo many of them who acted purely upon the principle of gathering money, that they neither conſulted religion nor policy, but ſtrove to enrich themſelves by all the ways they could think of, without regard to chriſtianity, or common humanity. And indeed the behaviour of one ſuch governor, or captain, coſt the lives of many *Spaniards*, who, had it not been for the barbarities committed by ſuch a one, in that country, would have been well receiv'd, and have ſettled colonies peaceably, and without blood. And in thoſe places where they met with oppoſition, by the bravery of the natives, or the generous publick ſpirit of ſome of the caciques (for I cannot but commend thoſe brave men, altho' heathens, who rather loſt their lives, than they would ſubmit to have their country

enſlav'd

enſlav'd by *foreigners*) the avarice of the *Spaniards*, and their own private quarrels gave the natives many advantages againſt them, and made the conqueſt of *America*, as far as they became maſters of that country, coſt them very dear.

Many inſtances have been already produc'd, to verify this obſervation, in both its branches, and none can read the conqueſt of *Peru* without ſeeing plainly the miſchief of covetouſneſs, and ill regulated ambition; both which get the better of loyalty, friendſhip, humanity, and religion; and the word *honour* (the moſt pernicious thing in the world, when wrong placed) is thought ſufficient to conſecrate, or at leaſt to excuſe all the villanies and barbarities that can be committed upon occaſions, where there is the beſt opportunity of ſhewing it in its true light, which I take to be, in a ſoldier, *bravely deſpiſing danger in a juſt cauſe, and treating thoſe who are in our power, with humanity and good nature.* But a particular inſtance, of the effect of covetouſneſs and ambition, we have in *Guzman*, ſo often nam'd. For, altho' he had no manner of title to have the aſcendant over *Cortez*, nor any pretence to reap the harveſt he had ſow'd and cultivated with his blood and treaſure; yet he not only endeavour'd to put him in diſgrace with the court of *Spain*, by miſrepreſenting him; but he unjuſtly ſeiz'd his goods, wherever he could come by them, againſt the emperor's expreſs orders to the contrary. For, beſides his joining with the two licenciates at *Mexico* to plunder him, as we obſerv'd before, he ſeiz'd one of his ſhips at a port within what he call'd his diſtrict, altho' the marquis's commiſſion made the whole ſouth coaſt open to him, at leaſt ſafe from any inſult from *Spaniards*.

Cortez having had intelligence, from the two *Spaniards* who eſcap'd the ſlaughter of *Hurtado*'s mutineers, of the ill ſucceſs of that expedition, and having heard no news of that poor gentleman, fitted out two other ſhips at S. *Jago* in the province of *Guatimala*, in 1533, commanded by *Bezerra de Mendoza*, and *Ferdinand de Grijalva*. But neither had theſe better ſucceſs, as to diſcoveries; and one of them viz. *Bezerra*'s (the captain having been murder'd by the pilot) was ſeiz'd by *Guzman*, having landed within his juriſdiction. The marquis complain'd of this injuſtice to the council of *Mexico*, but finding no redreſs, nor any anſwer to his letters from *Spain*, fitted out three ſhips more, and march'd himſelf, by land, with a good body of horſe and foot, to *New Gallicia*. This put *Guzman* in a terrible fright; but *Cortez*, probably out of regard to the intereſt of the crown of *Spain*, did not hurt any of the new

Cortez marches to New Gallicia.

colonies there; altho' he found his ſhip plunder'd to the value of 20,000 ducats. He then went aboard the ſhips with as many foot and horſe as they could carry, and ſail'd weſtward; but after having loſt ſome of his ſhips, tho' the men were ſav'd, he came back to *Acapulco*, this having been the leaſt important expedition he ever had made. But it is probable he had not quitted the ſouth ſea ſo ſoon, but that he had advice of the arrival of *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, as vice roy of *New Spain*, which was occaſion'd by the preſident's begging leave to return to his biſhoprick, after having been near ſix years in the government of *Mexico*. Soon after the arrival of the new vice roy, there was a judge appointed to go to *New Gallicia*, in order to try *Nunez de Guzman*, for many crimes objected to him. But altho' he was ſent priſoner to *Mexico*, and from thence to *Spain*, he had plunder'd enough of other people's money to bribe his judges there, to bring him off.

Much about this time, the colonies before planted in *Yucatan*, and *Honduras*, were in a bad way; for, *Montejo*, who was adelantado of *Yucatan*, having had no ſupplies of men, and being preſt by the natives, abandon'd the government, and went to *New Spain*, to deſire aſſiſtance from the vice roy. And *Cereceda* controuller of *Honduras*, for the ſame reaſons, quitted *Truxillo*; ſo that all was in confuſion in thoſe parts. But the ſmall garriſon which *Cereceda* left in *Honduras*, being in great ſtreights made a ſhift to ſend to *Don Pedro d'Alvaredo* governor of *Guatimala*, who with all expedition came to their aſſiſtance, and they willingly admitted him for their governor. He recover'd their ruin'd affairs, and built a new city at *Gracias a Dios* on the weſt ſide of *Honduras* in 15 deg. n. latitude, oppoſite to the cape of the ſame name, and in the ſame latitude on the eaſt coaſt. And ſoon after, he planted a colony at port *Cavallos*, which he did for the conveniency of the river, for a communication between the north and ſouth ſeas. And having ſettled good order in *Honduras*, he himſelf ſail'd for *Spain*. After his departure, *Montejo* coming back from *Mexico*, with ſome forces, took poſſeſſion of *Alvaredo*'s labours, by virtue of the commiſſion he had to make diſcoveries on that coaſt: He took away all the lands from thoſe to whom *Alvaredo* had divided them; and ſent back all the peaceable *Indians* who had follow'd that renown'd captain from *Guatimala*.

Affairs in Yucatan *and* Honduras.

But when he thought himſelf ſettled in peace in that country, a warlike *Indian* call'd *Lapira*, in *Cerquin*, not far from

Gracias

Lapira *takes arms against the* Spaniards.

Gracias a Dios, having ſummon'd all the caciques, and lords to his aſſiſtance, took the field with 30,000 men, engaging themſelves to extirpate the *Spaniards*. To ſecure himſelf from the horſe, *Lapira* fortify'd a rock, and from thence in pickeering parties, kidnap'd the ſtragglers as they could be found. *Montejo* ſent *Cazeres* againſt him, with a ſtrong detachment, who beſieg'd him in his fort, for near ſix months; nor had the war been ended ſo ſoon, but for the death of *Lapira*. But *Cazeres* being inform'd that the other caciques were inclin'd to peace, and were only kept, from acceping his offers, by *Lapira*, was reſolv'd to take him off, if poſſible; and finding that he often mounted the fort, and revil'd the *Spaniards*, when they came within hearing of him; he order'd a horſeman to ride within musket ſhot of the fort, and ſent along with him, one of the beſt markſmen he had, whom he order'd to ſhoot at *Lapira*, whilſt the horſeman made ſome propoſals to him: the ſoldier perform'd his part ſo well that, by the horſeman's ſide, he diſcharg'd his piece, and brought *Lapira* down from the wall, the bullet having hit him directly in the forehead. As ſoon as he was kill'd, *Cazeres* ſent propoſals to the caciques, which they accepted of, and laid down their arms.

He is kill'd by a muſketeer.

Theſe matters having taken up ſome time, and accounts of the proceedings of *Montejo*, in this country, having been ſent to *Spain*, *Alvaredo*, who had been well receiv'd by the court there, repreſented the injuſtice done him by *Montejo*'s invading his province and breaking the donations he had made; he therefore procur'd a commiſſion for being reinſtated in the government of *Honduras*, and for annexing it to that of *Guatimala*; and receiv'd an order to *Montejo* to reſtore the lands to him, with all the profits of them during his abſence. With theſe new orders he landed at port *Cavallos* on the weſt coaſt of *Honduras*, where he ſtaid a month without taking any notice of *Montejo*, who was much troubled at his coming with a force, againſt which he was not in a condition to keep his ground. His friends adviſ'd him to ſend a compliment to *Alvaredo*, to congratulate his arrival, and to enquire into his intentions in a civil manner; which he did, and had for anſwer, that he had orders from the king to oblige him to reſtore the lands he had unjuſtly poſſeſt himſelf of, and that he had ſufficient power to make him do it, if he would not obey his majeſty's orders without being forc'd to it.

Alvaredo *arrives at* Honduras.

Montejo ſaw there was no withſtanding the king's authority, when back'd by *Alvaredo*'s arm'd arguments; he therefore employ'd the biſhop elect of *Honduras*, to make up the difference in an amicable manner, which *Alvaredo* accepting of, *Montejo* went to ſee him and his lady, and upon ſight of the king's commiſſion, agreed to give up his pretenſions to *Honduras*, only deſiring, as a favour, that he would give him the government of *Chiapa*, to the weſtward of *Guatimala*, to which *Alvaredo* readily yielded; and the biſhop having computed the profits of the land, at 20,000 ducats, *Alvaredo* firſt remitted the half, and ſoon after made *Montejo* a compliment of the other half. From this time *Honduras* flouriſh'd under *Alvaredo*'s government. Having ſettled his affairs there, and left a deputy, he march'd to his former government of *Guatimala*.

In the mean time, there was not ſuch a good underſtanding between the new vice roy and the marquis, as had been between this laſt, and the late preſident; for the vice roy, having been told by the biſhops and friars, that the beſt way to convert the *Indians*, was, by ſending miſſionaries among them, without arms, gave into their ſcheme; (which undoubtedly was an honeſt one, provided theſe miſſionaries had taken time to learn the language of the country; before they pretended to preach the goſpel to the *Indians*;) he therefore ſent father *Mark de Nixa* a franciſcan friar, along with *Cornado*, who was appointed to ſucceed *Guzman*, in the government of *New Gallicia*. This friar being a pious and zealous man, offer'd to travel into the country to convert the natives; and accordingly ſet out, with proper guides, and ſome interpreters, for *Culiacan*, and from thence was to travel into the country northwards. He began his journey in march 1539, with another friar of the ſame order, and a black, and ſix *Indians*, who had learn'd the *Spaniſh* language. But altho' this good father travell'd very far, and ſaw places, which our author ſays, no body ever ſaw afterwards. * He was fain to return, having ſet up a croſs, and taken poſſeſſion, (at a diſtance,) of a country which he ventur'd to ſpy from a hill, but was wiſe enough not to go to, being aſſur'd by ſome people he had ſent before him, he had no buſineſs there. *Cortez*, who by his commiſſion was authoriz'd to make diſcoveries along the coaſt of the ſouth ſea, ſent out three ſhips under the command of *Franciſo de Ulloa* from *Acapulco*, in *July* the ſame year; theſe ſail'd along the coaſt, (ſometimes landing for water and ſometimes to view the country,) till chriſtmas, having all the while ſeen but very few people, and thoſe they could not underſtand: ſo that having gone as far as 30 degrees of n. lat. and loſt one of their ſhips, and the others dammag'd; the commodor,

A friar undertakes to make diſcoveries.

* Her. dec. IV. b. vi. ch. 4.

But returns in a ſhort time.

Ulloa *ſent by Cortez along the coaſt of the ſ. ſea.*

commodor, being obſtinate in making farther diſcoveries, they refitted both the ſhips, and, by conſent, one of them return'd home, and *D'Ulloa* ſail'd farther north with the other, but it was never known what became of him. Theſe two ſhips had ſail'd a great way up the gulf of *California*, without having ſeen that iſland, for any thing that appears in our author's account of their voyage.

But the vice roy, being impatient to make farther diſcoveries, and finding that the miſſionaries had not ſucceeded to his liking, the governor of *New Gallicia*, *Cornado*, being at *Culuacan*, and *Cortez* gone a ſecond time to *Spain*, he ſent forces to *Culuacan*, with an order to *Cornado* to endeavour to find out *Cibola*, of which father *Mark* had talk'd ſo much. *Cornado*, in obedience to this order, ſet out from *Culuacan*, by land, with 150 horſe, and 200 foot, well arm'd, with good ſtore of ammunition, ſome ſmall field pieces, and ſheep, ſwine, and other proviſions. They march'd northward in *May* 1539, about the ſame time that *Cortez*'s ſhips were upon the coaſt; but as this army penetrated into that country, they could have no opportunity of meeting with *Ulloa*. They gave names to ſeveral places as they paſt, but little memorable occur'd for ſome time, the natives giving them little diſturbance. At laſt they came into the province of *Cibola*, and to the firſt town of that province, which was the firſt place where they found any reſiſtance, but they paid for it, *Cornado* revenging the murder of the black who had gone with father *Mark*, and had been kill'd by the lord of that town. Taking ſome *Indians* for guides, they paſt ſeveral rivers, ſaw many towns; but altho' one of their guides talk'd of great wealth (as far as they could underſtand him,) they found nothing for many days but droves of cows feeding wild, which afforded meat, drink and cloathing to the natives. But another *Indian* giving them to underſtand that they were led aſtray, they began to ſuſpect their firſt guide, and ſo putting him, under a guard, in the rear, they were conducted by the other.

And Cornado, by the vice roy by land.

Cornado finding the people here of a peaceable diſpoſition, left moſt of his forces in this country, which they call'd *The Place of Cows*, and taking 30 horſe with the faithful *Indian*, he march'd 30 days together, till he went as far north as *Quivira*, in 45 deg. lat. This they found to be a pleaſant country, with ſtore of good fruit, well water'd, and full of plains and little hills; and here the honeſt *Indian* deſir'd to be left; which *Cornado* agreed to, and made him preſents of ſuch things as he had brought for bartering, with which he ſeem'd pleas'd: and *Cornado* telling him, that he deſign'd to return to his companions, but would come back another time, the *Indian* promis'd to ſerve him upon all occaſions. *Cornado* march'd back to his forces, and having a mind to be at his government, gave orders to begin the march towards *Culuacan*, to the great grief of his men, who would gladly have ſtaid in the pleaſant country of *Quivira*. The firſt guide finding they were for going off, endeavour'd to raiſe the country upon them, which *Cornado* finding out, order'd him to be hang'd; and ſo march'd home.

He goes as far as Quivira *and returns home.*

The vice roy was much diſpleas'd at his return; and therefore, the year following he ſent *Alarcon* with two ſhips northward; after ſome bad weather, in which they were in danger of being loſt in the ſhoals where *Ulloa* had been, they proceeded along the coaſt to a river in 40 deg. of lat. to which they gave the name of *Buena Guia* or *Good Guide*, as it is ſtill call'd, in our maps, not far from *Quivira*. The *Indians* appearing upon the banks, in a threatning manner, *Alarcon* made ſigns of peace by laying aſide his ſword, and ſhewing them toys; one of them advanced before the reſt, giving the commodor ſome ſhells which he had ty'd to a long ſtick, and reach'd out to the boat, in which he came near the ſhore. *Alarcon* took the ſhells, and, in return, ty'd ſome ſtrings of beads to the ſtick, at which the other *Indians* came flocking about him, and receiv'd baubles to their great ſatisfaction. Then he made ſigns to them to give him to eat, and they brought him mayz; and deſir'd he would land, and he ſhould have meat enough. The commodor going back to his ſhips, ſail'd up the river a little farther, the natives following along the banks both men and women. Caſting anchor at night, he kept a good watch, and the next morning arm'd men appear'd on each ſide with bows and *macanas* or wooden ſwords. The *Spaniards* made ſigns to them to lay down their arms, which they did, and *Alarcon* went aſhore in his boat, with great quantities of glaſs beads, and hawks bells, for which they gave *Indian* corn, and skins well dreſt; ſo that in a ſhort time they came to be very familiar with the *Spaniards*. But the ſtream of the river being now too ſtrong to ſail farther, he left his ſhips, and taking as many as his pinnance could hold, he prevail'd with the *Indians* to tow it up the ſtream, by a rope from the ſhore.

Alarcon *ſent by ſea to diſcover northward.*

Comes to Buena Guia *river.*

Is well receiv'd by the natives.

He was much troubled that they did not underſtand his interpreter, becauſe there was great diverſity of languages in that country; however he deſir'd him to ſpeak aloud, in caſe there might be ſome one among them who might know ſome-

thingof what he ſaid; which luckily happen'd, for, one man anſwer'd him in his own dialect; and then ask'd him, *who theſe ſtrangers were? and from whence they came?* the interpreter inſtructed by *Alarcon*, who had obſerved that they worſhip'd the ſun, made anſwer, *that they were chriſtians, and were ſent thither by the ſun.* The *Indian* reply'd, *that could not be, for the ſun was at a great diſtance, and always in motion,* The other ſaid, *that the ſun was near the earth, as they might ſee, every morning, and that the chriſtians came from the place of his riſing.* The *Indians* finding by that, that *Alarcon* was the offspring of the ſun, as they thought, ſhew'd him great reſpect, inviting him to ſtay and be their lord: but he refus'd it, telling them, he was willing to be eſteem'd their brother. This *Indian* then went aboard the boat, and talk'd a long time with the captain; and upon his going aſhore, the chief man of thoſe people, invited *Alarcon* to land, which he did, and was entertain'd after the beſt manner they could.

Sails a great way up the river in his boat.

He ſtill went up the river, being tow'd after the ſame way by the natives, who all along were very friendly; he ask'd them about *Cibola*, they ſaid it was 30 days journey from them, that the lord of *Cibola* had diſhes ſuch as the *Spaniards* had, and a dog like that of the captain's, which he had taken from a black man that he had kill'd. When he had gone a conſiderable way up this river, and found no ſign of gold or jewels, he thought of going back to his ſhips, but asking ſtill for *Cibola*, one *Indian* told him he had been there, and that ſuch men as he was, with beards, and ſuch weapons as thoſe he had, came to a town belonging to *Cibola*, and had puniſh'd the inhabitants for having kill'd the black man; by which *Alarcon* perceiv'd it muſt have been *Cornado*.

Having taken his reſolution to return, he went down with the ſtream as much in two days, as he had gone up in 15; the people calling to him from the banks, not to leave them, ſince he was their lord, and telling him, if any one had offended him they would revenge his quarrel to his ſatisfaction. Being come to the ſhips, as they were weighing their anchors (having taken their leave of the people, and recommended peace and friendſhip to them, and deſir'd them to ſhew kindneſs to all ſtrangers) the ſhip's boat being near the ſhore taking up one of the anchors, a woman threw herſelf into the river, and being taken up by the boat, ſhe crept under one of the ſeats, declaring that ſhe would go with the chriſtians, having nothing to keep her in her own country, becauſe her husband, forſaking her, had children by another. *Alarcon* took her with him, as alſo an *Indian* man, who was ſatisfy'd to go, and became a good chriſtian. Thus they ſet ſail, and obſerving all the places of the coaſt backwards, they landed in *New Gallicia*, and ſo return'd to *Mexico*.

A little after this expedition, the people call'd *Chichimecans*, who inhabited the towns in the diſtrict of *Guadalajara* in *New Gallicia*, refuſing to pay their taxes, tho' very moderate ones, revolted, and taking arms, in great numbers, retir'd to the hills call'd *Penoles*, behind *New Gallicia* nothward. *Onate*, who was deputy governor, of that province in *Cornado*'s abſence, march'd againſt them, with 40 horſe, and as many foot, beſides a great number of *Indians*, going as far as the rock of *Mixtan* upon the *Penol*. When he arriv'd there, he ſent to offer them terms, but they kill'd a friar who was ſent to reaſon them into peace; and afterwards thoſe ſavages, pretending to make an accommodation, and believing the *Spaniards* were, by that, render'd ſecure, came down from the mountain to the *Spaniſh* quarters in number about 15,000, and fell upon them with great fury, and altho' they found them upon their guard, they preſt them ſo hard, that the *Spaniards* were glad to retire, in the beſt order they could, after having ſuſtain'd great loſs, by the ſlaughter of many *Indians*, all their blacks, and ſeveral *Spaniards*. With this mortification, they came back to *Guadalajara*, and ſent to *Mechoacan*, *Colima*, *Zacatula*, *Compoſtella* and the other *Spaniſh* towns all about, to come to their aſſiſtance, hearing that the lords of *Muchiſtan* were coming with an army to attack *Guadalajara*; but leſt thoſe ſhould not be ſufficient to defend the place, they ſent to *Don Pedro D'Alvaredo*, who was then upon the coaſt about 20 leagues off, to come to aſſiſt them, which he readily did, and being arriv'd at *Guadalajara*, they agreed to prevent the *Indians* by attacking them before they could reach the city. They march'd with that deſign to *Muchiſtan*, but finding that the *Indians* were withdrawn to the mountains, they purſu'd them, and order'd a party of 100 *Spaniards*, commanded by captain *Falcon*, with 5000 *Mechoacans* under a noble *Indian* call'd *Don Pedro*, to attack the rock, when the horſe ſhould arrive to ſupport them. *Falcon* being too forward, went up the hill before the horſe came to join him, contrary to orders, and to the advice of the other officers, the *Indians* from the rock fell upon them, both in front and flank, and not being ſuſtain'd by the horſe, they were repuls'd, *Falcon* with ſeven *Spaniards* being ſlain upon

The Chichimecans riſe in arms, and threaten Guadalajara.

The Spaniards ſend to Alvaredo for aſſiſtance.

upon the firſt ſalley. The enemy purſu'd them to the plain, and *Alvaredo* finding the ground marſhy, occaſion'd by great rains lately fallen, did not think fit to attack them, becauſe his horſe were uſeleſs. He therefore reteated in good order; but coming to a ſteep aſcent, where they were oblig'd to lead their horſes, that brave captain, ſtaying to bring up the rear, a horſe fell juſt before him, and came down the hill upon him ſo unexpectedly, that altho' he had been the moſt active, nimble man of all the *Spaniards* in *America*, he could not avoid the horſe's throwing him down, by which, and the horſe's weight, he was ſo cruſh'd on the breaſt, that he dy'd in three days.

Alvaredo *kill'd.*

The death of *Alvaredo* was much lamented; and moſt of his men ſtaid for the defence of *Guadalajara*, his ſhips returning home to *Guatimala*, where a ſtrange diſaſter happen'd, very ſoon after, which deſtroy'd half the town, and among others *Alvaredo*'s lady, who ſcarce out-liv'd the news of her husband's death. For, upon the 8th and 9th of *September* this year 1541, ſo heavy a rain fell that the ſtreets of *Guatimala* were overflow'd, and and at the ſame time a flood came down from a mountain near it, bringing along with the current, ſtones, trees and logs of wood, which coming with force againſt the walls of ſeveral houſes brought them down, and kill'd all that were within them. *Alvaredo*'s lady having retir'd to an oratory belonging to her houſe, to pay her devotion in this time of danger, was unfortunately kill'd by the falling of that part of the houſe. The deputy governor, endeavouring to ſave the lady, had like to have periſh'd himſelf, but was ſav'd by getting upon a dead horſe, which was floating about the court, and ſo kept himſelf above water till morning. Above two thirds of the city were deſtroy'd, and it was ſome time before it was repair'd; but the court of *Spain* encourag'd the rebuilding it, by exempting it from all taxes for a number of years, and ordering ſums of money for the loſs they had ſuſtain'd, which in time, made it a flouriſhing place.

Guatimala *deſtroy'd by a flood.*

But the *Chichimecans* growing ſtill more inſolent in *New Gallicia*, the vice roy of *Mexico* rais'd an army and march'd in perſon at the head of 300 *Spaniſh* horſe, 150 musketeers, and 50,000 *Indians* commanded by their caciques, to whom he gave leave to buy horſes, and to arm themſelves and their principal officers after the *Spaniſh* manner, which ſome people thought not ſo prudent, leſt they might, in time, grow too ſtrong for the *Spaniards*. The vice roy made ſome ſtay at *Mechoacan* till all his forces join'd him, and then proceeded towards the *Chichimecans*. At *Acuyna*, the enemy had a fort upon a mount, which they reſolv'd to defend, having refus'd the offer of peace ſent them by the vice roy. The *Spaniſh* infantry, ſupported by 20,000 *Indians*, attack'd the place; and after ſome reſiſtance carry'd it, and either kill'd or took all that had defended it. The army advancing ſeven leagues farther, ſummon'd another rock defended by the natives, who promis'd to ſurrender if they were not reliev'd in fifteen hours. But the time being elaps'd and the garriſon not coming out according to promiſe, the vice roy order'd three patararoes to be planted againſt the fort; which having been fir'd ſeveral times, the chief of the enemy, with the lady to whom the rock belong'd come out, with croſſes in their hands; whom the vice roy, (out of reſpect to the croſs, and complaiſance for the lady) receiv'd to favour, and oblig'd them to no other conditions, but to live peaceably at home.

Mendoza *marches in perſon againſt the* Chichimecans.

From this place juſt half way to *Guadalajara*, was the rock of *Nuchiſtlan* which was 12 leagues diſtant from each of them; the vice roy ſent an expreſs to *Guadalajara* for the garriſon to meet him at the rock, but not to be there before him, leſt any accident ſhould happen; they obſerv'd his orders ſo punctually, that they were both there at the ſame time. Having encamp'd near the rock, he ſummon'd the enemy to ſurrender, but they haughtily ſent him word, *that the whole country was theirs, and they would defend it.* Upon this, the artillery was order to play, which ſoon made breaches in two of the intrenchments; and the *Spaniſh* foot being but few, the vice roy made his cavalry diſmount, except 12 of every troop, and gave order for the aſſault with ſword and target. After a ſtout reſiſtance, they enter'd the breach, and captain *Lopez de Anuncibay* ſet up the colours of his company within the enemy's trenches. The confederate *Indians* ſupporting the *Spaniards* with much bravery, they ſoon got poſſeſſion of the rock, the *Mexicans*, *Tlaſcallans*, and the other auxiliaries, making a terrible ſlaughter; but the vice roy finding the place in his power, ſtop'd farther execution, and made priſoners of all that laid down their arms. Many eſcap'd, but the dead and the priſoners amounted to 8000.

And reduces them.

Having thus ſucceſsfully carry'd theſe three rocks, and kill'd a great number of the moſt warlike natives; he march'd thro' the whole country, and ſubdu'd all that perſiſted in their revolt, demoliſhing ſome ſtrong holds, and putting garriſons in others. And having ſpent two years in this expedition, and ſettled *New Gallicia* in

in peace, he return'd to *Mexico* in triumph, where he apply'd himſelf to all parts of Government with great diſcretion and moderation. Among other good regulations, he eſtabliſh'd a court for country affairs intirely, where all diſputes about property, eſpecially with regard to cattle (which had encreas'd wonderfully in *New Spain*) were decided, and took ſuch care to make the *Indians* eaſy, that they had great reſpect for him.

After his return from the *Chichimecan* expedition, he fitted out two other ſhips to proſecute the diſcoveries upon the ſouth ſea, under the command of *Cabrillo*, theſe ſet ſail from *La Navidad* in the province of *Xaliſco* on the 26th of *June* 1542, and cruiſing along the coaſt weſtward, putting aſhore in many places, ſome of which had been diſcover'd before and others not, they went to 44 degrees n. lat. where the cold was exceſſive, it being now the firſt of *March* 1543. The commodore dying, they return'd to the port from whence they ſet out.

They break out again.

But after *Mendoza* was recall'd from the government of *Mexico*, and *Don Lewis de Velaſco* ſent vice roy in his place, the *Chichimecans* began new diſturbances, not only killing the *Spaniards*, when they could do it with ſafety, but obſtructing the converſion of their countrymen, by art and force. They ſeldom aſſembled in great numbers, that they might not bring the whole force of the *Spaniards* againſt them; becauſe they found by experience they were not able to withſtand them; and therefore they made their excurſions by 200 at a time, and then they came unawares upon the neighbouring chriſtians, whether *Indians* or *Spaniards*, and plunder'd all that came in their way. It happen'd once that they attack'd and got the better of a convoy which guarded 60 carts, laden with cloath, wrought ſilver and other goods, to a conſiderable value. Among the other things they took a *Spaniſh* maiden, who finding herſelf in their power, ſhew'd all the marks of being pleas'd with her captivity, and ſhew'd them which cart had moſt cloath in it; when ſhe found that they did not mind her, but were intent upon the plunder, ſhe got up into one of the carts where there was a ſick man, who had two muskets; ſhe perſuaded him to take to his arms, and as he fir'd one, ſhe loaded it, and ſtill kept him in charged pieces, ſo that ſeveral *Indians* having been kill'd they went off with the reſt of the carts, leaving that to the young lady for her courage and good conduct. It was a long time before thoſe *Chichimecans* were reduced, and at laſt could only be perform'd by planting colonies among them, and thoſe ſo near one another, that the allarm could bring two or three of them together at a ſhort warning.

Thus from *Columbus*'s firſt diſcoveries in the year 1493, to the year 1550, which made 57 years, the *Spaniards* had diſcover'd in *North America*, (without reckoning *Florida*, becauſe they were not in poſſeſſion of any part of it) beginning with *Panuco* upon the north ſea, a vaſt tract of coaſt to *Darien*; which, altho' it only makes about 20 degrees of latitude, and reaches as far as the tropic of *Cancer*; yet in coaſt is above 800 leagues, taking in all that part of the gulf of *Mexico* between *Panuco* and the bay of *Campechy*; both ſides of *Yucatan*, *Vera Paz*, *Honduras*, *Nicaragua*, with all the coaſt oppoſite to *Veragua* and *Panama*; in which tract of coaſt they planted a great number of colonies for the time, beſides thoſe they ſettled in the inland countries, which ſerv'd to keep that large continent in ſubjection to the crown of *Spain*. In many parts of this country, all between the two ſeas was ſubject to them, and upon the ſouth ſea, they went farther, having ſail'd to above 40 deg. n. lat. almoſt to the head of the gulf of *California*. But at the time we mention 1550, they had no colonies farther north than *Cinoloa* in about 28 deg. which, conſidering the ſtraightneſs of the ſouth ſea coaſt, makes no more than 800 leagues from *Panama*, altho' their progreſs on the ſouth ſea is farther north, than that upon the oppoſite coaſt. In this tract are comprehended *Culuacan*, *Chiametla*, *Xaliſco*, *Mechoacan*, *Guaxaca*, *Soconuſco*, *Guatimala*, *Nicaragua*, *Coſta Ricca*, *Veragua* and *Panama*: in all which there were *Spaniſh* colonies before the time mention'd, beſides their numerous colonies in the iſlands of *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Jamaica* and *Porto Ricco*, with other ſmaller iſlands.

SECT. III.

SPANISH *Diſcoveries in* SOUTH AMERICA.

ALTHO' one would think the moſt natural diviſion of *America* into ſouth and north, ought to be taken from the equinoctial line; yet ſince it is generally taken from the Iſthmus of *Darien*, we ſhall follow the common computation, calling all the eaſt coaſt, from the river of *Darien* in the gulf of *Uraba* to the iſland of *Trinidad*, and then ſouthward to *Terra del Fuogo* beyond the *Magellan* ſtreights, on the north ſea; all ſouthward from *Panama* to the ſame *Terra del Fuogo*, on the ſouth ſea, by the common name of *South America*. We

We have in other places of our traveller, * taken notice of the first peopling of *Darien*, and of the discords among the *Spaniards* at that place; as of also the planting some colonies in some parts of *Terra Firma*; and indeed the settling most of the plantations thereabouts is little more than a repetion of the same things over and over, and would rather disgust than divert the reader: We shall therefore only give a summray account of the colonies themselves, without a particular detail of the manner of settling them, unless we find something new and worth our reader's pains.

* Ch. II.

The first province of *South America* is *Carthagena* or *New Adaluzia*, just eastward of the river of *Darien*, having the ocean to the north, *Santa Martha* to the east, and *New Granada* to the south. It was first discover'd by *Alonzo Nino*, as has been said, * but no city was built till several years after, by *Heredia* in 1532, call'd *Carthagena* from the place of his nativity in *Mercia* in *Old Spain*; and finish'd by *Robledo* in 1540, after many quarrels both with the natives, who were a warlike people, and also with the *Spanish* captains, who came frequently to several parts of *America*, sometimes two or three of them having the same commission, by a strange oversight of the *Spanish* court, setting people together by the ears to support their authority against one another, when all the force they had was too little to keep their ground against the *Indians*, as we have taken notice of upon several occasions. In the year 1585 Sir *Francis Drake* demolish'd *Carthagena*, of which we shall give a particular account in its place. It was, after that, burn'd to the ground by the *French*.

* *Ibid.*

New Andaluzia *or* Cartagena.

Besides the city of *Carthagena* which is a bishop's see, there are other colonies belonging to *New Anduluzia*, such as, 2. *Tolu*, which the *Spaniards* call S. *Jago*, famous for a fine gold colour gum, call'd the balsom of *Tolu*, a sovereign medicine, and of an excellent flavour. It flows from a pine tree. This city is 12 leagues from *Carthagena* in the bay of *Uraba*. 3. *Santa Cruz*, a neat little town, near the meeting of the two rivers S. *Martha* and *Magdalena*. 4. *Baranca de Nolamba*, upon the river *Magdalena*, six leagues from the sea. 5. S. *Sebastian de Buena Vista*, upon the gulf of *Uraba*, not far from *Darien*. 6. S. *Maria*, 30 leagues southward of *Carthagena*.

Ogivy's America p. 402.

Joining to the province of *Carthagena*, is S. *Martha*, both this and the other take their names from the chief cities of the provinces. S. *Martha* has *New Andaluzia* on the west, *New Granada* on the south, *Rio de la Hacha* on the east, and the ocean on the north. It was discover'd by *Bastidas*, and the capital city S. *Martha* was built in 1524. Many struggles happen'd in this province with the natives, and several captains landed here, pretending to the discovery of it. The chief towns in this province are, 1. S. *Martha*, which is a bishop's see. This was also pillag'd by Sir *Francis Drake*, and afterwards by the *French*. 2. *Teneriff*, upon the *Rio Grande* or *Magdalena*, 40 leagues from the capital. 3. *Villa de las Palmas*, 20 leagues south of *Teneriff*. 4. *Ocanna*, an inland harbour. 5. *New Salamanca*, or *Ramada*, at the foot of the *Cordilleras*, which begin in this province and run thro' *Peru* and *Chili*, to the streights of *Magellan*. 6. *Ciudad de los Reyes*.

Santa Martha.

Upon the east of S. *Martha* is a little province call'd *Rio de la Hacha*, which lies between S. *Martha* and a bay of the sea running far up in the land from *Venezuela*. The chief towns in *La Hacha* are, 1. *La Hacha*, eight leagues from *Salamanca*. 2. *Rancheria*, six leagues farther east. 3. *Tapia*. All these were discover'd by *Nicuessa*, *Oreda* and *Anciso*, and planted at different times.

Rio de la Hacha.

Towards the south from *Carthagena* and S. *Martha*, lies the province of *New Granada*, discover'd partly by *Ximenes*, and partly by *Belalcazar*, as we have taken notice of in the conquest of *Peru*. By these two captains, this province was divided into that of *New Granada*, and *Popayan*, the latter of which *Belalcazar* had a grant of, from his master the king of *Spain*. The cities in *New Granada* are, 1. *S. Fe de Bagota*, an arch-bishop's see, and metropolis of the province, and the residence of the governor. 2. S. *Michael*, about 12 leagues north of S. *Fe*. 3. *Tocaima* westward of *Santa Fe*, on the river *Pati*, which falls into the *Rio Grande*. 4. *La Palma* built in 1572, in the territory formerly inhabited by the *Musi* and *Colymæ*. 5. *Trinidad*, which has chang'd its situation more than once. 6. *Tunia*, built upon a hill, and has the greatest market in the whole province. 7. *Pampelona*, 60 leagues north east of *Santa Fe*. 8. *Merida*, the next town, in this province, to *Venezuela*. 9. *Belez*, much frequented by friars of different orders. 10. S. *Sebastian del Oro* or *Marequita*. 11. *Tubague*, inhabited chiefly by dominicans. 12. *La Vittoria de los Remedios*, and 13. *Juan de los Lanos*, where there are good mines of gold and silver. The merchandise that come to these towns, are brought up the *Rio Grande*, in canoes of sixty feet long.

New Granada.

Popayan is divided from *New Granada* by S. *Martha* river. It has *Mar del Zur* on the west; *Carthagena* on the

north; *Granada* on the eaſt; and *Quitu* in *Peru* on the ſouth. The chief towns in this province are, 1. *Popayau*, ſo call'd from the name of the cacique of it, at the time when the *Spaniards* diſcover'd it. 2. *Antiochia*, on the borders of *Carthagena*, waſh'd by ſmall rivers, where they got gold duſt. 3. *Caramanta*, on the bank of *Santa Martha*. 4. S. *Anna* in the territory of *Anzerma*, ſo call'd from the word *Anzer* which ſignifies ſalt, in the *Indian* language. 5. *Pueblo Llana*, where the people hang'd themſelves with their wives and children, when the *Spaniards* firſt went thither. 6. S. *Jago de Arma*, near a river to which the *Spaniards* gave that name, from the oppoſition they met with there. 7. *Carthago*, the chief city of the *Quimbays*, upon the rivers *Tacurumbi* and *La Cequo*. 8. *Cali*, the reſidence of the governor, upon a pleaſant river which runs into the *Rio Grande*. 9. *Bonaventura* haven. 10. S. *Juan di Paſto*, near the borders of *Peru*. 11. *Timana*, where a valiant people inhabited, who gave the *Spaniards* much trouble. 12. *Guadalajara de Buga*, and 13. *Sebaſtian de la Plata*, where they us'd to ſell men's fleſh in their publick ſhambles; with ſeveral other ſmaller towns. All theſe provinces laſt mention'd from the river *Darien*, or gulf of *Uraba* are within that part of the continent, call'd *Terra Firma*, which name the firſt diſcoverers gave it, to diſtinguiſh the continent from the iſlands diſcover'd before.

Having ſhew'd the diviſion of *Terra Firma*, we ſhall go round the *Spaniſh* dominions of *South America* in the ſame method, and give the ſeveral provinces as they lie along the coaſt, or penetrate into the country; taking no notice of the time or manner of planting ſuch colonies as have been mention'd in this work before.

Quitu. The neareſt colony to *Popayan*, poſſeſs'd by the *Spaniards*, is that of *Quitu*, which is the firſt province of *Peru*, having on the weſt, the *Mar del Zur*; on the ſouth, the province of *Lima*; on the eaſt, the province call'd *Los Quixos*, and on the north *Popayan*: being from the line ſouthward, 72 leagues in length, along the ſouth ſea; and in ſome places, from that ſea, in breadth 25 leagues. The chief cities of this province are, 1. *Quitu* from whence the province takes its name, and was remov'd by the *Spaniards* from the place where it was at firſt, to the foot of the *Andes* or *Cordilleras*, from whence there is a noble high way to *Cozco*. 2. *Caranguez*, which, during the government of the inca's, was a royal ſeat, and had a fine palace, of which the ruins ſhew the magnificence to this day. 3. The caſtle of *Atabala*, anothor royal ſeat, not inferiour, ſays our author, to any of the ancient roman buildings. 4. *Tomebamba*, where was a glorious temple of the ſun, whoſe gates were curiouſly painted, and inlaid with emeralds, and the dome adorn'd with gold to a vaſt value; but deſtroy'd by the *Spaniards*. Here were rich mines of gold. 5. *Tacunga*, where was another palace now defaced. All theſe were not far from the road to *Cozco*, the laſt being within 15 leagues of that city. Along the coaſt in the ſame province of *Quitu*, are, 6. S. *Jago de Puerto Viego*, which is not a wholeſome place, by reaſon of the exceſſive rains. 7. *Manta*, near the river *Dable*, once famous for a large emerald which they worſhip'd. 8. *Guayaquil*. 9. *Caſtro*. 10. *Loxa*. 11. *Zamora*. 12. *Taen*. Near theſe five laſt nam'd, there are gold mines. 13. S. *Michael*, which was the firſt city built by the *Spaniards* in *Peru*. 14. *Paita*, which was firſt burnt by *Candiſh* in 1547, and afterwards by the *Dutch*.

Los Quixos. *Los Quixos*, the ſecond province of *Peru*, has *Quitu* on the north weſt; *Popayan* on the north; and *Los Pacomaros* on the ſouth eaſt; and borders upon *Canela* and S. *Juan de Salinas*, if theſe are not a part of *Quixos*. The chief towns in this province are, 1. *Quixos* or *Baeſa*. 2. *Archedona*. 3. *Avila*. 4. *Sevilla del Oro*. The rivers which run thro' theſe two provinces laſt nam'd are, 1. S. *Jago*, which falls into the ſouth ſea at *Quitu* point. 2. S. *Matthew* at cape S. *Francis*. 3. *Los Quiximes* near cape *Aaſſao*. 4. *Tumbez*, mention'd frequently in *Pizarro*'s expedition.

Lima. The third province of *Peru* is *Lima*; which has *Quitu* and *Los Quixos* on the north eaſt; on the eaſt *Colloa* and a part of *Cozco*; on the ſouth *Los Charcas*, and on the weſt the *Paciſic Ocean* or ſouth ſea. In this province there are a great number of fruitful valleys, and very rich in gold. The chief towns are, 1. *Miraflores*, in the valley of *Zanu*, five leagues from the ſea, where there is a good harbour. 2. *Truxillo*, three leagues from the ſea. 3. *La Parilla*, or *Santa* cloſe to the ſea, with a good harbour. 4. *Arnedo*, ten leagues north of *Lima*, among the vineyards of the valley of *Chancas*. 5. *Lima* or *Los Reyes*, of which in the preceding chapter. To the arch-biſhop of *Lima*, all the biſhops of *Peru*, *Chili*, *Popayan*, *Panama*, *Nicaragua*, and *Rio de la Plata*, are ſuffragans. Sir *Francis Drake* took twelve ſhips from this bay in 1579. 6. *Canuete* call'd alſo *Guarco* from the valley where it is ſituated. 7. *Valverde*, ſo nam'd for the pleaſantneſs of the valley where it ſtands. 8. *Pachacama*, four leagues ſouth of *Lima*; where *Pizarro* found 900,000 ducats in

one

one old temple, beſides great treaſure hidden by the prieſts and other natives. 9. *Caſtro Verreina*, 60 leagues ſouth eaſt of *Lima*, in the valley of *Cocolocha*, where there is a rich gold mine, and the beſt of tobacco. 10. *Miguel de la Ribera*, in the valley of *Camana*. 11. *Arequipa*, about 11 leagues from the ſea towards the mountains; being a place of great reſort, upon account of the mines of *Cancos*, *Porcos* and *Potoſi*, which are brought to this place, and convey'd by the river *Quilca* to *Lima*, 12. *Caxamalca*, the place of *Atahualpa*'s impriſonment, and death ſpoken of before. 13. S. *Juan de la Frontiera*, in the country of *Chiacapoyas*, weſt of the mountains. 14. S. *Jago de las Valles*, and 15. *Leon de Guanuco*.

Cozco. The fourth province is that of *Cozco*, which lies eaſt and ſouth eaſt of *Lima*; north of *Los Charcas*; weſt of *Los Quixos*, *Guiana* and *Pacomoros*. This is the leargeſt province of *Peru*, for it goesa great waybeyond the *Cordilleras* or *Andes*. In this the inca's of *Peru* had many magnificent palaces and houſes of pleaſure. There are likewiſe ſeveral lakes in it; and ſome of the greateſt rivers in the world take their riſe out of thoſe lakes, or from the mountains in this province; ſuch as, the river of *Plate*, which runs to the north ſea, thro' the valley of *Xauxa*, and the great country of *Paraguay*; and falls into the ſea in 35 deg. ſ. lat. and is augmented in its courſe, by the waters of *Parcos*, *Bilcas*, *Abencay*, *Apurima*, and many others which fall into it. The firſt *Spaniſh* conquerors were at a great deal of pains to plant colonies in this province, to the eaſtward of the mountains, and ſuffer'd much in the diſcovery; but what with their own quarrels among themſelves, and the intereſt of the royal family of *Peru*, who, being ill us'd by the *Spaniards*, retir'd to the mountains, and had intelligence with the natives all about; and what with the difficulty and fatigue of the march thro' ſuch inacceſſible places, it was along time before there were any *Spaniſh* colonies fix'd there. The chief towns in this province are, 1. *Bombon*, ſituated upon the lake *Chinchacocha*. 2. *Porcos*, upon a little hill, near the mountains. 3. S. *Juan de Vittoria*, built by *Pizarro* 1539, between *Lima* and *Cozco*. 4. *Guamanga*, rich in mines, of different kinds, as alſo fruitful in corn, and well ſtock'd with cattle. 5. *Bilcas*, which is almoſt the centre of this vaſt empire. 6. *Guancavelica*, made rich by mines of quickſilver found near it, in 1566. 7. *Cozco*, which was the metropolis of *Peru* before the conqueſts; but ſince then, for the conveniency of being near the ſea, *Lima* has been the ſeat of the vice roy, and of judicature. 8. *Franciſco de Vittoria*, in the valley of *Vilcabambo*; and 9. *Juan del Oro*, ſo call'd from the richneſs of it.

There is a ſmall province between *Cozco* and *Las Charchas*, (if it is not rather a part of one of them) call'd *Callao* Callao. ſouth of *Cozco*, and eaſt of *Lima*, but does not paſs the mountains. The chief towns are 1. *Cuquingua*, a place naturally ſtrong from the unfordable rivers on one ſide, and the inacceſſible mountains on the other; having only one cawſey leading to it, which for three leagues together allows room only for one man to walk. 2. *Pucara*, a good town in former times, but now ruinous. 3. *Ayavire* or *Las Sepulturas*, where the *Peruvian* nobility us'd to be buried. 4. *Hatuncolla*, the chief town of the province, upon the river *Caravaia*. 5. *Chinquita*, upon the lake *Titicaca*. 6. *Tiaguanaca*, at the mouth of the lake, where there are ſtones of 30 feet in length, the remains of old buildings. 7. *Nueſtra Segnora de la Paz*, our lady of peace, about half way between *Cozco* and *Potoſi*. 8. *Copavana*, with other ſmaller towns. This lake *Titicaca* is ſaid to be 80 leagues round, and is ſupply'd by 10 conſiderable rivers.

The laſt province of *Peru* towards the Los ſouth is *Los Charcas*, which is bounded Charcas. on the ſouth by *Chili*, on the weſt by the *pacific Ocean*; on the north by *Lima*, *Collao* and *Coſco*, and on the eaſt, by thoſe undiſcover'd countries which lie between it and the province of *Paraguay* or *De la Plata*. This province is about 150 leagues in a ſtreight line, from north to ſouth. The chief towns in *Los Charcas* are, 1. *La Plata*, formerly *Cuchiſacha*, on the eaſt ſide of the *Cordilleras*. The neighbouring mines of *Potoſi* having brought the richeſt *Spaniards* in *Peru* to ſettle in this city, or made them ſo after they came, this is the chief city in the province, and the place of judicature, and a biſhop's ſee. This city with a conſiderable territory near it, was *Pizaro's* property, and might have been continu'd to him and his heirs, which would have been worth 200,000 ducats a year, and might have been enjoy'd by him without envy; but by his ambition he loſt all. 2. *Oropeſa*, 20 leagues north of *La Plata*, in the rich valley of *Cochobamba*. But the richeſt of them all is, 3. *Potoſi*, where the ſilver mines were ſo accidentally found out, by pulling up a branch to which a piece of ſilver ſtuck, and by a narrower inſpection diſcover'd the mine, of which the *Indian* who found it might have made a conſiderable eſtate, had he not truſted another with the ſecret; but they two falling out about the dividend, one of them ſhew'd the mine to the *Spaniards*, who

who ſoon cut them both out of the whole. What makes the mines of *Potoſi* the more valuable is, that there was never any water in them to trouble the workers. But we ſhall take farther notice of theſe mines in the natural hiſtory of *America*. 4. *Santa Cruz* up in the country eaſtward, where the *Spaniards* having taught them to weave cotton, they now drive a good trade.

Along the coaſt of the ſouth ſea, we come next to *Chili*, which reaches as far as the *Magellan* ſtraits. But commonly this track of coaſt is divided between *Chili Proper* and *Terra Magellanica*, and therefore we ſhall diſtinguiſh them after the ordinary manner.

Chili Proper reaches from the deſart of *Atacama*, which divides *Peru* from *Chili*, near the tropic of *Capricorn*, above 300 leagues ſouthward in a ſtreight line; having the ſouth ſea on the weſt, and the undiſcover'd lands towards *Rio de la Plata* on the eaſt. This country, altho' very large, is not diſtinguiſh'd into different governments and prefectures, as *Peru* and *Mexico* are, we ſhall therefore give the principal towns of *Chili* all conſider'd as one province; (moſt of them having been mention'd in the laſt chapter;) and are theſe, 1. *Copiapo*, which has a commodious harbour, upon the coaſt, in the north part of *Chili*. 2. *La Serena*, upon the banks of *Coquimbo* near its mouth, in a rich country for gold mines. Here Sir *Francis Drake* attempted to attack the *Spaniards*, but was beaten back after a hot engagement, in his expedition to the ſouth ſea. 3. S. *Jago* on the river *Tapocalma*, lat. 35 deg. 14 leagues from the ſouth ſea, where there is a good harbour call'd *Valparayſo*, where *Drake* ſucceeeded better than at *Serena*, for he burnt the town, and took four *Spaniſh* ſhips, and got a great treaſure. 4. *La Conception*, ſituated on the *Penco* bay lat. 37 deg. Here the *Spaniards* are oblig'd to keep a ſtrong garriſon to oppoſe the warlike *Araucans*, whom they were never able entirely to ſubdue. 5. *Los Confines*, built to guard the rich mines at *Angol*. 6. *La Imperial* built about the ſame time, as we obſerv'd before. 7. *Villa Ricca* about 16 leagues from *Imperial*, and 25 from the ſea. 8. *Baldivia*, built, as we obſerv'd before, by the governor of the ſame name, near the very beſt mines in all *America*, from which that valiant man got, whilſt he liv'd, 25,000 crowns a day. 9. *Oſorno* on the bay of *Chilo*, in a barren ſoil, but rich in mines. Theſe three laſt mention'd towns, were pillag'd and burnt by the *Araucans* in 1596, 1599 and 1604. 10. *Caſtro*, the moſt ſoutherly city in *Chili*, built in an iſland in the bay of *Chilo*. 11. *Mendoza*, and 12. S. *Juan de la Frontera*; both on the eaſt of *Chili*, towards the countries unconquer'd, being beyond the *Cordilleras*.

The chief towns in Chili.

Next to *Chili*, is the *Terra Magellanica*, which lies between *Chili* and the *Magellanic* ſtraits, and runs behind, that is, to the eaſtward of the ſouth part of *Chili*. But as we have given no account, as yet, of the diſcovery of this part of *America*, it will not be improper to ſhew how it came to be found out.

In the year 1519, *Ferdinand Magellanes* and *Ruy Falero* made a contract with the king of *Spain* to diſcover the ſpice iſlands ſouthward; for which his majeſty granted them a patent of *Adelantado*'s and generals in thoſe countries or iſlands, which they ſhould diſcover, to be enjoy'd by them and their heirs for ever; he was likewiſe to provide them in ſhipping and men. But a controverſy ariſing between them, who ſhould be admiral, the king order'd *Magellan* to go alone, under colour of *Falero*'s being indiſpos'd. The king of *Portugal* gave all the oppoſition he could to this voyage, as being an infringement of his property, agreeable to the pope's bull formerly mention'd. * But the king of *Spain* aſſur'd him, that no damage ſhould be done to his juſt right. * Ch. I.

The diſcovery of the ſtraits of Magellan.

Magellan ſet out from *Seville* on the 10th of *Auguſt* 1519, with five ſhips, two of 130 tun a piece, two of 90, and one of 60; on board which were 234 men, with proviſions for two years. They ſtop'd at the *Canary* iſlands to get what neceſſaries they wanted, and then *Magellan* took a courſe almoſt ſouth. His captains telling him that he ought to ſteer ſouth weſt, he bid them follow his flag by day and his light by night, without asking queſtions. Thus he ſail'd 15 days along the coaſt of *Guinea*, and for 20 days more was becalm'd. After this they had dreadful ſtorms, ſo that they were in great danger: but at laſt, upon the 13th of *December*, they found themſeleves in a large bay, which they call'd *Santa Lucia* having enter'd it upon S. *Lucy*'s day; and is the ſame to which the *Portugueſes* gave the name of *Rio de Janeiro*, upon the coaſt of *Brazile*, under the topic of *Capricorn*. As ſoon as they came to an anchor, the natives came about their ſhips, in canoes, bringing plenty of hens, parrots, and other ſorts of fowl, with *Indian* wheat, and fruit, this being midſummer tide with them. Theſe they barter'd for toys, giving ſeven or eight hens for a face card; and a ſlave for an ax or hatchet. But this being ſuppos'd to be within the line or diviſion given by the pope's bull, to the king of *Portugal*, *Magellan* forbad all traffick with

Magellan's *diſcoveries*.

Her. *dec.* II. b. ii. ch. 5.

Rio di Janeiro.

with the natives for any thing but proviſions.

Departing from this place, they ſail'd along the coaſt ſouthward; and upon the 11th of *January*, they came up with a point of land, which the pilot call'd cape S. *Maria*, which he ſaid a *Portugueſe* pilot had deſcrib'd to him by that name; and in a few days more they reach'd the *Rio de Solis*, afterwards well known by the name of *Rio della Plata*, which gives the name to all the large country that lies between *Brazile*, and *Terra Magellanica*. This famous river is in 35 degrees ſ. lat. and is the ſame where *De Solis* was kill'd, as has been related. * Here the *Indians* appear'd in their canoes, but would not come within ſpeech; and when the commodore order'd out ſome boats, the natives fled ſo faſt, that there was no overtaking them. But at night, one *Indian* came aboard the admiral in a canoe; *Magellan* gave him a linnen ſhirt, and a red jerkin, and diſmis'd him; but he never return'd. *Magellan* went aboard a ſmall ſhip, and ſail'd quite croſs the river, which, at that place (being a good way up) was 20 leagues over.

Rio della Plata.

* Un. Trav. Ch. II. p. 40.

Leaving this river, they ſail'd, in a ſouth weſt courſe, and came to a bay, on the 25th of *February*, which he therefore call'd S. *Matthias*'s bay in the latitude of 41 and a half; where they felt much cold; and, farther ſouth, they had ſtormy weather, which diſpers'd their fleet for ſome days. Coming together again, they ſent ſome boats to an iſland to wood and water; but they found neither, only they got vaſt flocks of *Penguins*, a ſort of large fowl, whoſe wings are ſo ſhort, that they cannot bare them up; there was alſo a great number of ſea calves. One of the boats ſtaying behind the reſt, ſuch a ſtorm blew, that they were forc'd to ly aſhore all night, in fear of being devour'd by the calves, or elſe ſtarv'd to death with cold. As ſoon as it was day, the admiral ſent two other boats aſhore to ſearch for them, who found them half ſtarv'd, hid under a rock. This bay they call'd the *Penguin* bay, which they got out of as ſoon as the ſtorm ceas'd, ſailing to a bay where they deſign'd to have winter'd, (it being now the month of *April*, the beginning of winter in that climate;) but they ſuffer'd ſo much in it, that they were glad to get out with the ſafety of their ſhips, giving it the name of *Baia de Los Travajos*, the bay of troubles; and ſailing along the coaſt, they enter'd the river S. *Julian* upon eaſter eve.

Bay of S. Matthias.

Peguin *bay.*

Magellan being reſolv'd to winter in this place, went aſhore on eaſter day, where they had maſs perform'd; and then he order'd his men's allowance to be ſhorten'd, at which they grumbled, telling him, that now they ſaw no appearance of any paſſage, but that the land, in all probability reach'd to the *Antartick pole*; begging of him to give them a larger allowance, or elſe to return home. But the admiral reſolutely told them, "He had determin'd to proceed, and to "compaſs what he had undertaken to the "emperor, or to die in attempting it. "That they were in no difficulty as to "their ſtated allowance, becauſe there "was plenty of fiſh and fowl upon the "coaſt, with abundance of wood and "water. That he was ſurpriz'd to find "ſo much faint heartedneſs among *Spani-* "*ards*. But he ſaid they did not conſi- "der, that in a few months, if they "ſhould be oblig'd to ſail to the pole, it "would be as warm there as any where "elſe, becauſe towards the beginning of "*October*, they would have continual "day for three months together. But "he aſſur'd them that they could not "have much farther to ſail ſouthward be- "fore they ſhould find a paſſage weſtward "to the *Molucco* iſlands. And therefore "he bid them take courage, and remem- "ber that the king would reward them "nobly for their fatigue; and for his part, "he did not doubt but he ſhould be able "to enrich them all with gold and ſpice."

They come to the river S. Julian.

Altho' this ſpeech quieted ſome of them, yet a great number mutiny'd; and the admiral having ſent his boat to the ſhip S. *Anthony* to take in ſome hands for watering, one of the ſhip's crew call'd to them not to come nearer, for *they would obey no orders from* Magellan, *for their preſent captain* Gaſper de Queſado, *having confin'd* Alvaro de la Meſquita, *the admiral's kinſman, whom he had made captain of the S.* Anthony, *and likewiſe the pilot* Mafia; *and that he himſelf had kill'd the maſter. Magellan* being inform'd of this ſent back his boat, deſiring to know, *whom they were for?* and the ſame queſtion he put to the other ſhips. When the skiff ask'd the S. *Anthony, whom they were for? Queſada* anſwer'd boldly, *for the king and for me. Lewis de Mendoza* made the ſame anſwer, from on board the *Vittoria*; and *John de Cartagena* from *the Conception*. But *Serrano*, who commanded the *Sant Jago*, not being concern'd in the mutiny, when he was ask'd, *whom he was for?* anſwer'd, *for the king and* Magellan.

A mutiny aboard.

The admiral, finding that this conſpiracy was far advanced, ſaw there was nothing but reſolution could ſtop it; and therefore he gave orders to have all things ready for an attack: and ſending thirty choice men, whom he knew to be faithful, aboard the long boat, and five in the skiff, he gave them orders to go to the *Vittora*; and that they in the skiff ſhould go aboard her with a letter to *Mendoza*;

Mendoza; but he order'd them to ſtab him whilſt he was reading it, and upon the noiſe, that the 30 from the long boat ſhould make haſte to their reſcue: which they perform'd without any oppoſition, there being many aboard that ſhip who were faithful to *Magellan*. The *Vittoria* being thus ſecur'd, the admiral ſet a ſtrict watch upon the other two, leſt they ſhould eſcape him in the night; and ſeeing the S. *Anthony* going down the river (but it was by the force of the current) he believing ſhe deſign'd to fight, ſent orders to the *Vittoria* to be ready. *Queſada* was the only man that appear'd upon the quarter deck, with a ſpear in one hand and his target upon his arm; his men not ſtiring tho' he call'd them. As ſoon as that ſhip was up with the admiral, *Magellan* let drive a broad ſide at her, and, boarding her, ſeiz'd *Queſada*, and ſome of the chief of the mutiners, ſending them aboard his own ſhip. He then ſent a ſecond time to *the Conception* to ask, *whom they were for?* and they anſwering, *for the king, and* Magellan, he order'd *Carthagena* to be ſent to him.

Quell'd by Magellan.

The next day, he made *Mendoza*'s dead body be quarter'd, and the ſame ſentence he paſt upon *Queſada*, which, for want of an executioner, was perform'd by that captain's ſervant, who ſav'd himſelf from being hang'd by doing it. *John de Carthagena* was ſentenced to be left aſhore, which was done; and ſoon after he got, for a companion, a *French* clergyman, who was endeavouring to raiſe a new mutiny aboard the S. *Anthony*; this being thought a ſeverer puniſhment than death. Having thus put an end to the mutiny, he pardon'd the reſt, becauſe he had occaſion for them.

Winter being over, he ſent *Serrano* along the coaſt, to diſcover for ſo many leagues ſouthward, if there was any ſtreights to be ſeen, with orders to return after having gone ſuch a diſtance. About 20 leagues higher *Serrano* found a fine river, which he call'd *Santa Cruz*, becauſe he came into it the 3d day of *May*. Here he ſtaid ſix days, but as he attempted to proceed, a ſudden guſt ſpilt all his ſails, the rudder ſtarted out, and the ſhip fell a plunging, and then was driven upon a flat where by good providence, the men got a ſhore, but loſt the ſhip, and cargo. There being no natives to be ſeen, they liv'd upon ſhell fiſh, found among the rocks; but not knowing how to get over the river *Santa Cruz*, they waited till the waves had broken their ſhip to pieces, and then took up ſuch of the planks as they could carry; but being weak and faint, they were four days in marching the ſix leagues back to the river, living upon herbs all the while. They were 37 in number; but all the timber, they could carry, was only ſufficient to make a boat that would hold two. With this, two men paſt the river, and to aviod the tedioufneſs of paſſing and re-paſſing 36 times, it was agreed that they two ſhould go to the place where they had left the fleet, and give the admiral notice of their diſaſter.

Santa Cruz.

Seventeen days were ſpent in this march, and when they came to S. *Julian*, quite ſpent with hunger and cold, the weather was ſo ſtormy, that there was no going to ſea; and therefore the admiral diſpatach'd 20 men by land with proviſions, for thoſe who were left behind, which was a moſt ſeaſonable relief to them. They ſpent two days in paſſing the river, in the boat they had made; and, with much to do, got back to the fleet; which had ſuffer'd much, from the cold, this winter, three having loſt the uſe of they hands, for S. *Julian* is in 49 or 50 degrees of lat. *Magellan* had ſent ſome of his people up into the country, to ſee if they could find any inhabitants; but they having march'd a great way, and finding it a deſart, return'd. At laſt ſix *Indians* appear'd, and the boat being ſent aſhore, at their ſigns, they came aboard, and ate as much pottage as would have ſerved 20 *Spaniards*, ſome few more came, and brought does with them; but never return'd more. Some fires having been ſeen at midnight, the admiral ſent, next morning, ſeven men to ſearch where the light was ſeen, but they march'd the whole day to no purpoſe; till towards evening, they were attack'd by nine *Indians*, who ſhot at them, and kill'd one *Spaniard*, and had done more miſchief, but that the *Spaniards*, covering themſelves with their targets, clos'd with them, and put them to flight.

On the 24th of *Auguſt* 1520, they weigh'd anchor and ſail'd to *Santa Cruz*; but, in the end of *October*, they left that river, and, with much difficulty, by reaſon of bad weather, they arriv'd at *Cape Virgines*, ſo call'd becauſe they came to it upon S. *Urſula*'s day. From thence he ſent two ſhips to diſcover whether there was any ſtreights there, and to come back in five days. Upon their return they differ'd in their accounts, having taken different ſides of the ſtreights; but *Magellan*, finding that they agreed, that the current in, was ſtronger than the ebb out, had great hopes to find what he had ſo long look'd for; ſo that ſailing up the open, and obſerving the ſtreight to ly eaſt and weſt, he came to an anchor, and ſent the S. *Anthony* farther up, which was the firſt (as far as we know) that ever ſail'd from *Europe* to the ſouth ſea. When ſhe came back, *Magellan* with a great

They arrive at Cape Virgines.

Magellan *finds a paſſage to the ſouth ſea.*

great deal of joy call'd a council of all the captains and other officers, deſiring them to take an exact account of the proviſions, being reſolv'd to go to the *Molucca* iſlands. The pilot of the S. *Anthony* propos'd, that they ſhould return to *Spain*, having accompliſh'd the chief deſign of their voyage; becauſe ther being of neceſſity a larger ocean between the entry into the ſouth ſea, and the *Molucca* iſlands, they were in danger of periſhing for want of proviſions, as well as by ſtorms. But *Magellan* would not liſten to that advice, declaring that if he were ſure to be reduced to eat the hides that were about the main maſt, he would not return to *Spain* in that forlorn condition.

Accordingly he weigh'd anchor the next day, and finding the paſſage in ſome places not above a musket ſhot in breadth, and in others with large bays, he at laſt enter'd the ſouth ſea, on the 27th of *Nov.* and after a publick thankſgiving, he ſail'd towards the north coaſt, to get out of the cold. The entry to the ſtreights from the eaſt (call'd, from this admiral, *the Streights of* Magellan,) is in 52 deg. ſ. lat. and proceeding, thro' many turnings and windings ſtill weſtward; the out-let, to the ſouth ſea, is in 53 degrees of lat. For a conſiderable way, from the eaſt ſea, the country, on both ſides, is pleaſant; but farther weſt, the land is high, and rocky, very dangerous in ſtormy weather; which is probably the reaſon that ſo few make uſe of this paſſage; the *Spaniards* chuſing to ſail from *Panama*, and other parts of the ſouth ſea, to the *Molucca*'s, and ſending the commodities they bring from the eaſt, by way of *Nombre de Dios*, into *Spain*; the *Engliſh*, and other nations, who trade to the eaſt *Indies*, going by the cape of *Good Hope*, found out by the *Portugueſes*, as has been ſaid.

Which he enters.

Whilſt *Magellan* was in the ſtreights, he ſent the S. *Anthony* thro' a creek, towards the ſouth of the bay he lay at anchor in, to diſcover which way it turn'd, promiſing to ſtay there, three days, for their return: but ſhe not coming back in ſix days, his pilot, and other officers perſuaded him to ſet ſail, ſaying that ſhe was return'd to *Spain*. After he was gone, the S. *Anthony* came to the bay, but (miſſing the admiral,) *Mezquita*, who commanded her, would have follow'd him, but *Gomez* the pilot, a *Portugueſe*, and one *Guerra* fell upon him, wounded, and confin'd him, and turning their courſe, made out of the ſtreights the way they came in, deſigning to return to *Spain*.

And ſails towards the n.

The admiral, having now only three ſhips, ſail'd along the coaſt of what, from that time was call'd *the Magellanic Land*, the ſun being in his *Zenith*, that is perpendicularly above him, he found he was got within the tropic again; and taking his obſervations, he ſaw himſelf in the latitude of 21 deg. but having no intention of ſtaying upon the *American* coaſt, he bent his courſe more weſterly, and ſail'd above 2000 leagues from the entry of the ſtraits, on the ſouth ſide; and upon the 20th of *January* 1521, he found himſelf in 15 deg. 48 minutes, and fell in with two beautiful iſlands; but found the inhabitants very unpoliſh'd, and brutal; however they were not ſo ſhy as the *Indians* generally were; for they came aboard the ſhips in great numbers, in their canoes, and refuſing to go out again, the admiral was oblig'd to turn them out by force. This diſoblig'd them ſo, that they ſhot arrows, and threw ſtones from their canoes, againſt the *Spaniards*. *Magellan*, at firſt, order'd that they ſhould not be hurt, but finding that they perſiſted in their fury, and that ſeveral *Spaniards* were wounded, he made ſome cannon be fir'd upon them, which killing ſeveral of them, and ſinking ſome canoes, oblig'd them to retire.

Leaving thoſe iſlands, (which he call'd *de las Velas*, becauſe they us'd ſails of palm leaves to their canoes) he ſail'd about 300 leagues in a weſterly courſe, where he found many iſlands and plenty of proviſions, the natives bringing in fowls and other things, to barter for baubles. At one of thoſe iſlands call'd *Mazagua*, the lord of the place ſent ten men, in a canoe, to ask who they were, and what they wanted; *Magellan* ſaid, they belong'd to the king of *Spain*, and wanted proviſions, and liberty of trade. The *Indians* receiving this meſſage, (for the admiral's interpreter underſtood thoſe people) the king or lord, ſent four ſwine, three goats, and ſome rice aboard, excuſing himſelf that he was ſcarce of proviſions at that time. The admiral having talk'd with this king, ask'd him where he could be well ſupply'd? to which he anſwer'd, that about 20 leagues from thence, there was a great iſland whoſe king was his relation, where he might have as much as he pleaſed. *Magellan* deſiring him to ſend him ſome of his people for pilots, the king offer'd to go himſelf; which he did. And, in a ſhort time, they arriv'd at the iſland of *Zebu*; where 2000 people arm'd with ſpears and ſhields, came upon the ſhore, gazing at the ſhips, with much aſtoniſhment.

Iſland of Mazagua.

The king of *Mazagua* went aſhore, and going to his couſin, told him, that the *Spaniards* were peaceable people, and wanted nothing but proviſions, and liberty of traffick. The king of *Zebu* made anſwer, that his cuſtom was, when he made peace with any ſtranger, to have blood

blood drawn from one another's breaſts, which the contracting parties were interchangeably to drink. *Magellan* conſenting to this, expected the king on board, the next day, to perform the ceremony; but he ſent him word, that his having agreed to do it, was ſufficient, and he look'd upon the peace as concluded.

Upon this, the admiral order'd all the guns to be fir'd; which, had not the peace been firſt concluded, would have frighten'd the natives out of the city; but they had ſuch dependance upon the publick faith, that no body, ſtir'd. Soon after, the natives brought plenty of fowl, ſwine, goats, and rice aboard, with all ſorts of fruit of the country; for which they receiv'd hawks bells, glaſs beads, and other toys.

Magellan makes peace with the king of Zuba.

The admiral living in ſecurity at this iſland, order'd a room to be built, of ſtone, upon the ſhore, for maſs; and going aſhore with his men, his chaplain celebrated maſs in great ſtate, at which the king, and all his family, with the principal people of the city, were preſent. After maſs, the prieſt, by the interpreter, gave a ſhort ſummary of the chriſtian faith, which the king embracing, he and his family were baptis'd, and in a few days the whole city. Here *Magellan* built a houſe for a factory; and hearing of the iſland of *Borneo* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, he deſign'd to ſail thither. This iſland of *Zebu* is one of thoſe call'd, the *Philippine* iſlands, and is about the lat. of 14 deg. But it was not all under the dominion of this king; for the iſland was a large one, and under ſeveral kings, who ſome times had war with one another.

One of the Philippin iſlands.

The admiral ſent to thoſe kings, ſummoning them to come to him, and to ſubmit to the new chriſtian king. Two of them comply'd, and ſent their ſubmiſſion, but other two made a jeſt of his meſſage; and therefore *Magellan* ſet out at midnight, with two boats full of *Spaniards*, and, having guides from the confederate king, ſurpriz'd the city of one of the recuſants, and burnt it. Next day, he ſent a meſſage to the king of *Matan*, that he would uſe him after the ſame manner, if he did not ſubmit; to which the other reply'd, that he might come for he was ready for him. The admiral, willing to ſhew the bravery of the *Spaniards*, and to let the new convert ſee the advantage he was to reap by his ſubmitting to the king of *Spain*, ſet out with 60 men, in three boats, againſt the advice of the chriſtian king, who told him, that the king of *Matan* had 6000 men ready, and that the two kings who had ſent their ſubmiſſion, had join'd him. However not being able to diſſuade him from the expedition, he accompany'd him with a thouſand of his people in canoes. Capt. *Serrano* was likewiſe averſe to his going, but he was obſtinate. He arriv'd therefore at *Matan* two hours before day, but the tide being out, the boats could not come within croſs-bow ſhot of the town. The chriſtian king pray'd him to give him leave to make the firſt attack with his *Indians*, and to ſuſtain him with the *Spaniards*; but the admiral was ſo far from taking that good advice, that he would not let the *Indians* engage at all, bidding their king ſtand ſtill, and ſee the *Spaniards* manner of fighting. At break of day he landed with 55 men, and marching to the town, found it abandon'd. But as he had ſet fire to it, he was attack'd of a ſudden, by two conſiderable bodies of *Indians*, againſt whom he maintain'd a fight moſt of that day; till the powder and arrows failing the musketeers and croſs-bow men, the *Indians* preſt hard upon them; ſo that *Magellan* thought fit to retire, the *Indian* confederate king ſtanding an idle ſpectator the whole time, according to order. In this retreat, *Magellan* expoſing himſelf needleſly, loſt his life; and indeed his death ſeems to have been owing to a ſort of fatality, if it was not occaſion'd by unſeaſonable pride, to ſhew that he needed no aſſiſtance to conquer *Indians*, tho' there was great inequality in their numbers. He was a brave man, and deſerv'd a better fate. As ſoon as the admiral fell, the *Spaniards* were diſcourag'd, and if their confederate king had not brought them off, by falling with his freſh men upon the enemy, it is probable they had all periſhed, being overtoil'd with ſo many hours labour.

Magellan kill'd.

Upon his death, *Barboſa* was choſen commodore: but the new convert ſhew'd that he had been baptis'd without having been fit for it; for, he invited the new commander with ſeveral of his men, to an entertainment, where he treacherouſly murder'd all that went. They who ſtaid aboard, having intelligence of what was done, choſe *Carvallo* in his ſtead, and ſetting ſail from that treacherous iſland, they ſtop'd at the iſland *Quepindo*, then at *Puluan*, where they traffick'd for proviſions; and from thence they arriv'd at *Borneo* (formerly mention'd,*) under the line. As ſoon as they came into the river, three veſſels, call'd *Canamiſes*, with gilt ſterns, like heads of ſerpents, came to them from the king of the iſland, to know who they were, and what was their buſineſs; on board one of them was the king's ſecretary, a grave old man. The *Spaniards* having heard his quality, ſaluted him with their guns, after which he came aboard the admiral ſhip, and embrac'd the commodore with much

Barboſa ſucceeds him, but is murder'd by the new chriſtian king.

* p. 14.

The fleet arrives at Borneo.

much civility; and finding that they had goods to barter, he order plenty of provisions to be sent to the ships. The commodore gave him and his attendants presents, and sent a present to the king.

Upon the secretary's return, the king bid them send two of their number to him, and *Gonzalo de Espinosa* with another gentleman went ashore, where they were met by 2000 men in arms, and an elephant upon whose back they placed *Espinosa*, and his companion. Being come into the king's presence, and having told their case, and that they only desir'd to trade with the island; he was well receiv'd, and had for a present two pieces of *China* damask, and one for every *Spaniard*. But some time after, five *Spaniards* having been sent ashore to buy things, they were detain'd; and the *Spaniards*, by way of repriſal, having seiz'd some of the vessels belonging to the island, two of the *Spaniards* were releas-ed, but the other three detained; so that the fleet sail'd without them. But being disgusted at their new commodore, they degraded him, and elected *Espinosa* in his place, and made *Sebastian de Cano*, capt. of the *Vittoria*; and on the 8th of *Nov.* 1521, by the assistance of a moor they had taken, they arriv'd at *Tidore*, one of the *Molucca* islands which they had been so long in search of.

And then at the Molucco *island.*

As soon as they came to an anchor near this island, the king of the place, whose name was *Almanzor*, came aboard the admiral ship, in a rich shirt, wrought with needle work in gold, over which he had a white cloth girt about his waste, hanging down to the ground; and, on his head, a fine silk vail, in the figure of a mitre. When he came aboard, he stop'd his nose, for the smell of the bacon, being a mahometan. The commodore, and all the *Spaniards* accosted him with great respect, and made presents of such things as they had, to him and his son; desiring leave to traffick in the island, which he readily granted, bidding them kill any one that injur'd them. And looking upon the flag, and the cross upon the *Spanish* coin, he told them, he had found out by astrology, that christians were to come thither for spices, which they should be welcome to. And having been inform'd that they were *Spaniards*, and ask'd several questions about the king their master, he took an oath, that he would always be a friend to the king of *Spain*, and supply his subjects, when they came to his island, with cloves and such other spices as were in it, in exchange, for linnen cloth and silks. The kings of the neighbouring islands did the same, and sent presents for his catholic majesty; and also for the *Spaniards*.

They are well receiv'd by the king of Tidore, *and the kings of the other* Molucco *islands.*

These were the *Molucca* islands, discover-ed by *Antonio de Brito* upon the king of *Portugal*'s account, the year after, *viz.* 1526, as we observ'd before.* * p. 14.

Having succeeded so well among these islands, they laded their ships, and de-sign'd to return home: but, upon exami-nation, they found that the *Trinidad*, which was the admiral ship, was so leaky, that they could not venture to sea in her; and there being no possibility of refitting her without turning up her keel, which would take up much time; it was agreed that *De Cano* should take, on board the *Vittoria*, the presents from the kings, and the youths of the country, which had been given them, and make the best of his way to *Spain* by the cape of *Good Hope*. And therefore in the beginning of the year 1522, the *Vittoria* set sail from *Tido-re* with 60 *Spaniards*, and some of the natives of the *Molucca* islands. They touch'd at an island, in 8 deg. and a half n. lat. which abounded in pepper; and then came to *Timar*, in 9 deg. where they took in white saunders, and saw much gin-ger and gold. Then passing by *Sumatra*, under the line,* they struck into the main ocean, steering south west, to avoid meeting with the *Portugueses*. And find-ing, by their observations, that they were to the westward of the cape of *Good Hope*, they steer'd north west; the wind having favour'd them the whole voyage. Arriv-ing in some distress, (for want of water, and the ship's being leaky) at the island of S. *Jago*, near *Cape Verd*; they were forced to stop, and sent some of their men ashore for water, and to get some blacks to work their pumps, several of their own men being sick. But as they sent the boat ashore another time, the *Portugueſe* governor, having had an account of their being there, seiz'd the boat and men, and endeavour'd to possess himself of the ship. But *de Cano*, being upon his guard, and not finding his boat return, set sail, and by good providence arriv'd at S. *Lucar*, on the 6th of *Sept.* 1522; having been three years, wanting 14 days, in per-forming this voyage. The *Trinidad* be-ing refitted, sail'd for *Panama*, but meeting with tempests was beaten back to *Tidore*, and seiz'd; as they heard two years after, by some few of the crew who escap'd, and came to *Europe* in *Portu-tugueſe* bottoms. * p. 14.

The admi-ral ship being lea-ky, the Vittoria *sails for* Spain.

Comes to Cape Verd.

And ar-rives at S. Lucar.

At the return of the *Vittoria* they found they had gain'd a day, finding that what they reckon'd sunday was only saturday in *Spain*. They computed that they had sail'd 14,000 leagues in this voyage and were the first that ever had the honour to sail round the glode; which made *Sebastian del Cano* much respected every where; but indeed it was all owing

to *Magellan*, who altho' he did not live to reap the fruit of his labour, the world has done juſtice to his memory, in calling the ſtreights he found out, as well as the country, on the north part of them by his name; which was more than was done to the great *Columbus*, who ſhew'd them all the way to this new world, and yet they ſuffer'd *Americus Veſputius*, (who made no diſcoveries but what he had firſt led him to) to chriſten this country after his own name, which would more juſtly have been *Columba* or *Colona*, for he had both thoſe names.

When the *Vittoria* arriv'd at S. *Lucar*, they unladed her, having 533 quintails of cloves, beſides a quantity of cinamon, nutmegs, ſaunders, and other goods. The emperor receiv'd *De Cano* moſt graciouſly, and gave him and his men many marks of his favour, as they well deſerv'd, having pav'd the way for all others who afterwards made ſuch a merit of following the road they had chalk'd out for them.

The next that attempted the ſtreights of *Magellan* was *Garcia de Loayſa*, who ſet out with ſix ſhips and a tender, from *Coruna* in *Gallicia*, in the year 1525, in order to go towards the *Molucca* iſlands. They came upon the coaſt of *Brazil*, on the 8th of *Dec.* where their ſhips were diſpers'd by a ſtorm; upon the 18th of *Jan.* they came to cape *Virgines*, where one of them was caſt away. The admiral was miſſing for ſome days, and had run a great hazard of being loſt; but at laſt returned to the fleet, and brought off ſuch of the ſhipwreck'd crew as had been ſav'd by ſwimming aſhore. The wind being croſs, they did not enter the ſtreights till *April*. They found ſeveral harbours a little way up the ſtreights; one of which they call'd S. *George*'s, (probably being found on the 23d of that month) where they found green cinamon growing wild. Some *Indians* of a gigantick ſize came in canoes near the ſhips, with firebrands in their hands, but did not venture ſo cloſe as to do miſchief, nor could the boats catch them, they row'd ſo ſwiftly. Thoſe were call'd *Patagones*, and inhabited the country between the *Magellanick land* and the ſtreights mouth on the ſouth ſea.

Loayſa *paſſes the ſtreights.*

Advancing farther weſt, in the ſtreights, they came to a harbour, which, from the cold, they call'd port *Frio*: and the next day, being the 25th of *May*, they enter'd the ſouth ſea. By their reckoning, they run, between cape *Virgines* on the north (or more properly the eaſt) ſea, and cape *Deſcado* or *Deſire* on the ſouth ſea, is 110 leagues. In this run, there was much oak, and wild cinamon, which altho' green, burn'd pleaſantly. The water in the ſtreights abounded with whales, merHer. *dec.* III. b. iii. ch. 2.

maids, tunney, and ſeveral other fiſh, and near the ſhore muſſels and oyſters in great plenty. They obſerv'd likewiſe that the current run in from both the ſeas, almoſt equally, and met about the middle of the ſtreights making a great noiſe upon the turns of the tide. There were many large brooks falling into the ſtraights, whoſe waters were very good.

When they had enter'd the ſouth ſea, they held northward, as the coaſtlay, and in 45 degrees lat. the tender loſt ſight of the other ſhips, having 50 men on board, and no proviſions but 400 weight of bisket, and eight pipes of water: and therefore making all the ſail they could northward, they came to anchor at a large cape, on the 25th of *July*; but having no boat they made a long rope faſt to a cheſt, and *Arreyzago* a prieſt offering to venture a ſhore with the tide, they let down the cheſt, intending to pull it back in caſe it ſhould be overſet. In this manner, he was driven half way to land, the whole being about a mile, and then his cheſt was overſet, and he ſet a ſwiming, but had been drown'd, had not five *Indians* come to his aſſiſtance from the ſhore. As ſoon as they had brought him to land, they laid him down, half dead, and ſtood at a diſtance. When he recovered, he ſtood up, and beckon'd to them to approach; but they lay down and embrac'd the earth, which he, believing it was a token of friendſhip among them, likewiſe did. They ſeeing a box floating in the water, which had been put into the cheſt with him, brought it out, and ſet it down by him. He open'd it, and taking out ſome toys, offer'd them to them, but they would not take them, making ſigns to him to follow them, which he did: and having walk'd over a hill, he ſaw a town with a great many towers in it, and above 20,000 people all arm'd with bows and arrows came out to gaze at him. One of the *Indians* carried the box upon his head, having, before they left the ſhore brought the cheſt out of the ſea, with the rope ſtill faſt to it, as the other end was to the ſhip. A great many of the natives clear'd the way as he paſt. When he had enter'd the town, they brought him before the cacique, who expected him under a great tree, with a numerous attendance. Towards the market place, the prieſt ſaw a croſs erected, and at his appearing before the cacique, he was ſurpriz'd to be ſaluted by him with *Santa Maria*, that is *Holy Mary*. The cacique led him to a ſtately palace, where they ſet before him plenty of fleſh dreſt, with fruit, and liquor. When he had eaten, he gave the cacique the box with all the toys, which he was much pleas'd with. The prieſt made ſigns, that the people

The tender loſing ſight of the fleet.

Comes to a bay, and ſends a prieſt aſhore in a cheſt.

people aboard wanted meat; the cacique order'd three bucks, with ſtore of other proviſions, and going himſelf along with the prieſt to the ſhore, the ſhip having caſt anchor within hearing, the prieſt call'd out to tell them of his good entertainment. The weather being ſtormy, they durſt not adventure aboard that night; but the next morning the cacique and the prieſt getting into the cheſt, the *Spaniards* hawl'd them aboard, above 500 *Indians* ſwiming round to keep the cheſt from overſetting; and when they were got aboard, they brought the float aſhore again, and faſten'd the proviſions to it. The cacique having told them, that, on the other ſide of the cape, there was a good harbour, they weigh'd anchor, and doubling the cape, came to an anchor before the town, and the next day they all landed (except ſuch as were neceſſary aboard) upon a float made by the natives. The cacique brought them to his palace, and treated them in the beſt manner they could deſire for five days.

This prov'd to be in New Spain.

This town was *Macatan*, in the province of *Tecoantepec*, in *New Spain*, a country which had never ſubmitted to *Montezuma*, but was now ſubject to the vice roy of *Mexico*; and had at this time a *Spaniſh* governor reſiding at *Tecoantepec*; to whom the cacique of *Macatan* ſent an account of the arrival of this ſhip; who coming himſelf to ſee them, carry'd them to his city.

The admiral ſhip ſails for the Molucca's.

In the mean time, the admiral ſhip, having loſt the company of all the others, held on her courſe for the *Molucca*'s; and *Loayſa* dying by the way, the command fell to *Alonzo de Salazar*, who order'd the pilot to ſteer for the *Ladrones* iſlands, and in their way, upon the 13th of *Sept.* they diſcover'd an iſland in 14 deg. n. lat. This iſland they call'd S. *Bartolomeo*, but finding no bottom with a line of 100 fathoms, they paſt by it without ſtoping, and came to *Borta* one of the *Ladrones* next to the line, in 12 or 13 deg. n. lat. where, as ſoon as they came to an anchor, a *Spaniard* came out in a boat, and having bid them welcome, told them he had belong'd to the *Trinidad*, which, as we have ſaid, was left at the *Molucca*'s where he had deſerted. He told them, he was of *Gallicia*, his name *Gonzalo de Vega*, and that he underſtood the language of thoſe iſlands; but he would not go aboard without ſecurity in the king's name, which *Salazar* gave him. On the 10th of *Sept.* 1526, they ſet ſail for the *Molucca*'s; *Salazar* dying by the way, *Martin Iniguez* ſucceeded to the command; and on the 2d. of *October* came up with the iſland of *Mindinao*, one of the *Philippines*, and anchoring at *Vizaya* in eight degrees, barter'd *Spaniſh* pedlary ware for palm wine, fowls, rice, and fruit. Leaving this, in a ſouth courſe they arriv'd at *Taloa*, where the lord of it treated them friendly, and preſt them to go with him to the iſlands of *Gualibu* and *Salibu*, with whom he was at war, and where there was much gold; but the commodore refus'd to go with him. This iſland is in 3 deg. and a half n. lat. From hence they ſail'd towards *Gilolo*, one of the *Molucca* iſlands; and coming to an anchor at *Camaſco*, on the eaſt ſide of *Gilolo*, the mooriſh governor came on board, with an *Indian*, who having been a ſlave to a *Portugueſe*, ſpoke that language. This governor finding they were *Spaniards*, told them, that place belong'd to the king of *Tidore*, who for having furniſh'd *De Cano* with cloves, had his town of *Tidore* burnt by the *Portugueſes*, under the command of *Brito*, who had ſeiz'd the *Trinidad* after her being forced back, by ſtreſs of weather, in her deſign'd voyage for *New Spain*; and had taken out of her 70,000 weight of cloves, ſending 47 *Spaniards* priſoners to *Malaca*, and had built a fort in the *Molucca* iſlands where he had veſſels of ſeveral ſorts.

Arrives at Gilolo.

Iniguez, upon this intelligence diſpatch'd meſſengers to the kings of *Tidore* and *Gilolo*, ſignifying, that, by the authority of the emperor and king of *Spain*, he was come to trade in their dominions, and was ready to defend them againſt all enemies, and to aſſiſt them to procure reparation from the *Portugueſes* for any inſults or injuries they might have offer'd them. The meſſengers he ſent were treated moſt magnificently by the king of *Gilolo* who being neareſt to them (the king of *Tidore* having retir'd to the mountains upon the burning of his capital) invited the commodore to his iſland, and repeated the ſame account of *Brito*, as it had been told them by the governor of *Camaſco*. Shortly after the king of *Tidore* ſent an ambaſſador, congratulating their arrival, and confirming the peace he had made with the king of *Spain*, by the means of *De Cano*. Upon this *Iniguez* left *Camaſco*, and ſet ſail for *Gilolo*, but was driven to the iſland of *Maro*, and in his paſſage from thence, was met by a ſmall veſſel belonging to the *Portugueſes*, which coming up to him, requir'd him in the *Portugueſe* governor's name, to go with them to *Tidore*, telling him, that the *Molucca* iſlands belong'd to the king of *Portugal*. He likewiſe brought him an arrogant letter but not ſign'd, from the *Portugueſe* governor, threatning him, if he refus'd to come to him. *Iniguez* anſwer'd, "That he was ſent, by the emperor, and king of *Spain*, to whom "thoſe iſlands belong'd; that he was re-

"ſolv'd

" ſolv'd to obey his maſter's orders, ſo " that the *Portugueſe* captain needed not " give himſelf any farther trouble about " him; and as to his gaſconade, of forcing " him to go to *Tidore*, againſt his inclina- " tion, he deſpis'd both him and it." The *Portugueſe* deſir'd him to put his name to his anſwer, becauſe it was only forgetfulneſs that had made the governor ſend him his letter unſign'd. He reply'd, " That it was neither thro' haſte nor for- " getfulneſs that he had given his anſwer " unſign'd, but to teach his captain how " to treat one of the emperor's comman- " ders." After this, the *Portugueſe* factor came to him, threatning to carry him by force to *Tidore*, if he refus'd to go. *Iniguez* bid him be gone, and never come back to him with ſuch a meſſage, leſt he ſhould be oblig'd to give him ſuch an anſwer as his inſolent meſſage deſerv'd.

Upon the laſt day of *Dec.* the ſhip came to an anchor at the place where the old town of *Tidore* had ſtood, where the king came on board, being about 13 years of age; and ſoon after, the king of *Gilolo*, a man about 80; both of them declaring they would ſtand by the emperor. What the iſſue of theſe meſſages, between the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* captains, was, and the war between the two nations, in the *Molucca* iſlands, altho' their maſters were at peace at home, is not our buſineſs at preſent, having only mention'd this as the conluſion of a voyage to the ſtreights of *Magellan*; we ſhall therefore leave *Iniguez* and his two kings, to defend themſelves againſt the *Portugueſe*, and return to the affairs of *America* about the ſtreights.

The *Terra Magellanica*, (that is, all the country between *Chili* and *Magellan* ſtreights, on the ſouth ſea, and between *Rio de la Plata* and the ſtreights, on the north, or eaſt ſea) not being to this day diſcover'd, otherwiſe than upon the coaſt, all that we ſhall ſay of it, ſhall be to name the principal ports or capes in that circuit, as they were ſeverally diſcover'd by *Magellan*, *Loayſa*, and others who paſt the ſtreights ſince: nor ſhall we diſtinguiſh that part of the continent from *Chili* to the ſtreights on the ſouth ſea, by the name of the *Patagones*, but comprehend the whole under the common name of *Magellanic Land*. The chief places of which, known to the *Europeans*, are, 1. *Cabo de las Iſlas*, a promontory about 26 leagues from the confines of *Chili*. 2. *Puerto de S. Stefano* 50 leagues farther ſouth. 3. *Villa de Nueſtra Segnora*, or *Our Lady's Town*, 18 leagues farther on the ſame coaſt. 4. *Puerto de S. Andrea*. And at the entry of the ſtreights cape *Vittoria* on the north weſt ſide, and cape *Deſcada* oppoſite to it.

Ogilvy's *Amer.* b. III. ch. v. §. 3.

Within the ſtreights, I find mark'd in ſome maps, cape *Frio*, and cape *Famine*. *Ogilvy* has many more, but there being ſo ſmall accounts of what is within, and thoſe being ſo little uſeful at preſent, I ſhall paſs them over.

On the ſouth part of thoſe ſtreights is the *Terra del Fuego*, ſo call'd from the fires ſeen from it, by ſome who paſt the ſtreights. It is ſo little known, that it is diſputed whether it be one continent, or ſeveral iſlands.* On the ſouth part of this *Terra del Fuego* are *Le Mare's* ſtreights, found out by a *Dutch* man of that name in 1615, and not ſo dangerous a paſſage. The ſouthmoſt point of all *America*, as mark'd in our maps is *Cape Horn*. lat. 55 d. 40. m. *What other places there may be, worth taking notice of ſouthward of the ſtreights of* Magellan *either to the eaſt or weſt, we ſhall refer to ſome particular voyages of* Engliſh, French *or* Dutch, *hereafter to be related.*

* Engl. *Atlas* p. 259.

From the mouth of the ſtreights of *Magellan* which lies upon the north ſea, the moſt remarkable places are, 1. *Cape Virgines*, which, as we obſerv'd, is at the entry to the ſtreights. 2. *Rio della Cruz* in 51 deg. lat. 3. Port S. *Julian*, in 47 deg. 4. Cape *Look out*, 46 deg. 5. Cape S. *George*, in 44 deg. 6. Cape S. *Helena*, in 42 deg. and a half. 7. *Coſta de Sierta* in 39 deg. 8. the bay of *Anagada* in 37 deg. and 9. Cape *Blanco* in 32 deg. All theſe are on the coaſt of the *Magellanic Land.*

The next country to the *Terra Magellanica* northward, is *Paraguay* or *Rio de la Plata*; which laſt name the *Spaniards* gave it, from the great river call'd *La Plata*, for the abundance of ſilver they found there. This country was firſt diſcover'd by *De Solis* and *Pinzon* in 1508, but they only touch'd at it.* In the year 1515, the ſame *De Solis* having been ſent from *Spain* to find out the ſpice iſlands, neglected that attempt, and ſail'd to the ſouth parts where he had only touch'd in the former voyage. He paſt by cape S. *Auguſtine* on the coaſt of *Brazil* in 8 deg. ſ. lat. and ſo to cape *Frio*, near the *Rio de Janairo*, under the tropic of *Capricorn*; and from thence to cape *Cananea* in 25 degrees, and leaving that they came to an anchor in a bay 27 deg. lat. to which the captain gave the name of *Los Perdidos*, becauſe it was not a ſafe place. They proceeded in that courſe to the port of S. *Maria*, within the iſlands, which they call'd *Los Lobos*, in 35 deg. where the capt. took poſſeſſion for the king of *Spain*. And at laſt arriv'd at the mouth of a river, which they firſt call'd *Mar Dolce*, from the ſweetneſs of the water; and afterwards

* Un. Trav. p. 34.

De Solis, *the firſt diſcoverer of this country.*

De

De Solis, from the commodore's name; but ſince that time, well known by the name of *Rio della Plata*, by which the whole large country of *Paraguay* is known to this day. Leaving his own ſhip in the mouth of the river, he took a caravel, or ſmall bark, which he had with him, and ſail'd up the river, whoſe courſe coming due north, carry'd him back to 24 deg. In this courſe up the river of *Plate*, he ſaw many towns and villages, with people almoſt every where, who flock'd to the ſhore to gaze at the caravel. *De Solis* very imprudently truſting himſelf a ſhore in his boat, with as many as it could hold; the *Indians*, making ſigns, and laying things upon the ground, for the *Spaniards* to take up, decoy'd *De Solis* and his people from the ſhore, and having before laid an ambuſcade for him, kill'd them every man, with their arrows, notwithſtanding the cannon fir'd upon them from on board; and cutting off their heads, arms and legs, in the ſight of their companions in the caravel, roaſted their bodies at great fires made at a little diſtance from the ſhore, and devour'd them with great ſigns of joy. The caravel ſeeing this horrible ſight, made the beſt of their way down the river, and finding the other ſhip, they ſet ſail for cape S. *Auguſtin*, where they loaded with brazil wood, and return'd to *Spain*.

His tragical death.

Magellan was the next that ſail'd from *Spain* to this coaſt; and after him *Loayſa*, of both which voyages, we have already given a ſhort account: and they touch'd here only by the way.

Much about the time of this laſt voyage of *Loayſa*, *viz.* the years 25, 26 and 27. *Gabot*, the king of *Spain*'s pilot (the ſame mention'd before*) got the command of four ſhips to follow the track of the *Vittoria*, to the *Molucca* iſlands. But his deſign privately was for the river of *Plate*, having had an account of it from thoſe who had been in it with *De Solis*. Accordingly he ſail'd with four ſhips in 1525, and after having touch'd at ſeveral iſlands, on one of which (being a deſart one) he left *Mendez* his vice admiral, captain *De Royas* and *Michael de Rodas*, becauſe they found fault with his proceedings. He came into the river *Plate*, and ſail'd 30 leagues up the river; near the north ſide of which he found an iſland, which he call'd S. *Gabriel*. Here he came to an anchor, and went up in his boat three leagues higher, where he found another river running into the great one; and ſeeing it a very ſafe harbour, he brought his ſhips up to it; and built a fort there which he call'd S. *Salvador*: and leaving ſome men there to guard the ſhips, he went farther up the river of *Plate* with his boats and a ſmall caravel. About 30 leagues higher he built another fort, on the *Zarcarana* river; to this fort he gave the name of S. *Spirito*; call'd by ſome *Gabot*'s fort. Going ſtill higher, he came to another river, which the *Indians* call'd *Parana*, but ſeeing it ſtrike off northward, and therefore concluding it would lead him into *Brazile*, he left it upon his right hand, and purſued the great river ſtill north, till he reckon'd he had ſail'd above 200 leagues in all. Here he found the natives tilling the ground, and ſaw ſeveral marks of induſtry among them. But, when he attempted to land, they betook themſelves to their arms, and made ſuch oppoſition, that having kill'd 25 *Spaniards*, and taken three, with conſiderable ſlaughter among the natives, he retir'd to his boats, and ſtood off from the ſhore.

* p. 31.

Gabot's voyage to the river of Plate.

Builds forts there.

Whilſt *Gabot* was making diſcoveries up the river, *James Garcia* who had been ſent from *Spain* to make farther diſcoveries up this coaſt, enter'd the mouth of the river; not knowing any thing of *Gabot*, till he came to S. *Salvador*, where he found the admiral's ſhips. *Garcia* had ſent away his own ſhip, as too large for ſailing up the river; and coming to the firſt fort, where he had an account of *Gabot*'s being upon the river before him; he follow'd his example, and leaving the bulk of his men at S. *Salvador*, he ſail'd with two brigantines, and 60 men, the ſame way the other had done; and found him at fort S. *Anna*, about 110 leagues above S. *Spirito*; and return'd with him to that fort. *Gabot* diſpatch'd a meſſage from thence to S. *Salvador*, and order'd one of the ſhips to *Spain*, to give an account of his diſcoveries, and an excuſe for not having paſt the ſtreights. *Gabot* had traded with the natives in ſeveral places, and had made peace with many of their lords, and built the forts already mention'd, in thoſe places where he had made ſome friendſhip with them. He ſtaid in the river above three years; but having no accounts from *Spain*, and being tir'd with waiting, having only one ſhip left, and many of his men being dead, he return'd to *Spain*; bringing home ſome gold with him, which was not the product of *Paraguay*, but of *Peru*, and brought down the river by the natives from that country. The country all along the river on the north ſide was fruitful, and abounded with ſeveral ſorts of grain, and fruit, and the rivers which run into it, as well as the *Plate* river it ſelf, had great variety of fiſh, particularly alligators, eight or nine foot long, fat and well taſted; and in the woods plenty of deer of three kinds; one as big as ſmall cows, with large horns; a ſecond

James Garcia *in the river of* Plate.

ſort bigger than goats; and a third no bigger than kids. Horſes and black cattle have multiply'd exceedingly, ſince they were carry'd thither by the *Spaniards*.

Gabot kept up the friendly correſpondence with the *Indians*, for above two years, and had due care been taken to ſend colonies from *Spain*, and a full commiſſion as lord lieutenant of the province, in all probability things had gone very well there. But *Gabot* having ſail'd up that river, not only without, but even againſt, orders, he had no title to controul *Garcia*, whoſe people, not being under ſuch good diſcipline as *Gabot*'s, and perhaps himſelf not being ſo well acquainted with the temper and genius of the *Indians*, the inhabitants of the countries near S. *Salvador* and S. *Spirito*, took umbrage at the behaviour of *Garcia*'s men, and having privately rais'd forces, they burn'd both the forts, the *Spaniards* hardly eſcaping with their lives; and getting aboard their ſhips return'd to *Spain*. This happen'd, I ſuppoſe, after *Gabot* had ſail'd for his own country, altho' our author is not diſtinct as to the time.*

The natives burn Gabot's forts.

* Herr. *dec.* III. b. v. ch. 3.

We hear no more mention made of the *River of Plate* for 12 or 13 years, when the court of *Spain* granted an ample commiſſion to *Don Pedro de Mendoza*, as governor of the provinces all round that river, on both ſides, that is, 200 leagues ſouthward towards the ſtreights, and what he could conquer in *Paraguay*; but upon condition, that he ſhould find a communication with *Peru* or *Chili*, that that ſo there might be an open trade to the ſouth ſea. *Mendoza* having made the neceſſary preparations, ſet ſail at S. *Lucar* with eleven ſhips, and 800 men well equip'd. He came up with the iſland of S. *Gabriel*, which *Gabot* found near the mouth of the river, as has been ſaid. Here he anchor'd, and ſending out boats towards the ſouth ſide of the great river, he diſcover'd a river, about 60 leagues from the entry at the north ſea, where he ſet about building a town, which he call'd *Nueſtra Signora de Buenos Ayres, our lady of good air*; and is well known at this day by the name of *Buenos Ayres*, and a place of great trade.

Don Pedro de Mendoza *made governor of* Rio della Plata.

Buenos Ayres *founded.*

The ſouth ſide of this river was inhabited by a ſavage people, a ſort of canibals, who, upon their firſt landing, fell upon a party, commanded by *Don Diego* the governor's brother, and kill'd him with five of his men, and having made ſnares to catch hold of the horſes, they had deſtroy'd the whole party if they had not made a quick retreat. *Don Pedro* ſent ſeveral ſhips to different places to ſearch for proviſions; and the allowance made to them being very ſcanty, they were reduced to great hardſhips: but he himſelf, with the bulk of his troops ſtaid to carry on his new city, whilſt the ſmaller ſhips were ranging along the river, and touching at ſmall iſlands which they found there, in ſome of which they got ſubſiſtance, but in ſuch ſmall quantities, that they laſted but a ſhort time, and then they were reduced to the ſhort allowance of three ounces of bisket a day. But, the governor falling ſick, reſolv'd to return to *Spain*, but having ſent *John de Ayolas*, (who was fitteſt to be left deputy in his abſence) to the north ſide of the river, to ſee if their were any remains of *Gabot*'s forts upon that coaſt; he left captain *Franciſco Ruyz* to command in *Buenos Ayres*, during the abſence of *De Ayolas*; and then ſet ſail for *Spain*, but dy'd by the way.

De Ayolas, ſail'd with three brigantines towards *Paraguay*, and going aſhore in the boats at ſeveral places, met with *Indians* much more friendly than thoſe on the ſouth ſide. He paſt by the country of the *Ameguays*, and from thence to the *Cariores*, and farther up the river to the *Payaguaes*; where he left *De Irala* with 40 men to guard the brigantines, till he went a progreſs into the country. *Salazar* went in the year 1537 in ſearch of *De Ayolas*, to give him an account of the commiſſion left him by *Mendoza*. He ſail'd up the river directly north to 25 deg. to the country of the *Carioes*, whither he heard he was gone; and miſſing him built a ſtrong fort at a town near that branch of the river which flows from *La Plata* in *Peru*, and gave the town the name of *the Aſſumption*.

Mendoza's *death.*

In the mean time the court of *Spain* having had intelligence of *Mendoza*'s death, diſpatch'd *Cabrera*, with two ſhips for *Rio della Plata* in 1539. He brought a commiſſion from the king empowering the officers and ſoldiers to chuſe a governor, in caſe *Mendoza* had not nam'd one. But finding upon his arrival at *Buenos Ayres*, that *Ruyz* had been left to ſupply the place till the return of *De Ayolas*; *Cabrera* thought it belong'd to him; which was like to make a rupture; but they compromis'd it, and govern'd jointly. Soon after, there arriv'd a ſhip there, which had deſign'd to have paſt the ſtreights, but was beaten back by contrary winds; ſo that the governors, being recruited by this new addition of men, and a ſhip, ſet out for *the Aſſumption*. Upon their arrival, they found that *Irala* was deputy there, by a commiſſion from *De Ayolas*: and *Cabrera* caballing with him, to get into a ſhare of the government there, excluding his partner *Ruyz*, fail'd in his project, for *Irala* would admit neither of them: and therefore

fore they went farther up in ſearch of *De Ayolas*, and at laſt they heard, that he and his people had been murder'd by the natives of the *Payaguaes*. Upon this intelligence, they return'd to *the Aſſumption*, and from thence to *Buenos Ayres*. But liking the north ſide of the river of *Plate* better than the other, they remov'd from *Buenos Ayres* to *the Aſſumption*.

And that of De Ayolas.

As ſoon as the account of *De Ayolas*'s misfortune came to *Spain*, *De Vaca*, (who had made the unlucky expedition with *De Narvaez* in *Florida*, as has been ſaid in its place) was ſent to *Paraguay* as adelantado; and on the 2d of *November* 1540, he ſet ſail from *Seville* with two ſhips and a caravel, and arriv'd at S. *Catharina* iſland on the *Paraguay* bay in 28 deg. ſ. lat. where he landed 26 horſes, having loſt 14 at ſea. From this iſland he ſent the caravel to the river of *Plate*; but, by reaſon of bad weather, they could not enter it, and therefore came back to S. *Catharine*, bringing with them nine ſoldiers who had deſerted from *Buenos Ayres*, for having been ill us'd by the commander there, and therefore had ſtolen away a boat, in which they deſigned to have coaſted along to ſome of the *Spaniſh* plantations, where they might have an opportunity of informing the court of *Spain* of the ill conduct of the officers in thoſe parts.

Cabeza de Vaca *ſent to* Rio de Plata.

De Vaca finding by the report of thoſe ſoldiers, that *the Aſſumption* was above 350 leagues up the river from *Buenos Ayres*, which conſidering the courſe of the river of *Plate*, and the great track of coaſt he had to run, made it much nearer to march, by land, reſolv'd to leave his ſhips at the iſland of S. *Catherine*, after they had ſet him and his people aſhore upon the continent. He began his march with 250 foot, and the few horſe he had left; giving orders to *Eſtopinan* to ſail to *Buenos Ayres* with the fleet, whenever the wind was fair. He march'd 19 days thro' woods and mountains with much trouble, and began to be in want of proviſions, when, to their great comfort, they diſcover'd a fine open country, which he enter'd, and was well receiv'd by the natives, who furniſh'd them with neceſſaries, for which the governor gave them ſhirts and other things. This was the country of the *Guaranies*, to which the adelantado gave the name of *Vera*, between the coaſt from which they ſet out, and the river *Parana*. Going ſtill farther weſt, they met an *Indian* chriſtian belonging to *Brazile*, who had been at *the Aſſumption*; this man offer'd to be their guide to that city, and gave a good account of the *Spaniſh* colony there.

He marches by land thro' a part of Paraguay.

The Governor kept his men in ſo good order, and behav'd himſelf with ſo much civility and juſtice towards the natives, that the report of his peaceable behaviour being ſpread abroad, all the *Indians*, wherever he paſt came to him bringing proviſions from all quarters. But they wonder'd at the horſes, and were much afraid of them, and often brought them honey, fowls, and other eatables to keep them in good humour; which was occaſion of great mirth to the *Spaniards*. And men, women and children came from remote provinces to ſee thoſe ſtrange creatures, of which they heard odd ſtories in their own country. Upon the 7th of *Dec.* he came to *Abangobi*, on the banks of *Taguari*, which falls into the *Parana*, (a great branch of the river of *Plate* running from the country of *Brazile*) at *Guayra*, afterwards call'd *Ciudad Real* in 24 degrees ſ. lat. Having purchas'd canoes of the natives, he embark'd upon this river, and went down to the *Parana* with ſome of his people, where in a ſhort time he was join'd by the reſt who went by land.

Upon his coming to the *Parana*, inſtead of ſailing down that river, to the ſouth, in order to get to the river of *Plata*, and ſo northward again to *the Aſſumption*, which was a vaſt way about, eſpecially as he was but ill fitted for water travelling; he croſs'd the *Parana*, and by the aſſiſtance of his *Brazile* guide, he march'd croſs the country to the *Aſſumption*, where he arriv'd on the 11th of *March* 1542, being met by many *Indians* ſome leagues before he reach'd the town, bidding him welcome in *Spaniſh*, and ſome of them ſpoke the *Spaniſh* tongue tolerably well. He was receiv'd by the *Spaniards* with great joy, and having produced his commiſſion was own'd as governor.

And arrives at the Aſſumption.

The firſt thing he did was to ſend two brigantines, with as many men as he judg'd neceſſary to repair and keep poſſeſſion of *Buenos Ayres*, becauſe he knew his ſhips would come there directly, if no accident happen'd to them. He then apply'd himſelf to regulate all diſorders in the government, and particularly to redreſs the grievances complain'd of, occaſion'd by the oppreſſion of the king's officers. He call'd the chiefs of the natives together, and exhorted them to allow the prieſts and religious men to live among them, deſiring them to liſten to what they taught them; and he gave them aſſurance, upon condition they liv'd peaceably, and gave over their barbarous practice of eating man's fleſh, that they ſhould be as free as the *Spaniards*, and treated in all reſpects as they were. They all anſwer'd that they would chearfully ſubmit to all his orders, and ſtill continue loyal.

There

There were ſeveral different people that inhabited the countries upon the banks of the river of *Plate*, who often had war with one another, and ate their priſoners. One of theſe barbarous nations, call'd the *Guaycures*, made war upon the other *Indians*, ſuch as the *Agaces* and *Guaranies*, for having ſubmitted to the *Spaniards*, poſſeſſing themſelves of their lands and fiſheries: which the chiefs of thoſe people having repreſented to the governor, he ſent three prieſts with a guard of 50 *Spaniards* to require the *Guaycures* to reſtore the lands to the right owners, and to ſubmit themſelves to the king of *Spain*, and give ear to the preachers; and in caſe of their refuſing, to denounce war. The prieſts and the ſoldiers return'd in eight days, and inform'd the governor, that the people were obſtinate, and had not only refus'd to comply, but had fallen upon the party, and wounded ſome of them.

He marches againſt the Guaycures.

De Vaca, taking 200 musketeers and croſs-bow men, with twelve horſe, left *the Aſſumption* on the 12th of *July*, and march'd to *Zaguay*, upon the bank of the river, where *Laurence Mormocen* a converted *Indian*, who was lord of the place, had aſſembled a conſiderable army of *Guaranic Indians* to aſſiſt in this expedition which was undertaken upon their account. The whole army paſt the river in brigantines and canoes; and having ſent ſpies into the enemy's country to ſee what preparations they had made, they had intelligence that the *Guaycures* were a hunting without any apprehenſion of danger; and therefore the governor marching his army all night, fell in with them in the morning, and altho' they quickly aſſembled in great numbers, and behav'd themſelves with courage, the few horſe which were with the governor terrify'd them, and made a great ſlaughter; and about 400 were taken priſoners, of whom the governor order'd great care to be taken.

After this bruſh with thoſe people, *De Vaca* return'd to *the Aſſumption*, and calling the priſoners before him, told them, that he did not deſign to make any of them ſlaves, but would make peace with thei nation if they would promiſe to live peaceably: and ſending one of them home to acquaint their chiefs with his intention; in a few days, that *Indian* return'd with 20 others, who ſitting down upon one foot, as was their cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, told the governor, "That having made "war upon the *Guaranies*, the *Imperues*, "the *Agaces*, *Guatataes*, *Naporbes*, the "*Mayayes*, and ſeveral other nations with "ſucceſs, and having been vanquiſh'd "only by the *Spaniards*, they agreed to "ſubmit to them, as the braver nation." The governor told them, that he would make peace with them, provided they would not hurt the *Guaranies*, and allow the prieſts to live quietly among them and be inſtructed by them. To all this they agreed, and getting their priſoners all reſtor'd, they went away well pleas'd, and that nation ſubmitted to the king of *Spain*, and liv'd peaceably ever after. Other nations likewiſe on both ſides of the river, ſeeing that the *Guayacures*, which indeed were the moſt valiant people of that country, had ſubmitted, ſent meſſages of peace, and were all receiv'd into friendſhip. About the end of this year 1542, *Eſtopinan* who had been left to bring the fleet from S. *Catharine*'s to *Buenos Ayres* arriv'd at *the Aſſumption*, having ſuffer'd much fatigue and been in great neceſſity; but was ſeaſonably reliev'd by the brigantines ſent by *De Vaca* to repair *Buenos Ayres*; but he told him, it was impracticable to build houſes there during the winter, becauſe the rains waſh'd the mud away whereof they were made.

And makes peace with them.

Having ſent *Irala* to make diſcoveries farther up the river, or rather to give his ambitious temper ſome honourable exerciſe, and thereby to prevent any diſturbance he found him inclin'd to forment, in order to keep up the character of deputy with which he had been veſted before *De Vaca* arriv'd; and having receiv'd information from him, at his return, that he had ſail'd a great way towards the north, and had found ſome tokens of gold and ſilver in the country; the governor ſent out parties among the confederate *Guaranies* to buy proviſions ſufficient for an expedition he deſign'd to make up the river. But being inform'd that two powerful *Indian* lords had revolted, and obſtructed the coming in of proviſions, he ſent *Irala* with 150 men to reduce them, injoining him to do it by fair means, and to avoid, as much as was poſſible, any acts of hoſtility. Theſe inſtructions were punctually follow'd, and only a few of the moſt obſtinate were chaſtis'd.

When all things were ready, the king's officers, being diſguſted at the governor's mild treatment of the natives, which prevented their enriching themſelves by plundering the country under colour of collecting the king's dues, pivately agreed with two religious to ſteal away towards the coaſt, and to ſail over to *Spain*, with letters of accuſation againſt *De Vaca* as an enemy to the king's intereſt. But the governor getting intelligence of it, ſent after the friars, and brought them back and having examin'd the matter, he confin'd the officers: and being now prepar'd for his progreſs, he took two of them with him, leaving two at *the Aſſumption*, but diveſted of their office till further orders. Having thus ſettled all his affairs, he

He confines the officers of the cuſtoms,

out

set out with 200 muskeetrs and crosbow men in 10 brigantines, ordering the like number of foot and 12 horse by land, leaving the city under the care of *Salazar de Espinoza* with 200 men and six horses. Together with his brigantines 1,200 choice *Indians* went in 120 canoes; and setting out the 8th of *Sept.* 1543, in a few days they arriv'd at *Guaibiano* in 22 deg. the confines of the *Guaranies*, and a little higher, he met his land forces, whom he took aboard at *Itabitan*; sailing up the river, without any opposition, and supplying themselves with abundance of fish, and sometimes going a shore to kill deer, and other game which they found in great plenty; so that they had a most agreeable voyage up as far as *Candelaria* in almost 21 deg. (the place where *De Ayolas* had been treacherously murdered) where they arrived on the 12th of *Oct.*

And sails up the river.

At this place, six *Paraguay Indians* came to the governor, and having been told that these were not the christians who had been there before, they said, they were sent by a great lord of that country, who desir'd to be their friend, and in token of his good intention, he would restore all that he had taken from *De Ayolas*, being 36 men's loads of plates, bracelets, crowns, hatchets, and small vessels of gold and silver. The governor desir'd them no assure their lord, that he would forgive all that was past, and accepted of his offer and friendship; and giving the messengers some toys, dismiss'd them. But that lord not appearing in some days, altho' his messengers had said he would come the day following, the interpreter advis'd *De Vaca* to go in search of him, because believ'd that the six *Indians* had been sent as spies. He therefore departed from *Candelaria*, and sailing eight days farther up the *Paraguay* river (for it takes that name above *the Assumption*) they found the banks of it planted with *Cassiafistula* trees, and several other sorts of fruit. He divided his fleet, for fear of giving umbrage to the *Paraguay* lords; going up the river with half his men, and leaving *Mendoza* with the other half to follow him slowly.

Passes thro' the country of the Paraguays.

As the governor sail'd along the banks of this river, the natives came to him in canoes, and he often went a shore, and made peace with the *Indians* as he past; but these were only a kind of borderers, the principal *Paraguay*'s living farther on, towards the north west. In this course northward he proceeded till the river divided into several channels, and several islands were seen in the water. He therefore order'd crosses to be set up on the banks, to shew the rest of his fleet under *Mendoza* which branch of the river he had taken, which was that to the westward, where he stop'd at a small river, falling into the *Paraguay* in 16 deg. lat. which he call'd *Los Reyes*, or the kings, being now in the christmas time. As soon as *Mendoza* arriv'd, the governor sent *D'Accuna* and *Antony Correa* his interpreters, with a party of his *Indians*, to the country of the *Xarais* at the very fountain head of the *Paraguay* river, and the fartheſt limits of the country of *Paraguay* or *Rio della Plata*, towards the *Amazon* country. He sent presents, by them, to the principal lords, and offer'd peace and friendship to them upon the same conditions as the other *Indians* had receiv'd; which they accepted, to the great disgust of his soldiers, who would rather have subdu'd them by force, that they might have profited of the pillage. The governor march'd by land into that country, and made peace with all the nations as he past, not allowing either his *Spaniards* or *Indians* to commit the least act of hostility; and then return'd to *Los Reyes*.

He discovers the Xarais, at the head of the river.

After he came back, he was inform'd that some of those who had made peace with him, had revolted, at the persuasion of the *Guaxarapos*, a people inhabiting that part of the country next to *Brazile* near the river *de Piros* in 19 deg. lat. But upon the report of the governor's return, they came in, and renew'd the league, which they kept but a short while; for in the year 1544, the *Spaniards* beginning to be sickly at *Los Reyes*, those confederate *Indians* sent private embassies to the *Guaxarapos*, and preparations were making to attack the *Spaniards* on all sides. Upon information of this conspiracy, *De Vaca* resolv'd to sail down the river to *the Assumption*, but having utterly forbidden his people to take any of the natives of the country, against their wills, along with them, they grumbled much at that restriction; and the king's officers, making use of the opportunity, spirited up the soldiers to withdraw their obedience from the governor; and the mutiny proceeded so far, that they confin'd *De Vaca*, and made *Irala* deputy governor; who being weak or wicked enough to connive at all their oppressions, they lorded it over both, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, plndering both under pretence of the king's dues; which occasion'd the *Indians* to rebel, and many *Spaniards* to quit the country and march to *Brazile*. These officers with their new deputy proceeded so far, in their insolence, as to put the governor in chains, and sent him down the river in a brigantine for *Spain*, two of them going with him as his accusers. But a storm happening when they were at sea, they releas'd him from his chains and begg'd pardon, owning their

He returns to the Assumption.

And is confin'd by some mutineers.

And sent to Spain.

own crimes; but coming ſafe to land, they forgot their former repentance, aad went on with their proſecution. As ſoon as the governor appear'd at court, they ſlunk away, and both of them dy'd miſerably. *De Vaca* was acquitted, but not ſent back; which was doing him juſtice by halves.

After his departure from *the Aſſumption*, the new deputy and the king's officers, who ſtaid behind, fell to pieces, and were more then once ready to decide the quarrel with the ſword; which encouraging the *Indians* to revolt, the *Spaniſh* intereſt ſuffer'd much, and altho' *Irala* march'd 100 leagues up the river, nothing was done to purpoſe; and the ſoldiers falling out among themſelves, they put *Mendoza* in his place, but ſoon, after turn'd him out, and reſtor'd *Irala*.

About this time, *viz.* in 1546, *Gutierrez* and *De Roias* and after their death, their ſoldiers under *Franciſco de Mendoza*, made an incurſion from *Peru* thro' *Tucuman*, as far as *Paraguay*; but planting no colonies there, their expedition was to little purpoſe. *Irala* likewiſe enter'd *Tucuman*, and ſend *De Chaves* farther with a party, who went as far as *Los Charcas*; which he found poſſeſs'd before: But the preſident of *Peru* hearing of his arrival, and getting an account from him of the ſtate of affairs in the *Paraguay*; appointed *Centeno* to go thither as governor, but he dying, that country was left to the management of *Irala* for ſome time, to the great loſs of the *Spaniſh* intereſt. However *De Chaves* being much careſs'd by the preſident *Gaſca*, and ſupply'd with money from him, for the good ſervice he had done in opening a communication between *Peru* and *Rio della Plata*, went back the ſame way he had come, to *the Aſſumption*. And ſome time afterwards went up the *Guapay* river, which takes its riſe in *Los Charcas* and falls into the *Paraguay* in 19 deg. near which river he built *Santa Cruz de la Sierra* on the confines between *Peru* and *Paraguay*; which continues as a communication between thoſe two famous countries to this day.

Having thus given a ſufficient account of the diſcoveries of *Paraguay* or *Rio della Plata*, we ſhall proceed to the diviſion of it. It has *Tucuman*, and *Los Charcas* on the weſt; the *Magellanic Land* on the ſouth; the country of the *Amazons* and *Brazil* on the north; and the eaſt ſea on the eaſt. It reaches from 14 to 35 deg. ſ. lat. being above 1,260 miles in length from ſouth to north, and at the broadeſt part of it from eaſt to weſt where the tropic of *Capricorn* goes thro' it, it is about 1200 broad. This country is divided into ſix provinces. 1. the province of *La Plata* proper, beginning from the mouth of the river on both ſides. It is bounded by the *Magellanic Land* on the ſouth; the ſea on the eaſt; by *Urvaig* or *Uraguay*, and *Parana* on the north; and *Tucuman* on the weſt. The chief cities are, 1. *Buenos Ayres*, mention'd formerly. 2. *Santa Fe* in 32 deg. lat. It is ſaid there are rich mines here, but the *Spaniards* do not open them for fear of invaſion upon that account. La Plata.

2. The ſecond province of *La Plata* is *Urvaig* or *Uraguay* between the river *Parana* and the eaſt coaſt. The river *Uraguay*, from whence it takes its name, runs thro' it. It is a fruitful country; and the chief towns in are S. *Salvador* and S. *Nicholas*. Uraguay.

3. *Paraguay* proper, on both ſides of the river *Paraguay* as it is diſtinguiſhed from *La Plata*, (that is, on the north part of it;) between the *Chaco* on the north weſt, and the *Guayra* province, on the ſouth eaſt of it; begining from the *Carioes* in 25 degrees, and running northward to the borders of the *Amazones* country. In this province were the cities of *Candelaria*, *Itabitan* and *Guaibiano*. Paraguay.

4. *Parana* lies between *Guayra* and *Urvaig* upon a large river of the ſame name which runs thro' it, taking its riſe from the country of *Brazile*, and falling into the river of *Plate* in 28 deg. In this province are *the Aſſumption*, and *Bareja*. Parana.

5. *Guarya* lies on both ſides of that part of the *Parana* river which is next to *Brazile*, and is bounded by the *Paraguay*, *Brazil*, *Urvaig*, and *Parana*. Its chief towns are *Guayra* or *Ciudad Real*, *Villa Ricca*, and *Arcangeli*. Guaira.

6. *Chaco* lies on the north weſt part of *Rio della Plata*, and runs as far as the *Amazon* country. In it may be reckon'd *Los Reyes* and *Santa Cruz*. Chaco.

Altho' *Brazil* does not come within the title of this chapter, not being properly a *Spaniſh* plantation, but planted by the *Portugueſes*; yet ſince it comes in courſe, and is the only part of the continent of ſouth *America*, poſſeſs'd by *Europeans*, which is not under the *Spaniſh* dominion, we ſhall ſay ſomething of it in this place, that we may not leave that gap in the coaſt of ſouth *America*; eſpecially conſidering that this country was diſcover'd by the *Pinzons* for the king of *Spain*.* Brazile.

This country lies from the *Tropic* of *Capricorn* to the equinoctial line, which makes it 460 leagues in length from ſouth to north: and towards the north, it is almoſt 400 leagues broad; comprehending in coaſt, along the north and eaſt ſeas, from cape S. *Vincent* to the *Amazon* river, (which falls into the north ſea at the line, and

* Un. Trav. p. 32.

and divides *Brazil* from the *Terra Firma*) about 800 leagues. It is bounded, on the east and north by the ocean; on the west by the country of the *Amazones*, and a part of *Paraguay*; and on the south, by *Guayra* and part of the east sea.

After the division of the world, lately found out by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, and the limits of their conquests ascertain'd by the pope's bull, with the consent of the two kings, this country of *Brazil* being the eastern part of *America* was judg'd to belong to the king of *Portugal*; and so much the rather, because *Cabral* having been driven thither by chance, as was before related,* took possession of *Puerto Seguro* for the king of *Portugal*; and call'd the country *Santa Cruz*.

* p. 33.

Whilst the *Spaniards* were much taken up in the conquests upon the south sea, the *Portugueses* having receiv'd intelligence of *Brazile* from *Cabral*'s accidental discovery, fitted out a fleet in 1549 under the conduct of *De Sosa*; but meeting with a warlike barbarous people upon this coast, they found it a very hard matter to settle among them; and even to this day, they have no footing in the inland country, but have all their colonies along the coast. The natives of *Brazil* had no kings among them, but were divided into different clans, and were at constant war with one another, which they carry'd on with that animosity, that the *Portugueses* took advantage of it, and sometimes siding with one people, sometimes with another, they drove them from the coast by degrees; but the inland towns being very populous, they met with such resistance, that they were beaten off with loss as often as they attempted to make conquests in the country at a distance from the sea.

A barbarous custom of the people of of Brazil.

This people, amongst other barbarous customs, had one horrible practice: whenever they took any prisoners, they ate all that were fat; but the lean ones they carry'd home, and gave them in charge to young girls, to feed them for the table. Every maid who got such a prisoner, was obliged to cherish him, and give him food in plenty all day, and to ly with him at night. When he grew fat, they cut off his head, arms and legs, and roasted the body, inviting their friends to feast upon it. If his tender prov'd with child, she was watch'd to the time of her delivery, and the child made a feast to those canibals; to prevent which the women who had the charge of prisoners, us'd all means they could to cause abortion; and some of them, finding themselves with child in spite of all they had done to prevent it, made their escape with the man they had in charge, and so sav'd the life both of father and child.

The continual war which the *Portugueses* have maintain'd with the natives (as well as with the *Dutch*, *French* and *English* at several times) hinder'd them from planting any where except on the coast; which they divided into about 13 *Capitanias* or captain-ships; which are these following,

S. Vincent.

1. S. *Vincent*, which begins near the tropic, and reaches to *Rio de Janeiro* in a north east coast. The chief towns of this prefecture or captain-ship are, 1. S. *Vincent*, lying in an island upon the confines of the *Guaranies*, where there is a good harbour. 2. *Santos los Leyes*, which has above 400 houses, and three sugar mills; and the largest ships take in their lading in the middle of the town. 3. *Hitanhacin* or *Hitauchin*, near which is S. *Paulo* built by the jesuits, who have engross'd the best settlements of this country. Not far from the mouth of the river which runs by S. *Vincent*, is the island S. *Sebastian*, well stor'd with wood and water, full of game, and has a good safe harbour. Behind this captain-ship north west, are the people call'd *Tupinces* and *Tupinaques*, towards the head of the *Parana* river; and are sometimes at peace with the *Portugueses*, and sometimes not.

Rio de Janeiro.

2. *Rio de Janeiro* is the second captain-ship, and the place where *De Solis* landed in 1515. But the *French* settled first in this river, about the year 1555, having brought a colony of those people call'd protestants under the protection of the famous admiral *Coligni*. They built a fort here, call'd by *Coligni*'s name, but that colony was of no long continuance; for they were dispossest by the *Portugueses*, in 1558. They built S. *Sebastian* in the mouth of the river in 21 deg. lat. a place of good trade, and a bishop's see. The next best settlement they have in this captain-ship is *Angra de los Reyes*. The country to the north west, as far as *Amazonia* being inhabited by savages.

Spirito Santo.

3. Next to *Rio de Janeiro* is that of *Spirito Santo*; one of the most fruitful counties in *Brazile*, abounding in cotton and brazile wood; it lies in 20 deg. It has one city of the same name; and the bay *Hermosa* near cape *Frio* lies in this district. The other towns are inhabited by the natives.

Puerto Seguro.

4. *Puerto Seguro* lies north of *San Spirito*, in 16 deg. having the cities of *Puerto Seguro*, *Sant'*, *Amaro* and *Santa Cruz* in it. The coast before this captain-ship is famous for the *Abrolhos* which are tracks of shallow water about 25 leagues off the shore, where the *Batavia* was cast away in 1629.

5. *Los Iſleos* or *the Iſles*, is the next capitania, which takes its name from a river that has iſlands in it. Along this river is the country of the *Guaymures*, the moſt ſavage people of all *America*, of ſtrong bodies, and barbarous manners, for they are ſaid not only to eat the fleſh of their enemies as a great many *Indians* did before and ſince their acquaintance with *Europeans*, but they devour'd their own children which few beaſts will do. Thoſe people gave the *Portugueſes* a great deal of trouble, and ſometimes forced them ſome of from their ſugar mills. The chief town of the country has the ſame name.

All Saints Bay. 6. *Baia de Todos Los Santos*, lies about 13 deg. lat. where the governor of *Brazil*, and the auditor general reſide. It is alſo a biſhop's ſee. In this captainſhip are three cities, *viz. Villa Vella*, S. *Salvador* and *Parepe*, which altogether about 140 years ago, had above 2100 families in them, and 18 ſugar mills; but cotton was their ſtaple trade. *Soſa* or *Souſa* landed firſt on this part of the coaſt, as we obſerv'd before, and built S. *Salvador*. The *Portugueſes* having at that time little or no footing in *America*; and any part of it diſcover'd by *Cabral*, or any other of that nation, was loſt before *Souſa* went thither.

Pernambuco. 7. *Pernambuco* in 8 deg. ſ. lat. is the next capitania; the chief towns of which are *Olinde* and *Garaſu*. In this diſtrict there happen'd a very remarkable revolution, about the year 1651 the *Dutch* having fitted out a conſiderable fleet to diſtreſs the *Spaniards*, diſpatch'd *Henric Longue* to *Brazil*. That captain, had, in company with *Peterzoon*, the *Dutch* admiral ſome time before, *viz.* 1529, taken the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet, having ſurpriz'd them at *Mataca*, on the north ſide of the iſland of *Cuba*. About the *Canary* iſlands, having only ſeven ſhips, he was attack'd by the whole *Spaniſh* fleet, under *Toledo*, and fought his way thro' them: and ſtaying at S. *Vincent* till he was join'd by 40 ſhips from *Holland*, with about 7000 marines, beſides ſeamen, he ſet ſail for *Brazil*, and arriv'd on the coaſt of *Pernambuco*; where *Wardenberg* landed near *Olinda* with 2950 men which he divided into three bodies. One commanded by *Vander Eltz*, march'd along the ſhore to *Olinda*; and the other two were led on to the ſame place, by different routes, under *Callenfels*, and *Honx*. The firſt party was attack'd by 800 *Portugueſes* from behind a ſconce at the paſs of the *Rio Dolce*, but *Wardenberg* paſſing the river, up to the middle, beat them from their ſconce, and attacking the city, they ſcal'd the walls near the jeſuits cloyſter, and carry'd it after ſome reſiſtance. The other two parties making attacks at different parts, they got poſſeſſion of the city, (the *Portugueſes* retiring to the adjacent woods) but they miſs'd of their chief deſign, the governor having ſet fire to moſt of the valuable goods, which the citizens had convey'd to *Rechiffa*, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the *Dutch*. The loſs was computed at two millions of crowns. This ſame place had been taken by the *Engliſh* in 1594.

Attack'd by the Dutch 1630.

Ogilvy's America p. iii. ch. 7.

8. The next capitania is that of *Itamaraca*, an iſland near the coaſt, three leagues long, and two broad, in 7 deg. and a half lat. whoſe juriſdiction reaches for about 30 leagues along the coaſt, and is one of the moſt ancient colonies in *Brazil*. The chief city is *the Conception*. Here the *French* were ſettled at firſt, but were driven out by the *Portugueſes* in 1585. Itamaraca.

9. *Paraiba* lies north of *Itamaraca*, and takes its name from the river, as many provinces in *America* do. Here is tobacco and ſugar; with fowl and fruits. The chief town has the ſame name, but was call'd *Fredrickſtadt* by the *Dutch*. It has a good harbour, defended by four forts. Paraiba.

10. *Rio Grande*, from a large river which enter the ſea in about 5 deg. and a half, is the next captain-ſhip. Here the coaſt begins to turn weſtward. The chief town of the *Portugueſes* here is *Natal*. They have great quantities of ſugar in this diſtrict. Rio Grande.

11. *Siara* lies weſt from *Rio Grande*; it has a river and a city of the ſame name, and abounds with cotton, chriſtal, precious ſtones, ſugar, ſalt, and wood of ſeveral ſorts. Siara.

12. *Maragnon* runs almoſt parallel with the equinoctial line in 3 deg. ſ. lat. and abounds with ſafron, cotton, lacque, balm, tobacco, and *Brazil* wood and ſugar. Great quantity of ambergreaſe is ſometimes found on this coaſt. At the mouth of the river *Maragnon* is the iſland *Igarupee* or *Tabicoru* 45 leagues round, the chief town of which is S. *Philip*, the ſee of a biſhop ſuffragan of S. *Salvador*. Maragnon.

13. *Para* is the laſt captain-ſhip of *Brazil*, and reaches to the *Amazon* river. It has two chief towns belonging to the *Portugueſes*, *viz.* 1. *Para* or *Belem*, built on a branch of the *Amazon* river, and 2. *Commuta* on the ſame river, 18 leagues farther ſouth. Para.

Altho' the inland country is inhabited by the *Indians*, yet the *Portugueſes* have many farms, where they employ ſuch of the natives as they can ſubdue; and if they could prevent their running away they might be very rich; but as it is, they live in plenty and eaſe; the whole country

country being fruitful and healthy; and altho' it be ſo near the line that there is little difference between the nights and days throughout the year, yet it is a temperate climate, occaſion'd by the breezes and rains which they are frequently refreſh'd with: and it is obſerv'd that people live to a great age in *Brazil*.

Thus we have gone thro' the *Spaniſh* diſcoveries both in north and ſouth *America*, and have given as full a hiſtory of the firſt planting of them as is conſiſtent with our deſign. We ſhall therefore proceed to

CHAP. VI.

ENGLISH *Voyages to, and Plantations in* AMERICA.

In treating this ſubject, we ſhall follow the ſame method, as near as we can, that we have done in the *Spaniſh* diſcoveries; by giving an account of the expeditions of the different adventurers, according to the order of time; and when we have ſhew'd the ſeveral colonies planted in *America* by the *Engliſh*, we ſhall finiſh this chapter by ranging them in order as they ly in the map.

SECT. I.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE's *Expedition.*

Purchas's Pilgrim Vol. i. b. 2.

ONE of the firſt *Engliſh* men (after *Gabot*'s expedition, formerly mention'd, in an *Engliſh* bottom) who ventur'd to *America*, was the renow'd Sir *Francis Drake*, who, for his bravery and conduct, both in his voyages round the globe, and in his encounters with the *Spaniards*, then at war with *England*, left a moſt glorious name to poſterity, and has ever been mention'd with due praiſe. In the year 1577, he ſet ſail with five ſhips, and only 164 perſons aboard, and holding his courſe ſouthward, on the 27th of *Dec.* he arriv'd at the iſland *Magador*, on the coaſt of *Barbary* about 24 deg. n. lat. where the natives ſeem'd at firſt inclin'd to trade with them, but having got one of the *Engliſh* aſhore, they carry'd him off, and came no more near the ſhips. Setting out from that place, the admiral coaſted along, and took ſome *Spaniſh* caravals upon that coaſt. On the 17th of *January*, he took a ſhip at anchor within *Cape Blanco*, and having ſtaid there ſome days, he ſtood over to the *Cape Verd* iſlands, and landed on the *Mayo*, where they found excellent ripe grapes, as alſo Goats, hens, and ſalt, with great ſtore of cocoa nuts as big as a man's head. Having travers'd a good part of the iſland, but the inhabitants keeping out of their way, he went aboard, and ſet ſail *Jan.* 21, and paſſing by S. *Jago*, anothor of *Cape Verd* iſlands, they took a *Portugueſe* ſhip laden with wine, which

Sir Francis Drake ſets out from Plimouth.

Comes to Cape Verb iſlands.

the *Engliſh* took out and Sir *Francis* diſmiſs'd the ſhip, only keeping the pilot.

Leaving thoſe iſlands, they bent their courſe ſouthwards, towards the line, but being beclam'd, ſometimes for many days together, and at other times being toſs'd with rough ſtorms, they were 54 days without ſight of land. At laſt they came *April* the fifth upon the coaſt of *Brazil*, in eight degrees ſouth latitude, and were ſeparated by a ſtorm near cape S. *Auguſtin*; but came together again after it was over. They ſail'd along this coaſt to 36 deg. ſ. lat. and enter'd the *Rio della Plata*, but making no ſtay there, they went to ſea again, and held their courſe towards the ſtreights, ſtoping at ſome pleaſant iſlands, in 48 degrees, where they met with abundance of fowl and fiſh, eſpecially ſeals. The admiral going aſhore upon one of thoſe iſlands, the natives came dancing about him, and truck'd what they had, for things brought by the *Engliſh*; but they would take nothing out of their hands, ſo that they laid their goods, on the ground, and the natives took them up. Having ſtaid ſome days at port S. *Julian*, they ſet ſail again, and on the 20th of *Auguſt* came to the entry of the ſtreights.

And from thence to S. America.

There being nothing new, in the account of Sir *Francis*'s paſſing the *Magellanic* ſtreights, we ſhall only ſay, that he enter'd the ſouth ſea on the ſixth of *Sept.* and there was toſs'd by ſtorms which forc'd him to the ſouthward, where, upon the coaſt of *Terra del Fuogo*, he met with a good harbour which is call'd, in ſome maps, by his name, being in 55 deg. ſ. lat.

He paſſes the ſtreights of Magellan.

ſ. lat. In this ſtorm he miſs'd one of his ſhips, and believ'd ſhe was driven back into the ſtreights, and caſt away. But ſhe came ſafe to *England*.

Sir *Francis* ſetting ſail from thence, held his courſe northward, and arriv'd at the iſland of *Moha* or *Mocha*, oppoſite to the city of *Imperial* on the coaſt of *Chili* in 38 deg. This iſland was full of natives from the continent, who had taken ſhelter, in that iſland, from the cruelty and oppreſſion of the *Spaniards*. Theſe people, probably taking the *Engliſh* for *Spaniards*, fell upon ſome of them as they were filling their casks with water, and kill'd them. Sailing northward along the *Chili* coaſt, they met an *Indian* in a canoe, who thinking they were *Spaniards*, told them, (I ſuppoſe in *Spaniſh*) that there was a large ſhip from *Peru* in the bay of S. *Jago*; and this *Indian* having been well treated by the admiral, went along with him to the place; they found the ſhip at port *Valpariſo*. There were only eight *Spaniards* and three negroes aboard; ſo that they boarded her without any oppoſition. One of the *Spaniards*, finding that they began to put his comrades under hatches, with ſome marks of hoſtility; leap'd over-board, and ſwiming aſhore, allarm'd the *Spaniards*, who liv'd at S. *Jago*; ſo that when Sir *Francis* landed, and march'd to that town, he found it abandon'd; and having pillag'd it, not even ſparing the chappel, he went aboard, and releas'd his priſoners, except one whom he kept for a pilot. In the ſhip, and at S. *Jago* the booty conſiſted of the value of 37000 *Spaniſh* ducats in the fineſt gold of *Baldivia*, beſides a great quantity of wine and cedar wood.

He pilleges St. Jago and takes a Spaniſh ſhip.

Holding on his courſe northward, he ſent ſome of his men aſhore at *Coquimbo* to water; but 500 *Spaniards* coming to attack this party, which only conſiſted of 14, they kill'd one of the *Engliſh*, and the reſt got back to the boat, and ſo eſcap'd. The admiral ſent a ſtronger party aſhore to bury the man; which they did, but altho' the *Spaniards* hung out a white flag, in token of peace, the *Engliſh* would not truſt them, and therefore left the place. Going to water at another place upon the *Chili* coaſt, they found a *Spaniard* aſleep, and hard by him 13 bars of ſilver, valu'd at 4000 ducats, of which burthen the civil tars eas'd him, without diſturbing his repoſe. At another place they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, driving eight *Peruvean* ſheep, laden with two leather bags each, (which held 50 pound weight of ſilver a piece,) The *Engliſh* led them to their boat, and unloaded the ſheep, allowing the *Spaniard* and his man to carry home the ſheep, without any farther diſturbance.

Coming now to the coaſt of *Peru*, they rifled three ſmall ſhips in the port of *Arica* in the province of *Los Charcas* in which they found 57 wedges of ſilver weighing 20 pounds a wedge; but *Arica* being a large town and well peopled, they made no attempt upon it. Proceeding from thence to *Lima*, he ſeiz'd 12 ſail of ſhips in that harbour, on the 13th of *Feb.* in which he found a cheſt full of rials of plate, and large quantities of ſilks and linnen: he carry'd the cheſt aboard his own ſhips, with as much of the other things as he thought fit. But the admiral had intelligence that the *Cacafuogo*, a very rich ſhip, had ſail'd from thence a few days before; and therefore, he made all the ſail he was able after her, promiſing a gold chain he wore, to the man that firſt diſcover'd her. In this purſuit they came up with another ſhip, which yielded them 80 pound weight of gold, and a fine gold crucifix, adorn'd with emeralds, beſides ropes and ſhip tackling of which ſhe had good ſtore, and ſerv'd the *Engliſh* in good ſtead.

Rifles 3 other ſhips at Arica, in Peru.

And 12 more at Lima.

Having coaſted all along *Peru*, one afternoon about three o'clock, Mr. *John Drake* purchas'd the admiral's gold chain, by calling out the *Cacafuogo*, as indeed it prov'd; they had her in chace for three hours, near cape S. *Francis* in one deg. n. lat. About ſix o'clock in the evening, they came up with her, and with one of three ſhots fir'd at her, they brought down her miſen maſt, and immediately boarded and carry'd her. Nor was the admiral diſappointed in his expectation of her riches; for upon ſearch, he found 13 cheſts of plate in rials; eighty pound weight of gold, and 26 tun of ſilver in bars, beſides a good quantity of Jewels. The admiral after having taken the treaſure diſmis'd the ſhip. Soon after he took another, laden with linnen and white china, which he likewiſe pillag'd and releas'd. In this laſt he got a faulcon of gold with a large emerald in the breaſt of it.

He takes the rich ſhip Cacofuogo.

The admiral being now ſatisfy'd both with the riches he had gotten, and with the revenge he had taken upon the enemies of his country, reſolv'd to leave the further purſuit of the *Spaniards*, and return home to give the queen an account of the diſcoveries he had made in *America*, but being apprehenſive that the *Spaniards* might have ſent accounts to their ſeveral colonies on the north ſea to ſend a ſufficient force to ly in wait for him as he paſt the ſtreights of *Magellan*, he determin'd to ſail about by the *Molucca*'s, and ſo homeward by the cape of *Good Hope*. But before he left *America*, he landed at *Guatuaco* in *New Spain*, where coming unexpectedly into the town, he interrupted

rupted the judges, examining the cauſe of an intended treaſon of ſome negroes, who had conſpir'd to burn the town; he carry'd both the judges and priſoners aboard, and having ſent his people to pillage the town, where, among other things, they found a pot about the bigneſs of a buſhel, full of rials of plate, and took a gentleman making his eſcape with many jewels and a gold chain; he diſmis'd the judges and negroes, as alſo the *Portugueſe* pilot, whom he had taken at *Cape Verd*.

And now he ſet about his intended voyage to the *Molucca's*, and in order to it, finding himſelf becalm'd, he reſolv'd to ſail farther north for a fair wind, and continu'd in this courſe from the 16th of *April* to the 3d of *June*; at which time he found himſelf in 43 deg. n. lat. but ſo cold, that his men were ſcarce able to work; he therefore, at their requeſt, return'd to the latitude of 38, and ſet in for the land, and having found a convenient bay, he came to an anchor there. The natives came in crowds to the ſhore, and ſent a preſent of feathers, and cawls of net work to the admiral; for which he return'd them clothes, with which they ſeem'd much pleas'd. The men were naked, and the women had skirts made of bulruſhes down to their knees, and deer's skin about their ſhoulders. Many *Indians* flock'd from the neighbouring parts to gaze at the admiral's ſhip, and being told by the inhabitants with how much courteſy they had been us'd, the others made no ſcruple of going aboard in canoes, carrying preſents of feathers and tobacco with them.

After they had been there ſome days, the king of the country came in perſon to the ſhore; and ſent two ambaſſadors to notify his arrival. The admiral had landed before this happen'd, and had made an entrenchment for fear of accidents. When the ambaſſadors were admitted, they made their ſalutations in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and one of them made a ſpeech of half an hour, of which very little, if any part of it, was underſtood; but the admiral, believing by their ſigns, that they wanted ſome token of peace and friendſhip, gave them a preſent for the king, with which they return'd to their maſter very well ſatisfy'd. Soon after the king appear'd, one walking before him with a mace, to which hung two crowns, of different ſizes, with three chains of great length, of a kind of network, artificially wrought with feathers of different colours. The king was a perſon of a graceful appearance, and had a guard on each ſide of him, all clad with rabbets skins, and after them, the common people naked. Every one, from the king, to the very children, brought ſomething by way of preſent.

Sir *Francis* had drawn up his men under their arms within his entrenchment, where they made a glorious appearance to thoſe people, who had never ſeen *Europeans* before, for this was on the weſt coaſt of *California* which the *Engliſh*, at that time, took to be part of the continent of *America*, but is ſince found to be an iſland. As the king drew near the *Engliſh* quarters, the mace bearer began a ſong, and danced to his own muſick, and ſoon after the king and his guards did the ſame, and afterwards the multitude who follow'd him; only the women danced to the men's muſick, but did not ſing. After this manner, they enter'd the admiral's entrenchment, the guard opening to the right and left, by his order, to let them in; where having danc'd a while, the king made a ſign to the admiral to ſit down, and made him a long ſpeech; after which, he roſe up, and taking one of the crowns, he put it upon Sir *Francis's* head, and laid the ſcepter or mace at his feet, by which marks of ſubmiſſion he gave up his country to the admiral. Sir *Francis* ſaid aloud to his men, that he took the crown in the name of his miſtreſs queen *Elizabeth*, and took poſſeſſion of that country for her majeſty's uſe. After this ſurrender of the kingdom, they began a new ſong and dance; and, which was very diſagreeable to the *Engliſh*, they began to offer ſacrifice to them, tearing their own fleſh, till with much ado, they were made to underſtand that the hiob or king (as they call'd the admiral) was diſpleas'd with it; pointing upwards to them, to ſhew that no worſhip was due but to GOD. The *Engliſh* ſtaid ſeveral days in this country, (which he call'd *New Albion*, in honour of *England* which was once ſo call'd,) and went ſeveral progreſſes into the inland parts of it, finding in many places ſigns of gold or ſilver.

The iſland of California.

Sir Francis Drake accepts the crown in queen Elizabeth's name.

Before he left this country, he ſet up a wooden pillar with a plate fix'd to it, on which was engrav'd queen *Elizabeth's* name, with the year and day of his having taken poſſeſſion of *New Albion*; and under the plate, he fix'd a ſilver ſix pence of *Engliſh* money; and another plate under that with his own name upon it. The people of this country were conſtantly at the *Engliſh* quarters, and were ſome times preſent at their prayers; but there was no expectation of converting them, ſince they did not underſtand their language; and probably the admiral and his chaplain had no notion of baptiſing infidels, unleſs they could firſt inſtruct them what was to be believ'd in order to make them chriſtians.

But the admiral, being eager to proſecute his voyage, took leave of the king and the natives, to their great ſorrow; and

and ſetting ſail in a ſouth weſt courſe, about the middle of *Oct.* he came up with the *Ladrones* iſlands in 9 or 10 deg. and making but ſmall ſtop there paſſing by the new *Philippina* iſles, he arriv'd at the *Molucco* iſlands *Nov.* 14, deſigning to make for *Tidore*. But the king of *Ternate*'s vice roy for *Mutir* coming aboard, as they paſt by that iſland, advis'd the admiral to go to *Ternate*, where his maſter would receive him with pleaſure, if he would not go to *Tidore*; but if he went thither, there was no admittance afterwards at *Ternate*, becauſe his maſter was a mortal enemy to the *Portugueſes*. The admiral took his advice, and ſteering for *Ternate*, caſt anchor before that iſland and ſent a meſſenger to the king, with a preſent of a velvet cloak, deſiring leave to traffick in his dominions.

He comes to the Ladrones *iſlands.*

And from thence to Ternate.

In the mean time, the vice roy having been with the king the night before, had given him ſo favourable an account of the *Engliſh*, that he treated the admiral's meſſengers civilly, and granted what he deſir'd; and ſoon afterwards deſigning to go himſelf to ſee the admiral's ſhip, he ſent four large canoes in which were the perſons of greateſt quality about court, to conduct the ſhip to a ſafer port. Thoſe canoes were cover'd from head to ſtern with a large awning of perſum'd mats, ſupported with reeds; under which the nobility ſat; and without them, their ſervants all cloth'd in white; the ſoldiers well arm'd in ranks without the ſervants; the rowers, of which there were 80 to each canoe, ſat on benches, in galleries made all along the ſides of the canoe, and rais'd ſome ſteps above one another, and jetting out from the body of the canoe. Theſe canoes rowing quite round the ſhip ſaluted the admiral with much civility, telling him that the king had ſent them to ſhew them the way to a ſafer ſtation, and that he propos'd to come himſelf to pay him a viſit, the next day; the admiral receiv'd his compliment with great civility, and treated thoſe gentlemen in the beſt manner he could. But the next day, the king not coming as he had promis'd, but ſending an excuſe by his brother, and an invitation to the admiral, he, taking umbrage at this, refus'd to go aſhore, but ſent ſome of his chief officers, and kept the vice roy aboard by way of hoſtage, and ſent handſome preſents to the king and his principal courteours. The *Engliſh* officers were receiv'd, at their landing, by another brother of the king's, and conducted to the palace, where were aſſembled above 1000 perſons of diſtinction, 60 of whom were the lords of the council, all ſedate grave men, and four envoys from *Conſtantinople*. In a little time the king came in under a canopy, all embroider'd with gold, guarded with 12 launces. His habit was a looſe robe of cloth of gold, his legs bare, but his ſhoes of cordovan; a chain of gold about his neck, and his turbant wreath'd about with ringlets of gold; and on his fingers ſeveral jewels of great value. A page ſtood at the right ſide of the throne where he ſate, with an embroider'd fan of above two foot broad, ſet with rich *Saphirs*, and fix'd to a poll of four foot long, with which he fan'd his majeſty.

Large canoes of a new make.

The king of Ternate.

He receiv'd the *Engliſh* officers with a good grace, and having heard their meſſage, agreed to trade with the admiral, and expreſs'd great regard for the queen of *England*. After this audience they were conducted back to their boat by one of his council, and the admiral having ſtaid ſome time there, left the iſland in good correſpondence with the king, who was a mahometan, and one of the greateſt princes of all the *Molucca* iſlands, having 70 other iſlands under his dominion. Sir *Francis* ſtop'd 26 days at a little iſland ſouth of *Celebes*, where the trees were high without any boughs except at the tops; and were beautiful at night with a vaſt number of *Luccioletti* or ſhining flies ſo common in *Italy*, as we obſerv'd before.* Here likewiſe were large bats, and cray fiſh ſo large as one might be a dinner for four people.

* P. 70.

Sailing from thence thro' a number of iſlands almoſt ſouth, they had like to have been loſt; for upon the 9th of *Jan.* 1579, they came foul of a rock where they ſtuck from eight at night till four o'clock afternoon the next day; when having lighten'd the ſhip, by taking out ſome of their cannon, and other goods which were eaſieſt come at, laying them by upon the rock, it pleas'd GOD that the wind chang'd, and with ſtout working to which the admiral, with great chearfulneſs and courage, prompted them, they got clear of the danger; and holding more eaſterly, to avoid the ſhoals, they came to a fruitful iſland, which our author calls *Baratene*, but in the maps *Bouton*, on the ſouth eaſt of *Celebes*, where they found people very agreeable both in body and mind; the men were naked, but the women cover'd from the waſte down to their feet, with bracelets of bone, and ſome of braſs or horn upon their arms, of which ſome had eight or 10 at once, of two ounces a piece.

The admiral ſhip in danger.

Bouton *iſlands.*

This iſland produces gold, ſilver, copper, ſulphur, nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, limons, and ſeveral other fruits. And is 25 leagues long, and ten broad. Here the *Engliſh* liv'd better than they had done any where ſince their ſetting firſt out of *England*, except at *Ternate*. But the admiral, being bent upon his

voyage

voyage home, chang'd his courſe, and in a weſterly run, arriv'd at *Java Major*, where they met with courteous entertainment. The women there were not ſo recluſe as at the *Molucca's*, and the men carry their civility to ſtrangers ſo far as to offer them bedfellows. This perhaps might have been the reaſon of their having the pox among them, which they cur'd by ſitting in the ſun, and ſweating out the infection, as ſome quacks in *Italy* cure that diſeaſe, by putting the patient in a glaſs caſe, between two fires, till they are almoſt roaſted.

The admiral arrives upon the coaſt of Guinea.

But the admiral being informed that ſome large ſhips lay off this iſland, and being uncertain who they were, weigh'd anchor, and ſteer'd directly for the cape of *Good Hope*; nor did he ſtop there, but ſail'd to the coaſt of *Guinea*, not touching land till he came to *Serra Leona*. This courſe was ſo pleaſant, that the *Engliſh* tax'd the *Portugueſes* with lying by deſign, when they repreſented this voyage about the cape of *Good Hope* as a dangerous one. It was the 22d of *July* when they arriv'd at *Serra Leona*; where ſtaying only two days, they ſet ſail for *England*, where they landed on the 3d of *Nov.* 1580, having been three years abroad. Thus did this brave *Engliſh* man ſhew his country men the way to join *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America* together.

SECT. II.

The Expedition of THO. CANDISH, Eſq;

THERE being a good deal of repetition of the ſame things in the accounts of theſe voyages, which coming together, I cannot believe they would be diverting to the reader; I ſhall therefore take the liberty to abridge this and other voyages, which follow one another, leaving out ſuch paſſages in any of them as have occur'd in the preceding expeditions. For altho' many things were proper to be told, by thoſe who wrote journals, independent of any other relation, and detach'd from any other writing, yet when one writes an account of two or more journeys or voyages to the ſame place, it is irkſome to repeat the ſame things. And therefore I hope this will ſerve for an apology, if this voyage, and perhaps ſome others, are more ſuccinctly related here than in other books. But we ſhall be careful to paſs by nothing that is material and worthy of obſervation.

Purchas *ubi ſup.*

In the year 1586, Mr. *Candiſh* of *Trimly* in the county of *Suffolk*, being a gentleman of a good eſtate, and bred to the ſea, and having a deſire to purſue the track of the renowned Sir *Francis Drake*, fitted out three ſmall ſhips at his own charge, his own ſhip *the Deſire* was no more than 120 tun; *the Content* 60, and *the Hugh Gallant* 40. The perſons aboard 123; with proviſions for two years. With this ſmall fleet, and the queen's commiſſion, he ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, *July* 21, and arriv'd at *Serra Leona Aug.* 25 where, the negro's having kill'd one of his men with a poiſon'd arrow, he burnt a town of theirs by way of reprizal, and ſtaying but a ſhort time there, he bent his courſe towards *South America*, and without any occurrence different from what has been related of others taking that courſe, in the end of *October* he came upon the coaſt of *Brazil*, were he landed and built a pinace, and took in freſh water. And ſailing ſouthward, in *Jan.* 1586-7 they enter'd the ſtreights of *Magellan*, and the ſecond day, ſaw a *Spaniard* upon the ſhore on the north ſide of the ſtreights, whom they took aboard. His name was *Hernando*, and he ſaid he was one of 23 *Spaniards* ſtill alive out of 400, who had come thither in order to fortify a narrow place that commanded the paſſage, to hinder all other nations from paſſing into the ſouth ſea. But having built a town there, three years before that, under the title of *Philip's Town* with four forts, guarded with as many cannon; they had ſtaid there two years, and not been able to raiſe any ſeeds or plants, but living upon muſſels and limpets, and the natives every now and then deſtroying ſuch as went abroad to look for food; they had been forced to abandon the town, being reduced to 23, two of which were women, who intended to travel towards the river *Plata*. This *Spaniard* the admiral took along with him, not having ſeen the other 22, and in three days ſailing up the ſtreights they ſaw the forts of *Philip's Town*, and going aſhore, dug up the cannon which the *Spaniard* told them he and his company had buried in the earth at their leaving the place. The *Engliſh* wooded and water'd there, and *Candiſh* call'd it *Port Famine*.

Candiſh *arrives at the ſtreights.*

Philip's Town.

Port Famine.

From thence they proceeded to the ſouthmoſt point of all the ſtreights, which, for the ſtormy weather and dangerous coaſt, they call'd *Cape Froward*. Having doubled that cape, they went on to a fair bay about 15 leagues weſtward, to which Mr. *Candiſh* gave the name of *Elizabeth's* bay. Some leagues farther they ſaw a fine freſh river, into which the admiral ſail'd ſome miles in the pinnace, upon the banks were many ſavages, who endeavour'd to decoy them aſhore, but *Candiſh* ordering his men to fire upon them, they fled, when they ſaw ſeveral

of their companions kill'd by the ſhots. Going back to their ſhips, they held on their courſe towards the ſouth ſea, which they enter'd the 24th of *Feb.* having been detain'd almoſt a month in one place by weſterly winds. After ſome foul weather which kept his ſmall fleet diſpers'd for ſome days, having met again, they came to the coaſt of *Arauco*, thoſe *Savage* or rather *brave Indians* who never would ſubmit to the *Spaniſh* yoke, and who by a new ſtratagem, which ſhew'd good ſenſe as well as great courage, had got the better of *Valdivia*, the beſt ſoldier the *Spaniards* had in *Chili*, as has been related, in its place. On the 16th of *March*, they came to an anchor near the iſland S. *Maria*, and *Candiſh* went aſhore with 80 men well arm'd, where the natives, being ſubject to the *Spaniards*, came to him, and welcom'd him to the iſland, taking them for *Spaniards*. Here they provided themſelves, out of the *Spaniards* ſtore houſes, with wheat and barley, hoggs and hens; and taking the principal *Indians* aboard, they entertain'd them handſomly; and in two days left the iſland.

Upon the laſt day of *March*, they came to an anchor in the bay of *Quintero* in 33 deg. lat. where *Hernando* made his eſcape, and alarm'd the *Spaniſh* colony, (probably that of S. *Jago*) ſo that 60 of *Candiſh*'s men going aſhore, and having march'd 10 miles into the country, without ſeeing any enemy, at their return, ſaw about 200 horſe, but keeping in good order, the *Spaniards* had not courage to attack them. But as another party were buſy the next morning, filling their casks with water, the ſame body of horſe fell unexpectedly upon them, and, before they could get to their arms, they kill'd or took 12 of the *Engliſh*; but about 15 more, putting themſelves in order, made head againſt the horſe, and killing above 20 of 'em, made them retire. And afterwards the *Engliſh*, being more upon their guard, ſtaid in that bay, and water'd frequently in ſight of the enemy without any oppoſition.

A skirmiſh with the Spaniards.

They left this bay after having ſtaid ſome days, and coaſted along *Peru* till they came to *Paita*, taking ſeveral ſmall barks as they cruis'd, in which they found ſome ſilver, which they took, and ſeveral other goods, ſome of which they carry'd off, and burn'd the reſt with the ſhips, ſetting the people aſhore. Landing at *Paita*, they burnt the town after they had pillag'd it; the people having fled to the mountains, they purſu'd them, and and took a good deal of ſilver, which had been convey'd away. Going afterwards to the iſland of *Puna*, the ſame place where the firſt diſcoverers of *Peru* landed, as has been ſaid, they ſunk a large ſhip, and going a ſhore to the cacique's houſe who was an *Indian*, but marry'd to a *Spaniſh* woman, they had intelligence that he had ſent all his beſt furniture together with the tackling of ſeveral ſhips to a little iſland hard by, for ſecurity againſt enemies, *Candiſh* went thither, and brought off all that he found worth his while. He ſtaid in this iſland, taking up his quarters in the cacique's houſe, till he refitted his ſhips; but the cacique having privately ſent to the continent, above 100 *Spaniards* came to the iſland, which being join'd with 200 *Indians* fell upon the *Engliſh*, of whom they kill'd about a dozen, but loſt about 46 *Spaniards* beſides *Indians*, and were glad to retire. After this the *Engliſh* burn'd the town conſiſting of 300 houſes, with the church, and ſpoil'd the gardens and orchards, together with four large ſhips that were building there; and then thinking themſelves ſufficiently reveng'd of the *Spaniards*, they ſet ſail, and continu'd their voyage.

Paita *burnt.*

As alſo the chief town in the iſland of Puna.

Holding northward towards the coaſt of *Panama* they came in ſight of land upon the firſt of *July*, but proceeding ſtill farther north, they took a ſhip of 120 tun, wherein was one *Michael Sancius* a native of *Marſeilles*, whom *Candiſh* kept as underſtanding the ſouth ſea coaſt the beſt of any man that ſail'd in it. This man gave the admiral intelligence of the S. *Anna*, a great ſhip coming from the *Philippine* iſlands. Proceeding along the coaſt, they took ſeveral ſhips, and burnt ſome ſmall towns, not material to be nam'd, not being in our maps. On the 14th of *October*, they fell in with the cape of S. *Lucar*, on the ſouth point of *California*, being juſt under the tropic of *Cancer*. Upon the 4th of *Nov.* they ſpy'd the S. *Anna*, whom they had been ſtill looking out for, from the time that *Sancius* had mention'd her. All hands were aloft immediately, and every thing ready for the attack. The admiral order'd to give her chace, which they did for four hours; and coming up with her in the afternoon, their firſt ſalutation was a broadſide from *the Deſire*, and a volley of ſmall ſhot from both, and attempting to board her, they found all things ſo diſpos'd, (the *Spaniard* having twice as many men aboard as were in both the *Engliſh* ſhips) that with the loſs of two or three of the *Engliſh*, they were glad to retire to their own ſhips; but the *Engliſh* ſhips being much better made for ſailing, and their ſeamen more expert at their trade than the *Spaniards*, the *Engliſh* admiral gave orders for tacking about, and giving another broadſide and

At California.

Candiſh *attacks the S.* Anna.

a volley of ſmall ſhot, which was accordingly done, and their ſhips lying ſnug upon the water, they rak'd her through and through, and ſome of their largeſt tire had her under water; ſo that upon the third broadſide, they hung out a flag of truce, offering to yield the ſhip and cargo, upon condition their lives ſhould be ſpar'd, to which the admiral readily agreed, having no intention to kill any of them but ſuch as refus'd to yield. He therefore requir'd that they ſhould ſtrike their top ſail, and come a board his ſhip in their boat, both which they quickly perform'd.

And takes her.

Thus the S. *Anna*, the *Spaniſh* admiral in the ſouth ſea, a ſhip of 700 tun and well man'd (for there were about 190 remaining after the action, beſides a great many kill'd during the fight) became a prize to two little ſhips, in both which there were not above 70 men, but they were ſuch as underſtood the working of a ſhip to great perfection.

When the captain, the chief merchant, and the pilot came aboard the *Deſire*, they told the admiral that they had in their ſhip, 122,000 pieces of eight in gold, beſides great quantity of rich ſilks, ſatins, damasks, muſk and ſpices, with good ſtore of proviſions. *Candiſh* taking out the gold, and ſuch other of the goods as he could ſtow in his own ſhips, ſet the *Spaniards* aſhore, at their own deſire, at a place in *California* which they call'd *Puerto Seguro*, and gave them the ſails of their own ſhip for tents, and ſuch other things as were neceſſary for them; good ſtore of wine and proviſions; boards to make them a bark, and likewiſe muskets and other arms to defend themſelves againſt any *Indians* that ſhould attack them. The place where they landed was well ſtor'd with fowl, hares and rabbets, and a pleaſant river run thro' it wherein was plenty of fiſh. This done, the admiral ſet the *Spaniſh* ſhip a fire, and taking one *Spaniſh* pilot along with him, who was well acquainted with the eaſtern iſles; and a *Portugueſe* who had been often upon the coaſt of *Aſia*, together with two young *Japeneſes*, and three youths belonging to the *Manilla* iſlands, alſo called *Luſſon*, among the *Philippines*; he ſet ſail from *California* on the 19th of *Nov.* leaving the *Content* to follow him, (whoſe crew had grumbled much at the admiral's diſtribution of the prizes;) but they never ſaw her more.

Candiſh arrives at the Ladrones.

Upon the 3d of *Jan.* 1587-8 *the deſire* had ſight of the iſland *Guana*, one of the *Ladrones* in about 13 deg. lat. and as ſoon as they came towards the ſhore, above 60 canoes full of the natives came about the ſhip, offering fiſh, roots and fruit to barter for ſome things the *Engliſh* had, ſuch as pieces of old iron, fiſhing hooks, and lines; but at laſt they became ſo troubleſome that *Candiſh* was forc'd to order his men to fire upon them, after which they retir'd. From hence, they ſail'd to the *Philippines*; and came up with *Luſſon* or *Manilla*, where lived about 500 *Spaniards*. It was a town of great trade, and had commerce with *Aquapulco* in *New Spain* on the one ſide, and with *China* on the other. They had plenty of gold which the natives exchanged for equal weight of ſilver. In a bay near one of thoſe iſlands, the admiral diſcovering a plot carrying on by his *Spaniſh* pilot, to betray the ſhip to his countrymen, he caus'd him to be hang'd, and continu'd trading with the natives, for proviſions which they brought aboard and got linnen for them.

And from thence to the Philippines.

Candiſh having cruis'd about the *Philippine* iſlands, brought the principal perſons of *Capul*, and many other iſles to be his tributaries, and having call'd them all aboard him, he told them, "That he "was an enemy to the *Spaniards*, and "that his deſign was quite different from "theirs; that he would make none of "them ſlaves, but friends, and would "protect them from the *Spaniards*, and "all who endeavour'd to deprive them "of their liberty, provided they would "trade honeſtly with the *Engliſh*." In token of which he pay'd them for all the proviſions they had brought him by way of tribute, which pleas'd them ſo much that they promis'd to unite their force with him, or with any of his countrymen that ſhould attack the *Spaniards* in thoſe iſlands. After this he took his leave of them, to their great mortification: and paſſing between *Peny* and the *Negro*'s iſlands, in 9 deg. n. lat. He ſent his boat aſhore upon one of the iſlands adjacent, (in which there was a garriſon of *Spaniards*) with a *Spaniſh* priſoner whom he releas'd, and bid him tell the commanding officer *to provide good ſtore of gold againſt his return from* England, *becauſe he deſign'd to try whether it was ſtandart by the* Engliſh *ſcales*.

Paſſing between a multitude of ſmall iſlands, about the beginning of *March* they came to an anchor on the ſouth weſt coaſt of *Java Major*; and meeting with ſome of the natives fiſhing, *Candiſh* ſent a meſſage to the king of the iſland, deſiring leave to trade for proviſions; ſoon after which, many canoes came out with victuals of ſeveral kinds. Here they were told, by a *Portugueſe* who came aboard them, that the king was the moſt abſolute prince in the world, and the people ſo great ſlaves, that if he commanded one of his ſubjects to ſtrike a dagger to his own heart, he would do it. That the king had

Java iſland.

A barbareus cuſtom there.

had 100 wives, who liv'd well during the king's life; but as ſoon as he dy'd, they were oblig'd to go in a tragical proceſſion, and to ſtab themſelves to the heart, in order to go and ſerve their deceas'd lord in the other world.

Having ſtaid ſome days near *Java*, they ſet ſail for the cape of *Good Hope*, which at laſt they reach'd in nine weeks, being then about the middle of *May*; from whence ſteering north weſt, about the 10th of *June* they arriv'd at S. *Helena* iſland in 16 deg. ſ. lat. and caſting anchor on the north weſt ſide of the iſland they went aſhore, and found a ſweet country, beautifully planted and well ſtor'd with ſeveral ſorts of game, and particularly partridges as big as hens. Here they ſtaid ten days, and careen'd their ſhip, and having provided wood, water, and other neceſſaries, they proceeded in their voyage for *England*; and, having paſt the *Azores* about the 20th of *Aug.* they met with a *Flemiſh* ſhip *Sept.* 3, which gave them intelligence of the defeat of the *Spaniſh Armada*, to their great joy; and ſix days after, having eſcap'd the danger of a great ſtorm, they arriv'd at *Plymouth* from whence they had ſet out two years and three months before.

S. Helena iſland.

They arrive in England.

SECT. III.

The ſeveral Voyages of the EARL *of* CUMBERLAND.

1ſt voyage in 1586.

THE ſame year that *Candiſh* ſet out from *Plymouth* as has been related in the preceeding ſection, the *Earl* of *Cumberland* fitted out three ſhips and a tender, in which were about 240 men, under the command of capt. *Widrington*, with orders to follow the courſe chalk'd out by Sir *Francis Drake*. But altho' they went to the river of *La Plata*, and took ſome prizes in their way going and coming, in which they got many cannon, ſome wine, and a great number of beads and religious pictures, which they ſet no value upon; yet a miſunderſtanding among themſelves, occaſion'd their return home, without doing any thing more than landing in *Brazil*, and taking four *Portugueſe* ſhips out of the bay of *All Saints* notwithſtanding the enemy's cannon.

2d voyage 1588.

The earl vex'd at this diſappointment, reſolv'd to renew the attempt and to go himſelf upon the expedition: and having done good ſervice in the defeat of the *Spaniſh Armada*, the queen gave countenance to his undertaking and gave him the *Golden Lion* for his admiral ſhip. But neither did this expedition ſucceed; ſtorms and contrary winds render'd it fruitleſs, and one *Spaniſh* merchant ſhip, which they took in the narrow ſeas, was all they had for a conſiderable expence his lordſhip had been at in the voyage.

3d voyage 1589.

But the earl, not giving over his deſign for theſe diſappointments, ſet ſail again, on board the *Victory* man of war, commanded under him by capt. *Liſter*, having three ſmall ſhips beſides in his fleet, with 400 men. In a few days after they had ſail'd from *Plymouth*, they took ſome *French* ſhips laden with fiſh from *Newfoundland*; and ſoon after, ſome *Dutch* veſſels, after ſome reſiſtance. Going to the *Azores* in *Auguſt*, under *Spaniſh* colours, his lordſhip took four ſhips out of the road at night, going himſelf in his pinnance, and manning all the boats they had to bring off the ſhips after they had cut their cables. Three of thoſe ſhips were laden with wine and oyl, and the fourth with cloth, ſilks, and taffeta's beſides *Madera* wine. In the *Fayal* road they found ſeveral ſhips at anchor, and manning their boats, the *Engliſh* took them in broad day, altho' under the protection of the cannon from the fort. And the earl, not contented with the ſhips, attack'd the town, and took it without any oppoſition, the garriſon having left it upon the firſt fire. The earl ſet a guard upon the great church and ſome convents, to prevent any harm being done to them; and the people of the place having ranſom'd them at 2,000 ducats they were reſtor'd untouch'd. But it was a great mortification to the *Engliſh* to have juſt ſeen the plate fleet ſteering into the harbour at *Angra*, the metropolis of *Tercera*, where they were too well guarded by the fort and caſtle to be attack'd by the ſmall fleet which they had. But having taken ſome other prizes, which he ſent to *England*. The admiral ſhip having been toſs'd at ſea, till they were reduc'd to three ſpoonfuls of vinegar a day, in which hardſhip the earl far'd no better than his men, he was forc'd to return, having refreſh'd his men in *Ireland*, after they had been almoſt ſtarv'd at ſea.

In the year 1591, another voyage was attempted, but with worſe ſucceſs than others; for, having taken two rich *Spaniſh* ſhips, they were retaken by the *Spaniards*, and all the *Engliſh* which were on board them made priſoners. 4th voyage 1591.

The fifth voyage undertaken by this noble earl, altho' he was not aboard himſelf, got ſome rich *Portugueſe* prizes, but notwithſtanding that his lordſhip was at all the charge of the voyages made in his name, yet moſt of this fleet being queen's ſhips, the dividing the treaſure was left to her, who, inſtead of a million, which juſtly belong'd to the earl, graci- 5th voyage 1592.

ouſly

ously beſtow'd him 36,000 *l.* with which he was forced to be contented.

6th voyage 1593. The year following, the earl ſet out with four ſhips; (for this ſeem'd to be a privateering time among the maritim powers) and, upon his firſt going out, took too rich prizes from the *French*; but, being ſeiz'd with a deſperate fit of ſickneſs, he was forced to return home, with the *Golden Lion*, leaving the *Anthony*, the *Pilgrim*, and the *Diſcovery* to proſecute the intended expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*. They arriv'd at S. *Lucia*, and holding a council of war, reſolv'd to attack the pearl fiſheries at the *Magarita* iſland.* In order to accompliſh this deſign, they lay by out of ſight all the day, and at night landed upon the iſland with 28 men, and having taken a *Spaniard* in a boat by himſelf, they oblig'd him, to ſave his life, by being their guide to the place where the fiſhery was carry'd on at that time; for the *Spaniards* ſhifted their place according to the plenty of oyſters about the iſland.

*Un. Tr. p. 27.

The Engliſh attack the pearl fiſhery at Margarita. In the firſt place which they attack'd, the *Spaniards* fled, and they found of pearls ready gather'd, to the value of about 2000 *l.* beſides other pillage. In the morning they went aboard their boats with all the oyſters the *Spaniards* had gather'd the night before, which were not yet open'd, and the pearls they found within them, were well worth their pains in opening them. After this they went back to their ſhips, and came down upon that part of the iſland next to the town of *Margarita*, which was three leagues from the ſea. But the *Spaniards*, who had been firſt attack'd, had given ſuch an allarm thro' the whole iſland, that all the pearls and other things of value were convey'd to the mountains, where the *Engliſh* were too few to purſue them: ſo that the beſt they could make of it was, to get the value of 2000 ducats in pearls, as a ranſom for ſome priſoners they had taken, and for their houſes and boats, which they threaten'd to burn if the ranſom were not ſent; and upon the receipt of it they left the iſland, diſappointed of their great expectation.

After this they coaſted along *Terra Firma*, and then ſtood over to *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, and landing often upon thoſe iſlands, brought ſome places under contribution, but in effect did little ſervice. Going from thence back to the continent, in the bay of *Honduras*, they attack'd ſeven ſail of *Spaniards*, the leaſt of which was 180 tun, and after fighting a day and a night, the *Spaniards* deſerted their ſhips, and refuſing to ranſom them, the *Engliſh* burn'd ſix of them, after having put the moſt valuable things on board them, into the largeſt ſhip, whicy they mann'd and carry'd for *England*, where they arriv'd ſoon after.

7th, 8th, 9th and 10th voyages to little purpoſe. This noble earl fitted out four other fleets in 1594, 1595, and 1596. But little was perform'd except burning the beſt carrack of *Spain*, a ſhip of 2000 tun richly laden; after having kill'd, aboard her and another of 1500 tun, 1100 men at the expence of two *Engliſh* captains and ſeveral private men.

Having only touch'd ſlighly upon theſe 10 voyages, as of little importance, we ſhall enlarge upon the next, as containing things more worthy of obſervation.

11th voyage 1596. In the year 1596, the earl, who was a man of great abilities both in peace and war, but whoſe courage and indefatigable induſtry were not bleſs'd with that ſucceſs, with which other commanders of leſs merit had been attended, being ſtill bent upon doing ſomething conſiderable for the ſervice of his country, in the *Weſt-Indies*, provided a fleet of no leſs than 20 ſail, ſeveral of which were his own, and others hir'd at his charge; on board which were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, particularly Sir *John Barkley* who was his lieutenant general.

With this fleet, the earl ſet ſail, and hearing of five rich carracks belonging to the king of *Spain*, which were expected home, he reſolv'd to ly in wait for them. But the report of his being at ſea with ſuch a fleet having been carry'd to the *Spaniſh* plantations, they had ſent intelligence to their plate fleet not to ſtir; ſo that the *Engliſh* ſaw the game they hunted for, lying in the bay of *Wiers*, under the protection of the caſtle of S. *Julian*, where were 100 pieces of cannon to defend the bay; and therefore knowing it would be impracticable to attack them there, he gave over thoughts of it, and, quitting that coaſt, made for the *Canaries*, and being inform'd that a rich marquis was governor of *Lancelota* and *Forteventura*, two of the *Canary* iſlands, the earl himſelf being ſick, he landed 600 of his beſt ſoldiers under the command of Sir *John Barkley*, upon the firſt of thoſe iſlands, where the marquis reſided.

The town was above ten miles from their landing place, and was ſo well ſecured againſt any attack that could have been made by a flying army, that the caſtle could have been defended by 20 men againſt 500. Notwithſtanding which, upon the firſt intelligence of the advance of the *Engliſh*, the marquis and his garriſon of 200 men abandon'd the town and caſtle, which the *Engliſh* took, and finding good wine there, they took ſo large a colation, that had the enemy had any intelligence, they might have return'd, and have cut all their throats: however no diſaſter happening, when they had ſlept

out their debauch, and taken what they could, which was no great matter, they return'd to their ſhips.

Their next deſign was upon the *Caribee* iſlands, and particularly *Dominica*, for which they bent their courſe. In their voyage thither, they paſt by *Teneriff*, famous for the high mountain in it, commonly call'd *The Peak of* Teneriff, whoſe top is cover'd with ſnow when it is at the warmeſt in the lower grounds. This iſland is commonly reckon'd the beginning of longitude; and is ſo fruitful of vines, that it was ſaid the king of *Spain* had 28,000 buts of canary from that one iſland yearly. After they paſt the tropic they met with rains that ſtunk of ſulphur, but not attended with any bad conſequence. Coming near the coaſt of *Dominica*, the *Indians* came out from the iſland, in their canoes to reconnoitre them, and, finding that they were neither *French* nor *Spaniards*, came aboard without any fear; and as ſoon as they had gone back to the iſland with a good account of the *Engliſh* civility, the natives came, in cluſters, to the fleet, bringing pine apples, plantanes, potatoes, and other fruits of the growth of the iſland.

The earl arrives at the Caribee.

On the north weſt ſide of this iſland, there is a fine bay, capable of holding a large fleet. Here the earl's fleet came to an anchor, and ſome of the *Engliſh*, who were ſick, went aſhore to a hot bath, near that place, where they ſoon recover'd. One of the captains went up a river, in his pinnace, to one of the *Indian* towns, where he was civilly entertain'd by the cacique, who made his daughters come into the room after dinner, and dance with the *Engliſh*; and they obſerv'd that the women here ſeem'd to be aſham'd of coming naked before men who were cloath'd. The fleet lay here ſome time, and the natives ſeem'd deſirous to learn *Engliſh*, for they often pointed to the different parts of their bodies, and to the things of the houſe, and pronouncing the names of them in their own language, as ſoon as an *Engliſhman* told the name of it in *Engliſh*, they repeated the word many times, till they thought they had it right, and would remember that word again upon ſeeing the ſame thing; their greateſt error being the making two ſyllables of one, ſuch as, *chin-ne* for *chin*, and *lip-pe* for *lip*; and ſuch like.

Virgin *iſlands.*

From *Dominica* they ſail'd to the *Virgin* iſlands, a cluſter of ſmall iſlands of the *Antilles*, where landing upon the *Bird* iſland, ſo call'd from the multitude of birds in it, ſo that a few men might have caught as many of them, without gins, as would have din'd the fleet. Here the earl declar'd that he intended to poſſeſs himſelf of the iſland of *Porto Ricco*, which is but a little diſtance from the *Virgin* iſlands. Accordingly ſetting ſail from the *Bird* iſland, without any adventure worth mentioning, they appear'd before *Porto Ricco*, where they landed 1000 men, and began their march to the town of the ſame name with the iſland: but not being ſufficiently inſtructed in the road, they had a very uncomfortable march over cliffs and rocks, at the back of which they found a narrow arm of the ſea, not above a gun ſhot in breadth, where the *Spaniards* fir'd upon them from a fort on the other ſide, but did little or no execution. At laſt, they came to a very bad cawſey, leading to a draw bridge, which was pull'd up; beyond which was a ſtrong barricade, and behind that a battery. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the *Engliſh* continu'd their march, for the moſt part chuſing to march by the ſide of the cawſey, in the water, and the tide being out they waded over the gut, and with undaunted courage attack'd the barricade, hewing it down with bills and hatchets; and altho' the tide turning, they were now up to the middle in water, yet they did not give over the attempt, and the night coming on hinder'd the *Spaniards* from taking right aim, ſo that moſt of their ſhot were wide of the mark.

The earl marches to the town of Porto Ricco.

The earl, who had made this hard march in perſon, had a narrow eſcape, for being in heavy armour, and walking upon the rugged cawſey, his foot ſlipping, he fell into the water, and had like to have been drown'd. The *Spaniards* defended their barricade ſo well that the *Engliſh* thought fit to retire; but as ſoon as it was day light, having conſider'd the ſituation of the place, and the ground about it; they divided their forces, and having ſent a conſiderable party, by a large compaſs about, they got between the battery and the town; and having attack'd the battery, they carry'd it after a ſtout reſiſtance, and ſo made way for their companions to demoliſh the barricade, when they were no longer troubled with the guns from the battery.

Having ſucceeded thus far, they united again, and march'd directly to the town of *Porto Ricco*, where they met with no enemy to oppoſe them, ſo that they found themſelves maſters of it without a ſtroke. But they were inform'd that the ſoldiers, as well thoſe of the town, as they that had fled from the barricade and battery, were retir'd to a ſtrong fort, call'd *Mora*, towards the ſea. The *Engliſh* quickly brought their own cannon againſt them, and beſieg'd this fort, which not being provided with any thing neceſſary for a ſiege, ſoon began to capitulate, when they perceiv'd day light thro' their walls

And take the fort Mora.

walls, by a brisk firing of ſome great guns upon them. In a word, they ſurrender'd upon condition, *That all their lives ſhould be ſafe; and that they ſhould march out with their portable arms, and that the earl ſhould get them tranſported to ſome place under the dominion of the king of* Spain. The earl took poſſeſſion, and ſet up the *Engliſh* colours on the fort; and what was very remarkable, there were but two *Engliſh* kill'd in this action.

Porto Ricco was a large town, and well built, having many ſpacious ſtreets in it; and, but for the poor canvas windows, the houſes would have made a good appearance. Altho' this iſland is ſituated in a warm climate, being within the torrid Zone, yet it is well refreſh'd by cool breezes, which blew moſt part of the day; but after ſix there is a damp falls, which they call the *Serena*, held to be dangerous; and therefore they avoid going abroad at ſuch times as thoſe dews fall.

The ſituation of the town is very pleaſant, being upon the brow of an eaſy hill, the ſea ſurrounding it almoſt on three ſides; and if the *Engliſh* had no reaſon to brag of the healthfulneſs of it, perhaps that was more owing to ſome accident, or to their manner of living, than to the nature of the ſoil, or to the climate. The greateſt inconvenience that ſeems to affect them, is want of rivers or ſprings, but they are ſupply'd by rain water in great plenty, every houſe in the town having a good well, and ſome two, for receiving it.

The iſland abounds with variety of fruit, produced with very little pains; and there are gold mines in it, if they were digg'd for. The chief produce of it are ſugar, ginger, and hides. It is about 36 leagues long, and 20 in breadth, with a good number of rivers, in all which there is ſaid to be gold duſt; in ſo much that a *Spaniard* told the earl of *Cumberland* that one could not thruſt a ſpade into the ground in any part of the river without finding gold; and his lordſhip making trial of it at hazard, when the gravel which was taken up was waſh'd, the grains of gold appear'd in a good proportion for the gravel.

Gold in the rivers.

Plenty of Beeves. In this iſland there are great herds of beeves, which are in ſuch plenty, that one *Spaniard* was reckon'd to have 12000, nor do they make any inquiry, if their neighbours ſhould kill any of them, provided they reſtore the hide, of which they make great profit; but the cattle themſelves are good to eat, and having plenty of good graſs are very fat. The ſheep and goats are not ſo numerous, becauſe they are deſtroy'd by wild dogs who multiply exceedingly in the woods, and when they cannot get crabs enough, or are ſtall'd with them, they fall upon the ſheep and goats without the woods. Thoſe crabs are a ſort of black ill ſhap'd creatures, which have their name, perhaps, from ſome reſemblance they have to the ſea crab; theſe have holes and burrowes like conies, and the wild dogs feed upon them. There are likewiſe in the iſland excellent hogs, which make fine pork and bacon; and abundance of poultry, and fowl of ſeveral ſorts; and particularly pidgeons in great plenty.

The fruit of the iſland. Their fruit are, *pine* apples, but of another kind than what are in *Europe*; they have a dilicious taſte, but will not keep; *mameis*, a dark colour'd fruit, with a thick rind, which being pull'd off, ſhews a yellow pulp, like a carrot, but much more delicious; *guavas*, like a peach without, and a goosberry within, only the ſeeds of it inclining to red; *popaies*, almoſt like an apple, but unpleaſant; *plums* black and white, the ſtones larger, but leſs pulp than ours: they are good againſt fluxes; *wild grapes*, which are call'd ſo, only for their growing in cluſters, but have neither the taſte nor colour of grapes. Beſides they have figs, pomegranates, melons, citrons, lemons, oranges, and ſeveral other kinds.

Bread and drink. Their bread is made of *caſſavic*, *maiz*, and *rice*. The *caſſavic* is a ſmall root like a potatoe from which they preſs the juice, and then bake it into cakes. The *maiz* is more eſteem'd. Their drink is a mixture of moloſſes, and other ſpices; but the better ſort drink high ſpices alone, made into a certain wine. As for foreign wines there is no want of them. They have here the *ſenſitive plant*, which is known every where, for the ſurprizing contraction of itſelf, upon being touch'd.

The earl of *Cumberland* having thus gotten poſſeſſion of the town of *Porto Ricco*, reſolv'd to leave a conſiderable number of men in it, to keep poſſeſſion, till he could ſend families from *England* to people the iſland by degrees; and the *Engliſh* were ſo delighted with the place, that they ſtrove who ſhould be enroll'd in the liſt of thoſe who were to be left. But in a ſhort time this project was quite ſpoiled; for above half the adventurers were carry'd off by a violent flux, ſo that all that remain'd alive were neceſſary to carry home the ſhips; and therefore the earl gave over thoughts of leaving any of his men there at that time; and they who, a little time before, were ſo fond of being nam'd for ſtaying, would now have thought it was marking them out for ſlaughter to be left behind. However the earl, to make the beſt of it, enter'd into a negotiation with the *Spaniards* of *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba* to redeem *Porto Ricco* for

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a ſum of money, which they pretended to treat with him about; but, knowing his ſituation, they protracted the time, till he was quite tir'd, and leaving the iſland, gave inſtructions and full power to Sir *John Barklay* to conclude the treaty. But he finding no good to be done, and that his men were ſtill dropping off, gave up the poſſeſſion of the iſland to any one that pleas'd to take it; and going aboard his ſhips, ſet ſail for *England*, and overtook the earl before he arriv'd, and ſo they came together to *Plymouth*. This was the laſt voyage of this kind undertaken by this noble lord, and it was pity he had not better ſucceſs.

SECT. IV.

CANDISH's *laſt Voyage to the* WEST-INDIES.

ADMIRAL *Candiſh* having made ſo proſperous a voyage in 1586, as has been ſaid; ſet out again in 1591, upon a new expedition with five ſhips, the *Leiceſter Galleon*, on board of which was *Candiſh* himſelf; the *Roebuck*, the *Deſire*, the *Dainty*, and the *Black Pinnance*. They ſail'd without any remarkable adventure, till they came to the line, where they lay 27 days in a dead calm, during which time, moſt of the men were afflicted with the ſcurvy. But at laſt with a good breeze at north weſt, they came up with cape *Frio* near the river *Janeiro*, about 30 leagues from *Santos*, which place the admiral had a deſign to attack. Upon their firſt approach to land, they took a *Portugueſe* ſhip, but found little or nothing in it, and taking the pilot to ſhew them the way to *Santos*, they landed upon an iſland 12 leagues from it; and the men ſhew'd ſuch a turbulent mutinous ſpirit in this place, as gave the admiral a diſmal preſage of an unfortunate expedition. They went to logger-heads among themſelves for every hog or hen that was found upon the iſland; ſo that the admiral, finding it impracticable to keep them within due bounds, thought of giving them ſomething to do, and therefore went upon his intended attack upon *Santos*.

Candiſh's men mutinous.

When he had given orders for 100 men, to man the long boats, and ſhallop, the whole crew, being eager to get plunder, flock'd to the boats to undertake the work, inſomuch that they came to blows, and to throwing one another over-board; which the admiral, at laſt, put a ſtop to, by culling out the perſons who ſhould go, and giving orders to hang up any other who ſhould attempt to ſet foot in the boats. As mutinous as they were, the matter was ſo conducted, that they attack'd the town, at the time when the *Portugueſes* were at high maſs; 23 *Engliſh* march'd directly to the great church, and having poſſeſt themſelves of the doors, with their firelocks ready cock'd, they kept about 400 of the *Portugueſes*, confin'd, making thoſe who had ſwords deliver them up; and in that poſture they ſtood till *Candiſh* came up with the reſt of the detachment. This allarm being given, thoſe who were at home in their houſes convey'd themſelves, and their moſt valuable effects that were portable to a place of ſecurity, whilſt the *Engliſh* were making thoſe priſoners whom they found in the church; but the admiral ſet them all at liberty, except a few of the chief men whom he kept as hoſtages.

He attacks Santos.

And takes the town.

The plunder gotten in this place conſiſted of *ſuccats*, *ſugar* and *Caſſavie* meal, together with a pretty large quantity of gold and ſilver; and one ſoldier found in a friar's cell, a cheſt of 1700 pieces of eight.

The *Indians* came flocking about the *Engliſh*, with joy in their faces, and begg'd of the admiral to ſtay among them, offering to join their forces with his to hinder the *Portugueſes* from having any more footing in that part of *Brazil*. They likewiſe diſcover'd all the places where they knew the *Portugueſes* had hidden their money or goods, a great part of which was recover'd by their means; and they brought them to a herd of 300 cows which ſerv'd them for food whilſt they ſtaid there, being about two months. This town was about the lat. of 23 deg. and the *Engliſh* were ſo well pleas'd with it, that they deſir'd earneſtly to be left to ſettle a colony there, or at leaſt to ſtay all the winter; but *Candiſh*, having other deſigns in view, utterly refus'd to comply with their requeſt; and having deſtroy'd all the ſugar mills, and burn'd the ſhips in the harbour, as alſo a part of the town, they went aboard their own ſhips in the bay, and ſail'd towards the ſtreights of *Magellan*; but as they came up with the river of *Plate*, ſuch a furious ſtorm overtook them, that they were in great danger of being loſt: however they got in, one after another, to port *Deſſeado*, which the admiral had appointed as the place of rendezvouz in caſe of being diſpers'd, where they refreſh'd themſelves, and then made for the ſtreights.

Sails to the ſtreights.

Having enter'd the ſtreights, they ſail'd as far as port *Famine*, and were wind bound a week, and liv'd upon muſſels, and ſome fruits which the natives brought them, but that was in ſuch a ſcanty proportion, that they could ſcarcely keep life and ſoul together. Nor was this the worſt of their miſery; for they were

were ſo frozen with cold that every day, one or other dy'd of it. One *Knivet* pulling off his ſtockings, ſome of his toes fell off, and another blowing his noſe, pull'd it off. In ſhort their miſeries were ſuch in the ſtreights, that altho' the admiral was very impatient to get into the ſouth ſea, yet finding that he had not got half way, and that he was in danger of loſing all his men if he ſtaid there any longer, ſet ſail for the north ſea, intending to ſteer to the cape of *Good Hope*, and by that way to *China*. But upon the firſt motion made of his deſign, the mutinous crew declar'd ſo unanimouſly againſt it, that for fear of worſe conſequences, he was oblig'd to comply with them, and ſail for the coaſt of *Brazil*.

Is forced to return to the n. ſea.

In this coaſt the *Deſire* and the *Black Pinnance* left him, which *Candiſh* ſuppos'd to have been done by the treachery of captain *Davys*; and a new ſtorm parted the *Roebuck* from him; ſo that, by much ado, he got into the bay of S. *Vincent* with his own ſhip only. His men, having ſuffer'd great hardſhips at ſea, deſir'd leave to go aſhore to ſome farm houſes which the *Portugueſes* had a little up in the country, which he granted, but with poſitive orders not to ly aſhore. Thoſe of them who obey'd his orders came very well off, got abundance of proviſions, and having refreſh'd themſelves, brought what they could carry to their companions aboard. But capt. *Barker* going aſhore one day with 30 men to a farm houſe which an *Indian* told them of, and finding good entertainment there, forgot the admiral's inſtructions, and having ſtaid eating and drinking two days without thinking of the admiral or their comrades, the *Portugueſes* finding, by the *Indian* ſpies, how careleſsly they liv'd, got together a party of about 80 *Portugueſes* and 200 natives, and coming unexpectedly upon the captain and his 30 men, kill'd every one of them, the *Indian* who had been their guide, eſcaping ſwam to the ſhip to give the admiral notice of it. It was a great mortification to him to have loſt ſo many of his beſt men, and what added to his grief, he had loſt his boat by their imprudence and diſobedience. However, to alleviate his trouble a little, the *Roebuck* came into the bay, but in the moſt ſhatter'd condition that could be. She had no maſt left but her miſen, her ſails were blown overboard, and her men quite ſpent with labour.

Come to the bay of S. Vincent.

Thirty of the Engliſh kill'd by the Portugueſe, by their own folly.

Candiſh. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſaſters, *Candiſh* reſolv'd to attempt ſomething againſt the *Portugueſes*, to revenge the death of his men, and having gotten one of their boats, he kept it inſtead of his own. His deſign was againſt the town of *Spirito Santo* in 20 deg. ſ. lat. and a *Portugueſe* pilot, who was aboard, promis'd to bring the ſhips up to it: but whether he was ignorant of that coaſt, or deſign'd to run them aground, and ſo loſe his own life to ſerve his country, is not certain; but when they came to the bar which leads up the river to the town, they found but three fathom water, ſo that not having ſmall ſhips, they could not proceed; but having diſcover'd three ſhips at anchor, not far from the town, the admiral propos'd attacking them with the boats in the night, not doubting but they ſhould be maſters of them, and with them to attack the town: but his mutinous crew would not ſtir, and ſo loſt the opportunity; for the next morning they weigh'd anchor, and got into the harbour cloſe up to the town, and the harbour was ſo fortify'd that it was madneſs to attempt to bring them out of it. Notwithwanding this, they who refus'd attacking them when it was practicable, were now obſtinately bent upon taking them when no wiſe man would have thought of ſuch a piece of *Don Quixotizm*; and they preſt the admiral ſo with noiſe and clamour, that he was forced at laſt to conſent to it, altho' againſt his own ſenſe and reaſon: however at the ſame time, he gave ſtrict orders to capt. *Morgan*, who was to command thoſe madmen, that he ſhould not ſuffer them to land, and that if he ſaw it dangerous to come at the ſhips, he ſhould return without running a viſable hazard.

The captain, taking the two boats full of musketeers, advanced up the river towards the harbour; but as ſoon as they were within reach of the ſconces, the enemy's guns began to play upon them, ſo the captain, foreſeeing the danger they muſt unavoidably encounter, would have retir'd according to inſtruction; but the ſoldiers being ſtout to foolhardneſs, out of ſeaſon, upbraded him with cowardice, telling him he was afraid to lead them on; which ſo provok'd him, that he forgot his orders, and rather than give a handle for ſuch a reproach, he landed with his party, and being a brave man, boldly attack'd the ſconces, and ſcal'd the wall of one of them; but, as had been foreſeen, it prov'd their deſtruction; for, altho' by his bravery he beat the enemy out of one or two of their ſconces, yet there being many of them along the river ſide, they were ſo ply'd by the ſhot of the *Portugueſes* and the arrows of the *Indians*, that poor *Morgan* loſt his life, with about two thirds of his men; and they who eſcap'd were much wounded.

Captain Morgan kill'd.

The admiral was ſo ſtruck with this misfortune, or rather miſmanagement, that being out of all hope of doing any thing

againſt the *Portugueſes*, he left that coaſt, and putting into the iſland of S. *Sebaſtian* to water, he found himſelf deſerted by the *Roebuck*, and, which was worſe, ſhe had carry'd away the ſurgeons and their medicines, leaving moſt of the ſick and wounded on board the admiral; they had taken away likewiſe the greateſt ſhare of the proviſions. This diſappointment, and the continu'd mutinous temper of his ſhip's crew quite broke his heart, ſo that having labour'd in vain, to perſuade them, either to attempt ſomething in the *Weſt-Indies*, or to go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and finding that they ſteer'd a courſe, when he ſlept, quite contrary to his orders, and were determin'd to return to *England*, he writ an account of this baſe treatment, and deliver'd his letter, together with his laſt will, to one whom he truſted, when the ſhip was about eight deg. n. lat. but whether he himſelf liv'd to ſee *England* is not certain; but by what appears, he did not deſire it, being aſham'd that his laſt voyage ſhould have loſt him all the glory he had acquir'd by the former.

Candiſh forced by his crew to ſail homewards.

But one of his crew met with unaccountable adventures, which being very ſurprizing, will perhaps not be ungrateful to the reader.

We obſerv'd that one *Knivet* had loſt ſome of his toes by the cold, in the *Magellan* ſtreights. This man was in ſuch a condition ſoon after, by cold, that he was believ'd to be dead, and they were going to throw him over-board, when he luckily came to himſelf, and ſav'd his life for that time. He was very near feeding the fiſhes upon the ſame miſtake afterwards, and by the ſame ſeaſonable reviving prolong'd his life for farther troubles. He was ſet aſhore in a miſerable condition upon the iſland of S. *Sebaſtian*; but by what chance, or upon what account, he and ſome others were left there, when the ſhip ſail'd, we are not told. The firſt thing he tells of himſelf, is the ſurprize he was in to find himſelf, as one awak'd from a long ſleep, among ſome of his companions dead or expiring; he did not know where he was, nor had he any remembrance of how he had come thither; but finding himſelf comforted by the heat of the ſun, he began to try how he could walk, and in a little time, he went towards the ſhore, but being weak and faint, he expected every moment to accompany his companions, whom he now perceiv'd to be all dead, and having obſerv'd ſome ſigns of poiſon upon their bodies, he conjectur'd it was by their having eaten a ſort of peaſe which grew by the ſhore ſide, for he ſaw nothing elſe for food.

Knivet's ſtrange adventures.

In this perplexity, he obſerv'd ſomething ſtir within the flood mark, going towards the place, he found it was a crab, and ſearching along the ſhore, he found ſeveral others; and ſeeing a fire ready made near a large fig tree, but by whom it had been kindled he could not tell, he went thither, and roaſted his crabs upon the coals, making a comfortable meal of them. After this manner he liv'd eight or nine days, taking care to keep in his fire. But the ſtench of his dead companions being offenſive to him, he remov'd his quarters to a river ſide; where he was ſoon allarm'd by a monſter, which coming out of the water ſtar'd him in the face. Its back was all cover'd with ſcales, and its claws and tail were of a large ſize; but when it open'd its mouth, he ſaw a long forked tongue. *Knivet* being in no condition to run, ſtood ſtill in the place to ſtay for his fate, when the monſter turning its back plung'd into the river again, to his great joy. However having no inclination to have more viſits of that kind, he remov'd to another place where he found a large whale dead upon the ſhore, upon which he fed for a fortnight. But here he was agreeably ſurpriz'd by about 40 of his old comrades, who had been left aſhore upon the ſame iſland, but for what reaſon does not appear.

But this joy was but ſhort liv'd; for the *Portugueſes* having had intelligence of their being there, landed a conſiderable number upon the iſland, and falling upon them kill'd moſt of them; and an *Indian* of the enemy's party was going to make an end of *Knivet* with a bill-hook but he avoiding the blow, took hold of a *Portugueſe*, telling him, that he had ſome news for him if he would ſpare his life. The *Portugueſe* being of a merciful temper, reſtrain'd the ſavage, and *Knivet* probably contriving ſome ſtory in his fright, the other took it for good coin, and gave the *Indian* a charge to take care of him. They carry'd him with them to the continent, and bringing him before the governor, he gave him back to the good natur'd *Portugueſe* who had ſav'd his life, which was good luck for *Knivet*, for he was us'd with great kindneſs, having nothing to do but to feed his hogs, and gather crabs. But by a ſecond order from the governor, he was ſent to the ſugar mills, where he was diſciplin'd unmercifully, which made him run away, chuſing rather to truſt himſelf among wild beaſts in the woods, than with ſuch cruel maſtres. But, being found out, he was ſent to the mills again, till the governor's ſon, taking compaſſion of him, beg'd him for his own ſervant, and us'd him well.

His life ſav'd by a Portugueſe.

But

But whilſt he was in this ſervice, he was put into a terrible fright, for having been ſent by his maſter to a town of *Indians* to ſell ſome knives and hatchets, as ſoon as he came into a houſe, they gave him a hammock, in which he lay down; and immediately came in about 20 women, who coming about him, laid their heads upon his ſhoulders and knees, crying out in a diſmal tone, and then retir'd. After them came in an ill looking fellow with a great wooden ſword, which he brandiſh'd about the room, as if he wanted an enemy to exerciſe his valour upon. Poor *Knivet* thought he was to be a repaſt for this ſavage and the women; when all of a ſudden the *Indian* came and ſtroak'd his head, and bid him welcome, and raiſing him out of his hammock, gave him good entertainment. And he found that this was the cacique of the place, which was call'd the country of the *Poriés*; and this man was ſo kind to him, that he quarrel'd with another cacique for attempting to kill him.

But an odd adventure haappen'd to him after his return to his maſter; being ſeated on a rock a fiſhing, he fell aſleep with the line under him, and a fiſh catching his hook, pull'd the line ſo that he wak'd, but getting up haſtily, the line got about his leg, and the fiſh pulling hard, brought him down into the ſea, where he ſaw the fiſh come at him with open mouth to devour him, but giving a nimble turn, and taking the line ſhort, the hook ſo gall'd the fiſhes mouth, that it gave a friſk about, and he bethinking himſelf of a knife which hung in a ſtring about his neck, cut the line and eſcap'd; but he was ſo hurt among the rocks, that he was forc'd to keep the houſe for a week or two.

As ſoon as he was well, he went a fiſhing again, with ſome *Indians*, and ſpying ſome ſhips, which he took to be *Engliſh* by their make, he found ſome pretence to land his companions: as ſoon as they were aſhore, he puſh'd off the boat, and having the wind fair, he ſet ſail for the iſland S. *Sebaſtian*, believing to get the ſhips there; but the wind changing, he was driven upon another iſland, where his boat was ſtav'd to pieces; and here he had ſtarv'd, if he had not been brought off by ſome boats which the governor had ſent in purſuit of him. But this reprieve had like to have coſt him dear; for he was condemn'd to be hang'd for deſertion; and the ſentence would have been put in execution, but that he was beg'd off by the jeſuits, as he was going to the gallows; yet they could not prevent his being whipt, which ſtead the skin off him, and as ſoon as he was cur'd of that, they ſent him to the ſugar mills again, which he thought ſuch a hardſhip that he gave the good fathers no thanks for their charity, in ſaving him from being hang'd. The factor, altho' a chriſtian, was more a ſavage than any native, he us'd to beat him with, or without a fault, ſo that *Knivet* ſaw there was no ſafety for him, but by killing the factor; and one day the factor finding him aſleep, gave him a blow along the ribs with a cudgel, which ſpoil'd his nap, ſo that ſtarting up, and ſeeing him ready to repeat his blow, *Knivet* catch'd up a knife, and ſtab'd him in two or three places; and ſo got to the woods a ſecond time, where he conceal'd himſelf ſo well, that, altho' many were ſent in ſearch of him, he was not found. At laſt he found an *Indian* who had made as bold with his inhuman maſter, as *Knivet* had done with the factor; and notwithſtanding he was a man of the higheſt quality among the *Indians*, he had been treated as the meaneſt ſlave.

He is condemn'd to be hang'd but is ſav'd.

He kills the factor.

And makes his eſcape.

This conformity between their conditions link'd them in friendſhip, and *Knivet* gives him the character of the beſt man and the trueſt friend he ever knew. They ſwam over an arm of the ſea two miles broad, and paſſing over a ſort of wilderneſs, in 33 days came to the country of the *Poriés*, where he had been frighten'd, and much made of before. And having told them of the occaſion of his eſcape, he almoſt perſuaded them to make war upon the *Portugueſes*; but ſome of their neighbours, who were confederates of the *Europeans*, made them believe that *Knivet* was a liar, for they told them the *Portugueſes* were a good people. This ſo incens'd the *Poriés* againſt him, that they gave him bound into the hands of their neighbours, who intended to ſend him back to the governor. But as good luck would have it, his old maſter the governor's ſon coming to that country to truck for ſlaves, he was preſented to him, who told him, if he would go among the other provinces, and buy ſlaves for him, he would protect him; which he accepted of to ſave his life; and ſo going with other ſlaves into the canibals country, he found the people all ſtuck full of feathers, which they glu'd to their bodies with a kind of bitumenous matter, and look'd like ſo many walking fowls. However thoſe feather'd people us'd him kindly, and he pick'd up 90 ſlaves for ſuch things as he had brought with him, which ſo engratiated him with his maſter that all his faults were forgotten; and he was advanced to a poſt in the ſugar mills, which brought him in money without danger of drubbing; for in one year he pick'd up 200 crowns.

Is again deliver'd up.

But he was ſoon remov'd from this poſt; for, his maſter going to head an army compos'd

compos'd of *Portugueſes* and *Indians*, againſt the *Tamoya*'s, a people who made war upon their confederates, took *Knivet* along with him. In this march, which was ill concerted, they ſuffer'd ſo much, by the badneſs of the road, and the ſcarcity of proviſions, that had the enemy ſtaid to encounter them, they might have made an end of them at once; but being more afraid of the *Portugueſes*, than they needed to have been, they had deſerted their country before the others came; ſo that the general had nothing to do, but to reap their harveſt for them, to provide for their march back again. But, in this expedition, *Knivet* was near his end, as he had often thought himſelf before. For one of the ſoldiers, going a frog hunting, was attack'd by a ſnake which made him run for it; and having told the adventure before *Knivet*, he, to ſhew his ſuperior courage, runto the place, with a good club, in his hand and ſeeing the ſnake, made at it with his club, and with a lucky ſtroke, ſplit the creatur's skul, and dragg'd it home for the captain of the guard, and other officers to ſupupon. But one of the officers, who ow'd him a ſpite, accus'd him of having gone to ſhew his courage when he ſhould have been upon duty; which, altho' falſe, as appear'd upon examination, bred ſuch a quarrel between them, that *Knivet* exerciſing the ſame courage towards the officer, left him for dead in a fair duel, as the gentlemen of honour call it. This being reckon'd a crime in a private ſoldier he was condemn'd to dy; but the other officers oppos'd the captain's ſentence, and in ſpite of him diſcharg'd poor *Knivet*; and gave him leave to quit the army, which he willingly accepted, and with 12 *Portugueſes* more in his company, (who left the army I don't know for what reaſon) went down the river *Janeiro* in a canoe, and landed at a village which was uninhabited, except at the fiſhing ſeaſon. From thence they travell'd by land towards the ſouth weſt, finding, by the way, ſeveral ſigns of gold, as alſo beautiful ſtones, which made *Knivet* conclude they were not far from *Potoſi* in *Peru*.

Goes to the army,

But here we are told they came to a mountain, and march'd 20 days along the ſide of it before they found a way to paſs it. But I ſhall leave it to my readers to find it out, and to paſs it with *Knivet*; for the appearance of it, which dazzled his ſight, is a little too bright for mine; and his paſſing thro' it on a level, (where they were, he did not know how many days and nights in the heart of the mountain, before they got out on the ſouth weſt ſide) is ſo dark a paſſage that I cannot follow him in it; but they paſt, as he ſays, by water, and ſo they might be aſleep all the way, and at times as they wak'd grop'd for proviſions, which they had wiſely carry'd with them. At laſt on a certain morning they ſaw day-light and got out of the belly of this mountain to the great joy of their hearts.

Having made this extraordinary fairy voyage, they made to ſome houſes which they ſaw; and what pity it was they met with no inhabitants in the dark paſſage, who might, perhaps have told them their fortunes, and have warn'd the poor *Portugueſes* to deny their country, when they appear'd in the upper region again. For as ſoon as the people on the other ſide of the mountain ſaw them, they came to them in troops, and having examin'd them about their country the *Portugueſes* like fools told them who they were, but *Knivet* call'd himſelf a *French* man, which ſav'd his bacon, when his 12 companions were butcher'd with clubs, and their fleſh eaten by thoſe canibals who gave their entrails to the women for a regale. But *Knivet* was well treated, and made muſter maſter general of their forces, and perſuading them to leave that country, and finding now another route to the other ſide of the mountains than thro' this dark cave, he brought them back towards the *Portugueſe* territories, where his old maſter, the governor's ſon came againſt them with a new army, and notwithſtanding all *Knivet*'s diſcipline, deſtroy'd the greateſt part of them, and ſent the reſt to the ſugar mills.

To make an end of *Knivet*'s adventures, of which I dare ſay the reader will be as weary as I am, he was ſent over to *Africa*, and came back again, and the governor who now us'd him in a more friendly manner, being recall'd to *Portugal*, he went over with him, and after ſome misfortunes more, got ſafe to *England*, where he told ſtrange ſtories of his life.

As to the diſcoveries he ſaid he had made in the country, they may be as true as his paſſing the mountain, and therefore not to be regarded.

SECT. IV.

The Diſcovery and Planting of VIRGINIA.

IN giving an account of the ſettling of the *Engliſh* in this part of *America*, we ſhall not diſtinguiſh the particular voyages, any other way than by putting the names and dates in the margin; there being ſeveral of thoſe expeditions ſo ſhort, and others of them ſo triffling, that the dividing them into different ſections, would look like ſpending paper, and multiplying ſheets

ſheets by deſign. We ſhall therefore comprize the whole diſcovery and planting of *Virginia* under this one title.

The *Spaniards* had planted almoſt the whole empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, beſides the ſeveral colonies along the coaſt to the ſouth eaſt of the bay of *Mexico* as far as *Brazil*, and the great iſlands of *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Porto Ricco*, *Jamaica*, and other of leſs conſideration, before the *Engliſh* had any footing in *America*. And altho' *Gabot* had viſited ſome parts of it, towards the north, upon *Henry* VII's account, which gave the *Engliſh* as good a title to it as the pope's inveſtiture to the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; yet we cannot ſay, that the *Engliſh* had any right to a foot of ground in *America*, till the donation, or ceſſion made by the Hiob of *California*, to Sir *Francis Drake*, formerly mention'd; and *Forbiſher*'s taking poſſeſſion much about the ſame time of ſome part upon the north ſea, which, by not being inſiſted upon afterwards, dy'd of themſelves.

But in the year 1584, *Walter Rawleigh*, Eſq; afterwards Sir *Walter*, being in great credit, at that time, with queen *Elizabeth*, procur'd a patent under the great ſeal, for him and his heirs, to *diſcover, and poſſeſs for ever, under the crown of* England, *all ſuch countries and lands, as were not then poſſeſs'd by any chriſtian prince, or inhabited by any chriſtian people.* In conſequence of this grant, Mr. *Rawleigh* fitted out two ſhips, at his own charge, commanded by Capt. *Amadas* and Capt. *Barlow*, with inſtructions to ſail to the northward of the gulf of *Mexico*, which he knew was not then in the poſſeſſion of any chriſtian prince.

Sir Walter Rawleigh *ſends two ſhips to* N. America *in* 1584.

By virtue of theſe inſtructions. They ſet ſail from the weſt of *England* in *April* 1584, and came up with the *Bahama* iſlands about the middle of *June*, and holding their courſe ſtill north, they came to an iſland call'd *Roanoc*, not far from what is now call'd *Albemarle* river in 36 deg. n. lat. which they took at firſt for the continent, and took poſſeſſion of the country, after the *Engliſh* form, in name of the queen, and by virtue of her patent, for *Walter Rawleigh*, Eſq; but they ſoon found it to be only an iſland about 20 miles long and ſix broad; where in a ſhort time, they came to a good underſtanding with the natives, and had frequent converſation with the king's brother *Granganimeo*, the king himſelf being ill of ſome wounds he had receiv'd in a battle with one of his neighbouring kings. Here they traded with the natives, giving them 10 diſhes, and other veſſels, for buff, chamoys, and deer skins. But when the king's brother was preſent, no native durſt traffick but he; for they

They come to the iſland of Roanocon *the coaſt of* Virginia.

ſhew'd the greateſt reſpect to the royal family, and kept ſtill at a diſtance from him, except the nobility, who were allow'd to wear a piece of red copper upon their heads, as he did, to diſtinguiſh them from the others.

Granganimeo was a religous obſerver of his word, for when he receiv'd any *Engliſh* goods upon his word, he was ſure to ſend the things he promis'd for them, before, or at the day he had appointed. He ſeem'd very fond of edge tools, eſpecially ſwords; but the *Engliſh* were not fond of giving them any, altho' they offer'd a large box of pearls for a ſword; becauſe they thought it was not prudent to furniſh the *Indians* with other arms than they had already; and beſides they conceal'd the value they put upon pearls, till they ſhould diſcover where the natives found them. One of the captains (he who writ the account of this expedition to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*) went up a river to the village where *Granganimeo*'s houſe was; where as ſoon as the boat appear'd, that prince happening to be abroad, his wife came running to the water-ſide, and order'd her ſervants to get into the water, and carry the captain and his company out upon their backs, and then they drew the boat aſhore. When ſhe had, in the moſt courteous manner conducted them to her houſe, ſome women came, and pull'd off their ſhoes and ſtockings and waſh'd their feet, whilſt others waſh'd and dry'd their ſtockings. After which they were led by the lady to another room, where a long table, placed by the wall, was cover'd with diſhes full of maiz dreſs'd like furmety, deer, and fiſh both boyl'd and roaſted, melons and other fruit, which they din'd upon, and their drink was water boil'd up with ginger, black cinaman or ſaxafras. Both the houſe itſelf and all their veſſels and utenſils were made of cedar or other ſweet wood, which they have in great plenty; only thoſe they put upon the fire are of earth.

This iſland with ſome others lies over-againſt the coaſt of *Virginia*, which got that name from Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in honour of queen *Elizabeth*'s living in celibacy. But thoſe two captains, for what appears by this account of the firſt expedition, did not go to the continent, but after they had ſtaid ſome time among thoſe iſlands, return'd to *England*.

The year following, *viz.* 1585, Sir *Walter* fitted out ſeven ſail, under the command of Sir *Richard Greenville*. This fleet coming to *Hiſpaniola* in *June*, and having taken ſome *Spaniards*, whom they treated civilly and ſent them aſhore without any conditions; the governor of *Iſabella*, accompany'd with about 20 gentle-

Sir Walter Rawleigh's *2d expedition to* Virginia, *in* 1585.

men, and their ſervants came down to the ſhore near the place where the *Engliſh* were at anchor, and ſending a meſſage to the admiral, Sir *Richard* man'd all his boats, and went himſelf aſhore, with the principal gentlemen who were in the fleet. At their landing, the governor receiv'd them with great civility, and after ſome converſation, Sir *Richard* giving him his word, that he had no farther deſign upon the iſland, than to traffick for proviſions, the governor promis'd to give order for his being ſupply'd. And having entertain'd one another with great ſigns of friendſhip, and exchang'd preſents of ſuch things as they thought worthy of each other's acceptance, they parted with mutual ſatisfaction; and the *Engliſh*, having traded for ſeveral days, for ſuch things as the iſland afforded, took leave of the governor and the iſland on the 7th day of *June*, and leaving *Cuba* to the weſtward, and ſailing by the *Bahama* iſlands, they arriv'd at *Wococon* not far from *Roanoc*, and from thence, ſent intelligence to *Granganimeo*, and the king his brother, their being ſeveral gentlemen aboard this fleet who had been there the year before, particularly captain *Amadas*. From thence they ſent ſeveral parties along the coaſt in the boats to diſcover rivers and good harbours. Having ſtaid there till the 25th of *Auguſt*, and ſeen ſeveral places upon the coaſt, Sir *Richard* ſet ſail for *England*, leaving about 120 gentlemen and others to make good the ſettling of a new colony on the continent which they, from that time, call'd *Virginia* according to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*'s orders.

After the departure of Sir *Richard Greenville*, the *Engliſh*, who ſtaid behind under the command of Mr. *Lane*, ſettled in the iſland of *Roanoc*, where the natives ſtill continu'd their kindneſs to them, and from thence they propos'd to make diſcoveries upon the continent, and to plant colonies, as they ſhould from time to time, be recruited from *England*. In order to proſecute this deſign, they divided themſelves into parties, and finding the coaſt towards the ſouth, full of ſhoals, where ſhips were in danger, at leaſt till they were acquainted with the navigation of thoſe ſeas; they ſent out one boat, with 15 men well arm'd, and provided of victuals for ſeven days. This party ſail'd along the coaſt about 25 leagues towards the ſouth, as far as *Secotan*, upon the borders of what was afterwards, and is to this day, call'd *Carolina*; but at that time, all that coaſt, from the cape of *Florida*, as far north as had been diſcover'd by the late adventurers, under Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, went under the common name of *Virginia*.

Secotan.

But when theſe 15 return'd to *Roanoc* they held a council, and finding it impracticable to ſail, with their ſhips, along the ſouth coaſt, and that it might be dangerous to venture ſmall numbers amongſt the ſavages, eſpecially having heard of the miſcarriages of the *Spaniards*, more than once in *Florida*, which lay to the weſtward, joining upon the country they then had a mind to plant; It was therefore agreed, that they ſhould defer the farther diſcoveries ſouthward, till they ſhould be reinforced from *England*, and go towards the north, where they might ſail with the largeſt ſhips, provided they kept the channel. To put this deſign in execution, Mr. *Lane* himſelf went aboard the beſt ſhip he had, with the bulk of his men, leaving a ſmall garriſon at *Roanoc*, of the fidelity of the people of which iſland he had no ſuſpicion: and taking a large pinnace and other boats, which he ſent before to trace out the channel for his ſhip, he coaſted along, and went aſhore in the boats at ſeveral places, where they found good rivers, or harbours.

In this cruiſe they diſcover'd the towns *Paſſaquinoc*, *Chepanoc*, *Weapomeioc*, *Muſcamunge* and *Metackwem*. All which places loſt their old names when the country came to be planted, taking *Engliſh* names, either from the perſons who became the proprietors, or from ſuch towns or countries in *England*, from whence the new towns were peopled. All theſe towns were under the dominion of *Obiſco* king of *Weapomeioc*. Cities diſcover'd in Virginia.

Paſſing the dominions of *Obiſco* they proceeded to thoſe of the king, or (in their language) *Weroance* of *Chewanook*, which lies upon the river of *Cheſepeak*, 130 miles north of *Roanoc*. The king of that country was call'd *Menatonon*. He was lame, but a man of good underſtanding. He came aboard the ſhip, and Mr. *Lane* kept him two days, and by an *Indian* interpreter, whom they had aboard, and had been in *England*, the captain inform'd himſelf of the ſtate of the country from *Menatonon*. He told him, that ſailing up his river three days, and then going croſs the country by land, he would arrive at the territory of a certain king, four days march from the river northward, whoſe reſidence, and chief ſtrength lies in an iſland, upon a river which reaches to the ſea all under his own dominion. That out of that bay, where his iſland ſtands, he gets a vaſt treaſure in pearls, thoſe which are got in the ſhallow water are black; but what they catch in the deep water are bright and very large. The *Weroance* promis'd to ſend guides along with him to this iſland, but adviſ'd him to take

what

what force he could along with him, becauſe he was a warlike prince, and had an army of brave ſoldiers, and would oppoſe any ſtrangers who ſhould attempt to encroach upon the pearl fiſhery. But the captain not having men enough to ſend northward with the ſhips to find that river by ſea, and at the ſame time to attempt the intended expedition by land, he contented himſelf with ſailing up the river to ſearch for ſome copper mines, in which expedition, he had like to have ſtarved, the whole company being oblig'd to live two days upon the broth made of two maſtiffs, which were all the living creatures they could find for ſubſiſtance. So that he was forced to return, by the ſame way, but the ſtream brought them down the river as far in one day, as they had gone up in ſix: they got ſome fiſh (in the weires ſet by the natives,) after they had ſuffer'd great hardſhips.

Having no encouragement to ſtay longer there, he went back to *Roanoc*, taking *Menatonon's* ſon with him, by way of hoſtage for the good behaviour of his father. But *Pemiſapon* the king of the iſland, who had ſtill pretended great friendſhip to the *Engliſh*, was now privately engag'd in a treacherous conſpiracy, with the *Veroances* of the continent againſt them, which was happily diſcover'd to captain *Lane* by *Skike*, *Menatonon's* ſon, and ſo prevented; for ſome days before the time of the intended execution of the deſign, the captain, being ſufficiently appris'd of the whoſe ſcheme, fell firſt upon *Pemiſapan*, before the other kings had join'd him, and having kill'd ſome of his people, he fled after he had receiv'd a ſhot in his body, but being purſu'd, had his head cut off; which ſudden execution broke the confederacy, and ſav'd the *Engliſh* for that time.

A plot laid for the Engliſh.

Diſappointed.

Soon after this, Sir *Francis Drake* came before *Virginia* with a fleet, and captain *Stafford*, being upon the continent, went aboard, and giving the admiral an account of the *Engliſh* at *Roanoc*, Sir *Francis* ſail'd thither, and came to an anchor near it, offering captain *Lane* all the aſſiſtance he was able both of ſhips and proviſions; becauſe they inclin'd to ſtay there to wait for the recruits promiſed them by Sir *Richard Greenville*. But a ſtorm ariſing, the two ſhips given them by *Drake* (on board which ſeveral gentlemen, belonging to the colony, were at that time) were quite driven off the coaſt, and they ſaw them no more; and the *Engliſh* preſt captain *Lane* to deſire the admiral to take them with him for *England*; which he did, ſo that they deſerted the planting of *Virginia* and return'd home.

The Engliſh *return home.*

Not long after, arriv'd a ſhip at *Roanoc*, ſent by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* to ſupply the colony, till Sir *Richard Greenville* with three ſhips, upon the ſame deſign, ſhould reach them. But this ſhip finding no body there, nor in any of the places adjacent, made the beſt of their way to *England*.

They were ſcarce gone, when Sir *Richard* arriv'd at *Hatorask*, lat. 35 deg. and from thence to *Roanoc*, but miſſing the colony, and the ſhip ſent before with proviſions, he prevail'd with 15 men, with an officer, to take ſufficient proviſions for two years, and keep poſſeſſion of the iſland, he himſelf returing to *England*, as the others had done.

Sir Rich. Greenville *ſails to* Virginia.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* notwithſtanding all theſe miſchances, would not give over his deſign of planting *Virginia*; but in the year 1587 fitted out three ſhips, on board which went a new colony with a governor, and 12 aſſiſtants. He gave them a charter under the title of *the governor and aſſiſtants of the city of* Rawleigh *in* Virginia. Upon their arrival at *Hatorask*, they ſent one of the ſhips to *Roanoc*, but ſeeing no ſign of the 15 men left by Sir *Richard Greenville*, they return'd, and coaſting along, landed a party at *Croatan*, ſending along with them *Manteo*, a native of the place, who had been in *England*, and was a faithful friend to the *Engliſh*. At their firſt landing, the natives took to their bows and arrows, but *Manteo*, ſpeaking to them in their own language, threw away their weapons, and run to embrace the *Engliſh*. Here they were told that the 15 men had been ſet upon by the *Secotans* and others who had been in the conſpiracy with *Pemiſapan*, that they having gone privately over to the iſland, had kill'd ſome of them, and that the reſt had fought their way to their boat, and ſet ſail, they could not tell to what place. The *Engliſh*, to revenge their death upon the *Secotans*, and their neighbours, landed 24 men, under the command of captain *Stafford*, whom we mention'd in the former expedition; but they fell upon a party of *Manteo's* friends, by miſtake, who had come to reap their neighbours corn, (the inhabitants having deſerted their country, for fear of the *Engliſh*) but their friend, the *Indian* having ſoon diſcover'd the miſtake, there was little harm done.

All the planters being landed at *Roanoc*, they repair'd the houſes which had been built by their country men, propoſing to ſettle there, till they had more aſſiſtance from the proprietor. But they had great debate amongſt themſelves, who ſhould go for *England*, to ſolicite that affair, and at laſt, their governor, captain *White*

was

was pitch'd upon for that office; but, becauſe he had a ſcruple of honour in leaving his government, they drew up a declaration, ſhewing that it was at the preſſing deſires of the planters that he had undertaken that expedition. With this he ſail'd upon the 27th of *Auguſt* 1587, and having met with hard weather, and moſt of the ſeamen of the fly-boat, on board of which he was, dying by the way, he landed in *Ireland*, and, going aboard another ſhip, got ſafe to *England* the 5th of *November*.

It is probable, that the noiſe of the famous *Spaniſh armada* which happen'd in 1588 hinder'd the recruits from being ſent, and that all people's thoughts were ſo employ'd upon *England*, that there was no room for *America*. But what hinder'd capt. *White* to go back in 1589, or why he was oblig'd to go in 1590, ſo ill accompany'd, is what I cannot well account for. He himſelf ſays, in his letter to Mr. *Hackluyt*, that, notwithſtanding the queen's order, to take in Mr. *White* and a convenient number of paſſengers for *Virginia*, on board three ſhips, going thither, all that he could bring the owners to, was, to take himſelf and his cheſt aboard, without receiving any other paſſenger; and in this manner he ſail'd on the 20th of *March* 1590.

Hackluyt Eng. *voyages p.* 288.

In this voyage, they ſail'd about the iſlands of *Hiſpaniola*, *Jamaica*, and *Cuba*, in ſearch of the *Spaniſh* plate fleet, and took ſome prizes of little value, and about the beginning of *Auguſt* they came upon the coaſt of *Virginia*; and the governor went aſhore at *Roanoc* with two boats, one of which being overſet, by miſmanagement, ſeven of the chief men belonging to one of the ſhips were drowned. Being come to the place where the planters had ſettled, they found no body, only they ſaw carved on one tree CRO, and upon another CROATOAN, by which they judg'd they had remov'd to that place, probably by *Manteo*'s perſuaſion, that being the place of his birth. The governor pray'd them to make for that place, at leaſt to know how their countrymen did, but the captains being more intent upon *Spaniſh* prizes, than upon the intereſt of the planters, and a ſtorm ariſing, they made back towards *Hiſpaniola*, and from thence to the *Azores*; and without any great matter done return'd to *England* in *October*.

Governor White *returns to* Virginia *in* 1590,

We have no account of any more colonies ſettled in that part of the world till the year 1602. Nor indeed was any conſiderable thing done then, capt. *Goſnol* having only landed on an iſland to which he gave the name of *Elizabeth*, being in 42 deg. lat. on the coaſt near *New Jerſey*. But their ſtay was ſo ſhort, that the expedition is not worth mentioning; and the ſame may be ſaid of capt. *Pring*'s, and capt. *Gilbert*'s the year following. In 1605 the earl of *Southampton* ſent the *Archangel* thither, commanded by capt. *Weymouth*, which ſail'd near to *Elizabeth* iſland, and gave the name of *Pentecoſt* iſland to another upon which they landed, and ſo return'd to *England*.

1602.

1603.

1605.

Hitherto the *Engliſh* plantations in *America* had gone but heavily on; but in the year 1606, king *James* being ſettled upon the throne of *England* ſome time, granted a new patent of *Virginia*, (no regard being had to that before granted by queen *Elizabeth* to poor Sir *Walter Rawleigh*) the patentees were Sir *Tho. Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, *Richard Hackluyt*, clerk, *Edward Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, and *Rawleigh Gilbert*, Eſqrs. *William Parker*, *George Popham*, and others. The extent of the land granted, by this patent, was from 34 and 45 deg. of n. lat. with all the iſlands lying between thoſe degrees, and within 100 miles of the coaſt; together with all the main land between the ſaid degrees, which were not then poſſeſt by any chriſtian prince. This patent mentions two diſtinct colonies to be planted by vertue of it; and the property aſcertain'd to two different bodies of adventurers, *viz.* the firſt colony, to belong to Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, Mr. *Hackluyt*, and Mr. *Wingfield*, under the title of the *London Adventurers*, or the *London Company*: and was to reach from 34 deg. to 41, with all the *lands*, *woods*, *mines*, *minerals*, &c. The other, call'd the ſecond colony, was from the end of the firſt to 45 degrees, granting the ſame privileges to *Thomas Hanham*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker* and *Geo. Popham* under the name of the *Plymouth Company*; with liberty to both colonies, to take as many as they pleas'd for partners; forbiding all others to plant within thoſe degrees in any part of *America*, without their expreſs licence under hand and ſeal; only reſerving the 5th part of all gold and ſilver mines, and the 15th part of copper to the uſe of the crown.

K. James I. *grants a patent for planting* Virginia.

This patent having paſt the ſeals, the adventurers prepar'd for the voyage. Above 100 perſons of account embark'd for *Virginia*, among whom were Mr. *Piercy*, brother to the earl of *Northumberland*, captains *Goſnol*, *Smith*, *Ratcliff*, *Martin*, *Kendal*, and Mr. *Wingfield*. They likewiſe had a number of artificers of all kinds, with all things requiſite for a plantation; and thus ſetting out in two ſhips, under the conduct of capt. *Newport*, they made for the coaſt of *America*, and having ſtopt at ſeveral iſlands by the way, where they took in wood and water, they

The London and Plymouth companies arrive in Chesapeck bay.

they arriv'd at *Chesapeak*, formerly mention'd: but finding it very unsafe anchorage there, altho' they lik'd the country about that river very much, they remov'd farther north to a place they call'd *Cape Comfort*; and roving about to look for a place to fix in, they came to *Paspiha*, where they found the people extreamly civil. Here they were visited by the king of *Rapahanna*, who invited them to his city, which they accepted; and, he going before to make preparation for them, the principal *English* went, soon after, in the shallop, well arm'd. The king met them at their landing, with a great train of his subjects. His hair, after the custom of the country, was cut close by his skul, on the right side, and very long on the left, and ty'd up in a knot; over which he had a kind of coronet of deer's hair, colour'd red, in the form of a rose; and, upon the bare side a plate of copper, and between the two, were fix'd two large feathers. His body was painted crimson, and his face azure; and he was adorn'd with several chains, and bracelets of pearls. He walk'd before his people, playing upon a reed, and walk'd in great state.

The king of Rapahanna treats them kindly.

Altho' this procession seem'd odd enough to the *English*; yet this savage king receiv'd them with surprizing civility, and after the first ceremonies were over, he led them to his town, where he had prepar'd a fine entertainment for them. They were much delighted with the pleasantness of the way to it, which led sometimes thro' fine meadows water'd with springs and brooks, and here and there fine corn fields; at other times they past thro' woods of beautiful trees. His palace stood upon a hill, where they were feasted after the best manner the custom of that wild country could afford. But finding that *Cape Comfort* was the only safe place, where they could trust their ships, they determin'd to plant their first colony in the country of *Paspiha* about eight miles from the cape.

When they had unanimously agreed in this resolution, they began to form their government in the *English* model, according to their instructions; that is by a president and council. The president was to be chosen every year, and always to act in concert with the council. Other matters were to be manag'd by juries as in *England*. But the spirit of dissention quickly appear'd even among this handful of people. For, the council having been nam'd in *England*, to which they were pin'd down by their instructions, and capt. *Smith* having been nam'd as one of them; some who had taken an aversion to him, having no way to supersede him, but by forging crimes against him, carry'd their malice so far as to get him confin'd; but failing in their proof, he was acquitted with honour, and took his place at the board. After that affair was adjusted, they thought next of making a fort for their defence, which they finish'd in a month, and call'd it *James's Fort*, in honour of the king. It was a triangle, at every angle of which was a redout with a half moon fortify'd with cannon. Their next care was to sow a sufficient quantity of corn, which, in a short time they saw rais'd to a considerable length, by the fruitfulness of the soil.

James's Fort *built.*

While they were employ'd in building the fort, they observ'd that the natives, who had shew'd them all the kindness imaginable before, now began to pry into their works with another air, and they had all the reason in the world to be jealous of some ill design. Their king came often to see them, and would have persuaded them to lay aside their arms, as a hindrance to their building; but his speeches of that kind had a quite contrary effect upon the planters; for, as he never came near them, but accompany'd with a number of his own people in arms, they very wisely had their arms ready against any surprize.

They become jealous of the natives.

Having finished their fort, Mr. *Wingfield*, the president for the first year, sent some men to view the country farther up the river, which was navigable 160 miles. In six days sailing they arriv'd at a town call'd *Powhatan*, from the name of the king. It was seated upon a hill, with pleasant corn fields near it; and all the country, as they sail'd up the river, was full of fine woods, sweet meadows, gardens of fragrant flowers, mix'd with strawberries, raspberries, and mulberries. At the head of this river, that is, as far as it was navigable, they landed, and proclaim'd king *James* lord of that country and river, and call'd the river, *The King's River*, or *James's* river. It lies in 37 degrees and falls into the sea in *Chesapeak* bay. When they had made this discovery, they return'd to their companions at the new fort, which likewise got king *James's* name.

Powhatan *town.*

Things seeming now to be upon a good footing, capt. *Newport* left them, and sail'd for *England*, to give an account of their good success, and the promising condition of the first colony. But they did not continue long in prosperity: for their president had no regard to any body's safety or welfare but his own, and neither allow'd the planters meat nor drink, but in such scanty measure that many of them fell sick; which so incens'd them at him, that with one consent, they depos'd him from his authority, and chose captain *Ratcliff* in his place, who, if an honest man, had not the spirit of government; so

Captain Newport sails for England.

that if capt. *Smith* had not by his good ſenſe, prevented many inconveniences they had been undone very quickly; and had they been ſo wiſe as to ſuffer themſelves to be govern'd by him, things had ſucceeded better with them. By his advice, they began to build a town by the ſide of the fort, and he, by working himſelf, and encouraging others to work, in a ſhort time built houſes for all the planters. This was the firſt beginning of *James's Town*.

The next thing he propos'd to them was, to begin a traffick with the natives, and in order to it, he himſelf went down the river to *Kecoughtan*, and offer'd to trade with the natives of the place; but they having heard of the ſtraits they had been in for want of proviſions, derided him, telling him that they would give them victuals to fill their ſtarv'd bellies, provided they would give them their guns and ſwords. Others of them propos'd that the *Engliſh* ſhould give the cloths off their backs for meat: but the captain, finding there was no good to be done by fair words, inſtead of giving them his guns gave them what was within them, for having fir'd 10 or 12 ſhot among them, they took to their heels, and fled to the woods. But whilſt the *Engliſh* were ſearching the town for proviſions, the natives return'd with their bows and other wooden arms, carrying their *Okee* or idol in great ſolemnity before them, and, with great cries after their manner, fell upon the *Engliſh*. But capt. *Smith*, who had been ſtill upon his guard, drew up his party, and with the firſt fire brought down *Okee*, and kill'd his ſupporters, which ſo aſtoniſh'd the *Indians*, that they fled a ſecond time.

A skirmiſh between captain Smith *and the natives.*

As ſoon as they had recover'd their fright, they ſent to beg peace, and to have their idol reſtor'd, which the captain gave them up for a boat load of corn, which having receiv'd, together with abundance of veniſon and wild fowl, he return'd to *James's Town*, where he arriv'd juſt in time to prevent the greateſt part of the planters leaving the place, who had already gotten aboard the pinnace for that purpoſe: but he attacking them with a falcon or two which he had aboard, and at the ſame time firing upon them with his muskets made them come aſhore again: in this action capt. *Kendal* was kill'd. The poor ſpirited preſident and capt. *Archer* form'd ſuch another deſign ſoon after, but capt. *Smith* broke their meaſures, and diſappointed them: and winter coming on, the river was cover'd with ſwans, geeſe, ducks and cranes, which being a ſeaſonable addition to their living, made them give over thoughts of leaving their new town, at leaſt for that time.

Mutiny at the Engliſh *town, quell'd by* Smith.

Having thus brought the planters to ſome better temper, capt. *Smith* went out upon a new diſcovery up a river which falls into the king's river, and having ſailed as far as his barge could float, he quitted it, and went into a canoe with only two *Engliſh* men, and as many *Indians*, giving a ſtrict charge to thoſe he left with the barge not to go aſhore till he return'd. But as ſoon as he was out of ſight, they broke his orders, and went aſhore, where one of them was kidnap'd by a party of the ſavages, and to ſave his life diſcover'd which way the captain was gone, and with what company; upon which, the natives went with a body of 200, and unluckily coming upon him aſſaulted him. The captain reſolving to ſell his life as dear as he could, fir'd upon them, and kill'd three, and ſo retir'd firing with his two men; and to ſave him from the arrows of the ſavages he ty'd one of his *Indians* to his left arm by way of target: but, as he retir'd backward not minding what was behind him, he fell up to the middle into a quagmire; the natives kept at a diſtance, not daring to come near him, and when he was almoſt benum'd with cold, upon their promiſe to ſave his life, he threw away his arms, and the ſavages pull'd him out, and brought him to a fire, where they chafed his limbs, ſo that he began to recover ſpirit. His two men had been kill'd in the action, as were the *Indians*, one of which being his target, was ſtuck full of arrows. When he was taken, he gave the king of *Pamanuc*, who commanded the party, a little compaſs dial, which he had in his pocket. The ſavages wonder'd at the playing of the needle in the box, which they could not come at for the glaſs: but when he explain'd the uſe of it, and as well as he could make himſelf be underſtood, made a ſort of a lecture of aſtronomy to them, they gap'd and ſtar'd at him as if he had lately come down from the upper regions to inſtruct them of the nature of their God the ſun.

Captain Smith *attack'd by the ſavages.*

He is taken.

After they had ſtaid upon the field of battle till he had recover'd the uſe of his limbs, they brought him, in great triumph, to the city, where the king had his reſidence, where after ſeveral odd dances, they ſet down veniſon boil'd and roaſted before him, and gave him ſuch victuals to eat, as often and as much as he pleas'd: this made him conclude that they intended to fatten him for the ſpit; however he ate his meat heartily, reſigning himſelf to providence.

Having ſtaid ſometime at *Pamanuc*, where he was civilly treated, he had obſerv'd ſome odd ceremonies; among the reſt, a ſtrange rediculous method of conjuring, which he afterwards found out to have

have been done to diſcover whether he had any intention to do them hurt; and it was lucky for him that the reſponſe happen'd to be in the negative, as they interpreted it. *The ſavages way of conjuring.* There method was as follows. Having made a great fire in a long room, they ſpread a mat upon the floor on each ſide, upon one of which they placed the captain: and, his guard retiring, a great tall fellow came in skipping and leaping into the room, in ſuch an odd dreſs, that he might have paſt for the devil any where. All that appear'd of his face was as black as charcoal could make it; but much of it was hidden by ſnakes and weaſles skins, which being ty'd by the tails upon the crown of his head, hung over his face and back, over which he wore upon his head a crown of feathers; and in his hand he held a rattle; which having ſhak'd, he began to gabble a ſort of prayer in a hideous tone, and at the ſame time ſtrow'd a circle of meal round the fire. After he had done, ſix odd figures, like him, came leaping into the room, by three at a time, making antick geſtures, as he had done. After which they all ſate down upon the other mat, oppoſite to the captain, three on one ſide and three on the other, and the firſt, who was the arch-devil, in the middle. Then they began a ſong, which for the melody of it, poor capt. *Smith* took for his neck verſe, but he ſaid nothing; when the ſong was ended, the firſt conjurer laid down five corns of wheat, and ſtraining himſelf with ſuch violence that he was like to burſt, he made a ſpeech, at the concluſion of which the other ſix gave a groan, and then he laid down three grains more, all without the circle of meal: and repeating the ſongs and orations till the fire was ſurrounded with grains of wheat, laid down by fives and three alternalty; and then, with the ſame ceremonies, they plac'da ſtick between every parcel of wheat. This they did for three days together; but our author * does not ſay after what manner they made their concluſion from ſuch premiſſes; only he tells us, that the circle of meal denoted the country of the ſavages, in their imagination, and the circle of ſticks the captain's country, and the two circles of corn, the ſea between them: but how they judg'd whether the ſticks were to do harm to the meal, we are not told, nor would we be much wiſer if we were inform'd of it; we may gueſs that it was not a very rational one, by the folly of the proceſs.

*Harris's Bibl. vol. I. b. v. ch. 23.

The people of this country were ſo ſimple as to believe gun powder was produced by being ſow'd like other ſeeds, and therefore kept a parcel of it to be ſow'd in the ſpring, and the reader may gueſs at the crop.

But the captain's troubles were not as yet ended. For, *Powhaton* expreſſing a great curioſity to ſee him, he was ſent to his place of reſidence. Upon his arrival, he was ſtop'd till his majeſty ſhould be in order to receive him in ſtate, and when he was admitted, he found *Powhaton* ſet, by the fire, in a chair made like a bedſtead, cover'd with a robe of skins; ſupported on each ſide by a young girl of 17 or 18 years of age. On each ſide of the room there was one row of men ſtanding, and behind them a row of women. Upon his entring the room, the whole audience gave a ſhout, and without any ceremony, they brought water for him to waſh, and a towel conſiſting of a bunch of feathers; and after that he ate a hearty dinner of good meat. But this civility was like to end in a ſower ſauce; for after they had conſulted together for ſome time, two broad ſtones were brought into the room, and as many as could get about him laid hold of him, and drag'd him by force to the ſtones, and thruſting down his head, there were ſeveral club-bearers ready to knock out his brains, in the king's preſence. Thus the captain was at his laſt prayer, as he believ'd, when *Pocahunta* the king's favourite daughter, taking a liking to the captain, call'd to the ruffians to ſtop, which they did, and ſhe addreſſing herſelf to her father, beg'd his life; but finding that ſhe was not like to ſucceed, ſhe ran to the captain, and taking his head in her arms, declar'd that they ſhould either ſave his life or take hers. The king ſeeing her bent upon ſaving the ſtranger comply'd with her at laſt, telling her, that he ſhould live to make toys for her, ſince ſhe had acquir'd a title to his ſervice by ſaving his life. The captain was of too noble a ſpirit to be ungrateful to the lady, but whether he was mechanick enough to gratify her in the way her father propos'd I do not know.

He is ſent to Powhaton.

And being upon the brink of death.

Is ſav'd by the king's daughter.

Soon after this *Powhaton* gave him his liberty, and ſent him, with an eſcorte, to *James's Town*, only deſiring for his ranſom a grindſtone, and a couple of guns; but the captain ſhew'd the ſavages a milſtone, and two demi-culverins, telling them they might carry them home to their maſter. This proceeding I cannot approve of, for the perſon, who, of his own accord, ſet him at liberty, had a title to greater ſincerity. Nor is it any excuſe for this equivocation, to ſay that it was not prudence to furniſh the *Indians* with arms; becauſe it could not be apprehended that they would make others by that model, having no tools to work with; or if they had, there was no danger of the guns, unleſs the gun powder which was to be ſow'd in the country ſhould produce a plentiful harveſt.

And returns to James's Town.

As

As ſoon as capt. *Smith* was return'd to *James's Town*, he had work enough upon his hands, to eſtabliſh a commerce with the natives, which the indolent preſident had all this while neglected; and likewiſe to prevent their giving up the colony. In the laſt of theſe he had good ſucceſs, for he prevail'd with a ſufficient number to join him, ſo that if the malecontents had perſiſted in their deſign, he was reſolv'd to have made uſe of the *Argumentum Bacelinum* to keep them in the country. But as to the trade, the preſident and council, envying the intereſt he had with the natives, from the time of his impriſonment among them, to break his credit with them, offer'd four times as much for the things he had agreed for, as they were ſatisfy'd to have taken from him; and thus they hurt the commerce of their country, to gratify an unreaſonable pique they had taken at the captain, for having more vertue than themſelves.

Ill conduct in the preſident and council.

About this time, capt. *Newport* arriv'd with a reinforcement from *England*, which enabled capt. *Smith* to make his party good againſt the mutineers. But the ſeamen who came along with him were ſo impolitic in their bargains, that in a ſhort time, the ſame things which had before been purchac'd for an ounce of copper, were now rais'd to a pound. *Powhaton* who was a cunning prince, ſoon made advantage of this humour of the *Engliſh* who came laſt, and deſiring to ſee capt. *Newport*, invited him to come with his old acquaintance capt. *Smith* to his city, which they did, taking a ſufficient guard along with them. *Powhaton* entertain'd them nobly, and knowing how to put on the king, when he pleas'd (altho' at other times he made his own ſhoes and cloaths,) he told *Newport*, "That "it was not agreeable to his dignity to "trade like a pedlar; but if he, whom "he took to be a great prince, would "ſhew all his goods at once, he would "pitch upon ſuch things as he lik'd, and "lay down the value of them." But the *Indian* ſet ſuch a price upon his own commodities, that they were not like to deal, till a parcel of blue beads dazled his eyes ſo, that he gave 2 or 300 buſhels of corn for leſs than two pounds of them. The other neighbouring kings barter'd for triffles of that kind, and gave good rates for them.

Ships come from England.

After capt. *Newport* had ſtaid ſome time in *Virginia*, he return'd to *England*. Soon after his departure, another ſhip, which had ſet out with him, and been forced to ſtay by the way to repair ſome dammage ſuffer'd in a ſtorm, arriv'd at *James's Town*, with more recruits for the colony. But an unlucky fire happen'd in the town which did great miſchief. Capt. *Smith*, and one Mr. *Scrivener*, a new comer, and one of the council, labour'd heartily to repair the dammage, and the town was ſoon in as good condition as formerly. But a difference happening between the *Engliſh* and natives laid the ſeeds of a great deal of michief to the colony. The occaſion was this:

Powhaton having ſent a preſent of turkies to capt. *Newport*, before he ſail'd, that capt. had very imprudently ſent him back as many ſwords as he had receiv'd fowls; which ſo pleas'd the ſavage, that he ſent ſuch another preſent to capt. *Smith* but he being more cautious, ſent no ſwords back, which ſo incens'd *Powhaton*, that he was reſolv'd to have them either by fraud or force; and the firſt failing him, he ſent underhand ſome parties of his men to ly in ambuſcade for the workmen, and committed many inſults upon the colony, which the preſident and council, *having nothing of the true* Engliſh *ſpirit in them, tamely ſuffer'd without ſhewing any reſentment*. But capt. *Smith*, after having, in vain, repreſented the indignity, and other ill conſequences of it to the council, went out of town one evening, with a party, and meeting with a conſiderable number of the ſavages in one of their retreats, he fell upon them, and without killing any of them, drub'd them heartily and brought ſeveral priſoners into the town, who own'd, that *Powhaton* had ſent them to get their arms from them, and to cut their throats.

Differences between the Engliſh *and* Powhaton.

This chaſtiſement of the natives brought an army of them before *James's Town*, who, with great clamour, threaten'd to burn the town, unleſs the priſoners were immediately releas'd. But capt. *Smith*, making a ſally, with his own company, treated them ſo harſhly, that in a ſhort time, they were glad to beg peace, many being kill'd, and more taken. At this freſh rebuke, *Powhaton*'s great ſpirit fell, and he thought the beſt way to gain his people's freedom at the captain's hand, was by ſending his beloved daughter *Pocahunta*, to make an excuſe for the injuries which had been done, to beg the releaſe of the priſoners, and to promiſe friendſhip. The captain, without heſitation, granted all that his fair deliverer ask'd, and ſent her back to her father, highly ſatisfy'd with the *Engliſh* civility.

Captain Smith *chaſtiſes the ſavages.*

And makes peace at the requeſt of Pocahunta.

The preſident and council would have call'd him to account for his publick ſpirit under pretence of his being the occaſion of this rupture, but the inſults of the natives had ſo rais'd *the true* Engliſh *ſpirit*, that the puſillanimous preſident had not courage to ſay one word againſt the captain; ſo that he was now a terror both to the ſavages, and to the knaves who follow'd

follow'd the preſident; and the council was glad to imploy him, (in order to get rid of him for a while) in diſcoveries up the river, beyond the falls, towards the ſouth weſt, with only 10 or 12 men in a ſmall boat. He made this expedition without any thing very momorable, only that he had like to have dy'd of the ſtink of a certain fiſh ſhap'd like a thornback, but with a longer tail, which had, at the end of it, a ſting about two inches long; with which it ſtruck the captain, ſo that he ſwell'd, as if it had been poiſon; but by good remedies he was ſo well as to ſup upon the fiſh at night, and he found it good eating.

Captain Smith ſtung by a fiſh, but recovers in a ſhort time.

At his return he found the *Engliſh* in an uproar, and ready to depoſe the preſident for his indolence and luxury; which deſign they purſu'd, and the major part of the colony, either perſuaded or over-aw'd the council to chuſe the captain, who making Mr. *Scrivener* his deputy, as being a perſon very fit for it, he himſelf, after having put things upon a good footing, went out again upon new diſcoveries; but neither did this expedition turn to any account; altho' he left nothing unattemped for the ſervice of the plantation, ſometimes meeting with peaceable natives, and ſometimes being oblig'd to thraſhthem into civility, and ſo return'd to the colony.

He is made preſident.

It was now in the year 1608, and ſoon after the preſident's return, that captain *Newport* arriv'd again from *England* with recruits and freſh ſupplies. He had likewiſe brought preſents for *Powhaton*, as being a ſort of an emperor, or rather a *ſuperintendant*, over the other *Weroances*, who were as tributaries under him. To oblige him the more, they agreed to invite him to *James's Town*, and there to treat him in the moſt magnificent manner they were able; and the preſident undertook to go in perſon, and make the invitation. Accordingly he ſet out, accompany'd only with four men; but when they came to the place of his uſual reſidence, they were told that he was at another city, about 30 miles farther in the country. Whilſt he and his company were in a large field, without the town, by the ſide of a wood, ſitting upon mats, by a fire, (made on purpoſe by the people of the place, that they might have time to act the farce they had projected) they were ſurrounded by a great number of women and children, who came very familiarly about the captain; when, all of a ſudden, the wood reſounded with the eccho's of howling and ſcreaming, much like what they us'd before engaging in battle. The captain, thinking *Powhaton* had contriv'd that trick to ſurprize him, ſtood to his arms; but thoſe about him, ſmiling, bid him fear nothing, for no harm was intended. By and by, there ruſh'd out of the wood about 30 young women, all naked (except ſome green leaves before) and their bodies painted of different colours, with bows and arrows clubs and ſwords, as their men us'd to be arm'd, and their heads adorn'd with a pair of ſtag's horns; theſe coming out of the wood with a great cry, all join'd hands, and began a dance round about the captain and his company, to the tune of their own voices, which was all the muſick they had.

An odd frolick of the Indians *at* Powhaton.

When their dance was over, they retir'd to the wood again, and having laid laid aſide their arms and horns, and dreſt themſelves after their uſual manner, they came out of the wood again and accoſting the captain with great civility, invited him to their lodge; whither he went and was much careſs'd, and entertain'd with fiſh and fowl, and ſeveral ſorts of fruit; and then they conducted him to his tent with fire brands in place of torches. The next day *Powhaton* arriv'd, and when the preſident deliver'd his meſſage in name of the council and the *Engliſh* general, and told him of the preſents brought from *England* to him; *Powhaton* anſwered, "If your king has ſent me any pre-
"ſents, I am a king too, and will receive
"them in my own kingdom; and I ex-
"pect that your general ſhould come to
"me, and not deſire me to go to him;
"nor am I ſuch a ſimpleton as to truſt
"myſelf within your fort." Capt. *Smith* finding it to no purpoſe to endeavour to make him change his reſolution, return'd back; and told capt. *Newport*, that, in his opinion, the beſt way to treat this ſavage, was to ſlight him; becauſe they found he grew more inſolent upon the regard that was ſhew'd him. But *Newport* was of another mind, and having brought a full coronation ſuit from *England*, together with a gilt crown for *Powhaton*, he reſolv'd, ſince they could nor prevail with him to come to *James's Town*, he would carry the preſent to his city, and perform the ceremony of the coronation, after the *Engliſh* manner.

Powhaton *refuſes the invitation made him to come to* James's Town.

Capt. *Smith* oppos'd this proceeding as much as he could, but finding the commodore poſitive, he acquieſced, and *Newport* ſail'd up the river in great ſtate to *Werowocomoco*, to deliver his preſent. *Powhaton* was not fond of his company in that manner, and tho' it ſooth'd his pride to have ſuch a ſolemn embaſſy ſent him by a great king, as he had been inform'd the king of *Great Britain* was; yet his jealouſy was allarm'd at ſuch an appearance of *Engliſh* as came in this fleet. However, he receiv'd them with

all the ſtate he could, and when they had cloth'd him in the coronation robes, they deſir'd him to kneel down till they put the crown upon his head; but he fancying they were going to cut off his head, refus'd to kneel, nor could his own people perſuade him that there was no danger in doing it; ſo that the commodore was forced to be ſatisfy'd with making him ſtoop a little by preſſing upon his ſhoulder, and ſo they put the crown upon his head. But the guns aboard firing at that inſtant, by a ſignal given, the monarch was ſo frighted, that he would have reſign'd his new crown and ſcarlet cloak to boot, to have had the *Engliſh* out of his dominions. Having recover'd himſelf, he beſtow'd his old ſhoes and mantle, as a mark of his royal bounty, upon capt. *Newport*: but he was ſo bent upon keeping all his commodities up at the higheſt price, that all the preſents he made to the fleet and colony upon this occaſion, was, ſeven or eight buſhels of wheat; nor would he condeſcend to give capt. *Newport* guides to *Monacan*, where he propos'd to make diſcoveries. Thus did too much courting this barbarous king, make him ſaucy and proud, thinking himſelf really greater than he was, becauſe the *Engliſh* ſeem'd to put ſuch a value upon his friendſhip; whereas, had they treated him with more indifference, but ſtill with juſtice and civility, they might have made him their friend thro' fear, when he ſtood in aw of their power, as well as he reſpected them for their good uſage.

The Engliſh crown him in his own.

Capt. *Newport* returning to *James's Town*, not very well ſatisfy'd with *Powhaton*, ſet out, with the whole council, and 120 of the colony, to diſcover *Monacan*; leaving the preſident, with about 18 men to be a guard to the town. But after a great deal of trouble and fatigue, they return'd with having done nothing.

Captain Newport goes to make new diſcoveries.

In the mean time, the preſident finding that there was a form'd deſign'd among the ſavages to ſtarve the *Engliſh*; by withdrawing their uſual trade of bartering corn and other proviſions, for beads, knives, &c. he went himſelf to the countries contiguous to their town, and laid them under contribution. But, conſidering that, whilſt *Powhaton* continu'd obſtinate, there was no good to be done in that country, he reſolv'd to force him to a more friendly correſpondence. And therefore, that king, having ſent him word, that he would give him a ſhip load of corn, if he would come to him, and bring him a grind ſtone, ſome guns, beads, and other things. The preſident, leaving Mr. *Scrivener* his deputy, as formerly, went aboard the pinnace, taking two barges with him and 46 men, and ſail'd up to *Powhaton's* city, altho' an honeſt ſavage, coming aboard him by the way advis'd him not to truſt himſelf to the king. *Powhaton* receiv'd him as uſual; but pretended he had no corn; yet he ſaid he would ſtraiten himſelf to let him have 40 buſhels, for as many ſwords. But *Smith* asking him why he had ſent for him, he pretended to put it off with a jeſt; and finding that the captain was not to be treated ſo, he told him, in plain terms, that he would give no corn, without having guns and ſwords in exchange for it. To this the captain reply'd briskly, "that he was not ignorant of his ſe-"cret practices, and would not be tri-"fled with; that he had always told him "they had no guns or ſwords to ſpare; "and he ſhould be ſorry to be oblig'd to "make uſe of what he had againſt him "and his people; which he muſt do if "they departed from that good temper "which they once ſeem'd of, towards "the *Engliſh*, without having receiv'd "any ill uſage from them".

Captain Smith goes to Powhaton.

Powhaton, ſeeing, by this reſolute anſwer, that the captain was in good earneſt, and knowing his valour too well, not to be afraid of him; reſolv'd to delude him by fair words, till he ſhould make himſelf maſter of their arms, and then to cut their throats with their own weapons. He therefore told the captain, that he and his people would willingly trade with them, provided they would come aſhore without thoſe murdering guns and ſwords which made them afraid to come near them. Capt. *Smith* being aware of the ſly deſign couch'd under this ſpeech, was the more upon his guard, and now reſolv'd to be before hand with him, and to take the firſt fair opportunity to ſecure the perſon of *Powhaton*. But the men, which *Powhaton* had ſent for to put his plot in practice, being ſecretly arriv'd, he ſlip'd out of town himſelf, and return'd at the head of them, the captain being in town with only eight of his men. The ſavages beſet the houſe where they were; but the captain opening the doors, and the *Engliſh* ruſhing out upon them, with their ſwords in one hand and piſtols in the other, they drove the whole herd of them before them; and retir'd to their boats. *Powhaton* ſeeing his plot diſcover'd and diſappointed, ſent an excuſe for what had happen'd, as having been done without his knowledge; and ſent a preſent of pearls to the captain; who deſiring they would ſend him corn to ſhew their repentance, they immediately ſent a good quantity; which being aboard the barges, he ſet ſail for *Pamanuc* intending at his return to pay another viſit to *Powhaton*.

The treachery of the ſavages.

Defeated by the bravery of the Engliſh.

The *Weroance* of *Pamanuc* receiv'd him with ſeeming openneſs of mind, and began

began a traffic with him, inviting him aſhore to trade freely. The captain accepted his invitation, but conſidering the treachery practis'd againſt him by *Powhaton*, he took 16 of his men with him well arm'd. And it was well he did ſo; for, whilſt the weroance entertain'd them after the frankeſt manner, the houſe was ſurrounded by 700 ſavages in arms. Capt. *Smith* being well aſſur'd of the courage and fidelity of his men, turn'd to the king of *Pamanuc*, and upbraiding him with his baſeneſs, challeng'd him to fight him ſingle hands, and offer'd to throw off his cloaths, and uſe no weapons but ſuch as the ſavage made uſe of. And the conditions of the combat ſhould be that the conqueror ſhould be abſolute maſter of both their followers. If he did not like that, he deſir'd him to go and head his men, but let each of them bring a buſhel of corn, and he would ſend to his barges for the value of it in copper, which he would lay down by the corn, and then he would engage their whole force with his 16 men, and the victorious ſide ſhould poſſeſs both the corn and copper. The ſavage was ſurpriz'd at the boldneſs of the challenge, and endeavour'd to perſuade the captain that there was no hurt deſign'd him; he told him the men who were without had brought a preſent for him, and deſir'd him to go out and receive it. The captain being aware of his villanious deſign, loſt all patience at this groſs impoſition, and ſteping to the ſavage, at the head of his guard, which he had ſtill had about him, he clap'd a piſtol to his breaſt, proteſting he would ſhoot him dead unleſs he gave up his arms. The poor king immmediately reſign'd his bow and arrows, and the captain taking him by the arm, and holding his piſtol ſtill towards him, he drag'd him to the door, the guard ſtanding aſtoniſh'd to ſee that one man durſt uſe their king after that manner. When he had thus brought him to the door, he call'd to thoſe without to lay down their arms, and hear him ſpeak, declaring that if any man ſhot an arrow, he would that inſtant kill their king.

A plot againſt them there.

The capt. by preſence of mind ſaves himſelf.

The *Indians*, who, amongſt all their bad qualities, had that good principle of having a great veneration for their natural kings, immediately threw away their arms, and ſeeing the captain let go his hold, and turn the piſtol from their prince, they came near to hear what he had to ſay. Capt. *Smith* made them a ſhort recital of the good uſage he had always ſhew'd them, he told them, "that the "*Engliſh* had never deſir'd their goods "without giving an equivalent for them. "He then repreſented to them the baſe- "neſs of promiſing to trade in a fair way, "and, under colour of friendſhip, to lay "ſnares for men's lives who liv'd peace- "bly among them. He ſaid, he would "paſs by all that they had done, provid- "ed they would deal like men of honour." But he concluded his ſpeech by telling them, "that they had promis'd to lade "his ſhips with corn, which they ſhould "do, or he would lade them himſelf "with their dead bodies.

His ſpeech to the ſavages.

The king and his people were ſo frighted at this menace, that they beg'd pardon for what was paſt, and brought goods of all ſorts, and corn in abundance; and the captain, thinking that they had now chang'd their minds, retir'd to repoſe himſelf for a while, having ſlept but little for ſome time before. However, he order'd four or five of his men to ſtay by him: but ſome of them neglecting his orders ſtragled about to barter ſome of their things, which the ſavages perceiving, about 40 or 50 of the ſtouteſt of them ruſh'd into the room to murder the captain, but one or two of his guard giving the allarm, he ſtarted up, and with his ſword and target flew in among them, and being well ſeconded, by the few men he had and ſoon after join'd by the reſt, he made ſuch havock among them, that they were glad to get out, leaving a good part of their companions dead upon the floor. Upon this farther diſappointment, they, according to their cuſtom, beg'd pardon, and the captain, altho' he reſolv'd not to truſt them any more, diſembled his reſentment, and having feaſted with the king, he went aboard that night, where he and Mr. *Weſt* grew deadly ſick, and the ſurgeon declar'd they had been poiſon'd; but by good management they both recover'd. But the captain having ſent away one of his barges that night, the king believing he had ſent for a recruit of men, or perhaps to find out whether he was dead or alive, ſent a preſent of a pearl chain to him the next morning, begging of him not to bring more men, and he offer'd to load his barge and pinnance, without putting the *Engliſh* to the trouble of coming aſhore for it; which being accordingly perform'd, the captain ſet ſail down the river, intending to kidnap *Powhaton* by the way, as the author of all the treachery he had met with; but the bird was flown before he came, and all the ſtores remov'd, ſo that he eſcap'd for that time.

Another attempt againſt him defeated.

But whilſt he was aſhore in this place, he was let into a ſecret, which was, that *Powhaton* had been ſpirited up to all the attempts he had made againſt the *Engliſh*, by ſome *Dutch* men (*the conſtant friends and truſty allies of the* Engliſh *nation*) who had been ſent from *James's Town* to build a houſe for *Powhaton*. Thoſe *good chriſtians* had betray'd all the

ſecrets

All these plots against the English, were contriv'd by some Dutch belonging to the colony.

ſecrets of the plantation to him, and, in the preſident's abſence had convey'd privately ſome arms and ammunition to him; having much at heart the deſtruction of the *Engliſh* intereſt in *Virginia*; a politick their country men have practis'd in more places than one, as we may have occaſion to ſhew in the proper place.

With this information, and an account of the place of rendezvouz between the *Dutch* and the ſavages, capt. *Smith* return'd to *James's Town*, bringing with him 270 buſhels of corn. And after he had diſpoſs'd of the corn in the publick granary, he took a party with him and went to a glaſs houſe in a wood, a mile from the town, which was the place to which the *Dutch* carry'd the ammunition to deliver it to *Powhaton*'s people. The principal traytor fled at his approach, and the preſident having detach'd his party to different places, to ſearch for him, was walking home all alone, when he was met by the king of *Paſpiha* (now one of *Powhaton*'s confederates againſt the *Engliſh*.) This man was very ſtrong, ſo that when the preſident would have drawn his ſword, the ſavage clos'd with him, and catching him up in his arms, he run with him to the river, and throwing himſelf headlong into it, kept the preſident in his arms. Being diſengag'd after the firſt plunge, they try'd who ſhould drown the other, all other weapons being forgotten in the ſtruggle. After this manner they continu'd in the water, till two *Engliſh* men coming that way by chance, parted them, and carry'd his majeſty priſoner to the town; from whence he made his eſcape ſoon after, by the negligence of his keepers. But the preſident by his prudence, reclaim'd this king, and brought his whole country into the *Engliſh* intereſt, and they bound themſelves by a ſolemn treaty to furniſh the colony with proviſions.

Captain Smith in great danger.

Some malecontents, who had gone to *England* with capt. *Newport*, had repreſented capt. *Smith* in ſuch colours to the council in *England*, that the lord *De la Ware* was made governor of *Virginia*; who appointed Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* as his deputies, and ſent them away with 9 ſhips and 500 men to ſtrengthen the colony, or make a new plantation, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Six of theſe ſhips came ſafe to *James's Town*, but the admiral ſhip in which were both the deputies, was driven to *Bermudas*, and two more to other places; ſo that no new commiſſion appearing, the preſident ſtill kept his authority, till either his year ſhould expire, or the deputies arrive. But ſome of the old mutineers being come back with this fleet, they began their old practices, and altho' the preſident acted with vigour, as well as prudence, they were ſtill a thorn in his ſide; ſo that when Mr. *Weſt*, the lord *De la Ware*'s brother propos'd to ſettle a new plantation towards the head of the river with 120 men, the preſident agreed to it, and at the ſame time, encourag'd capt. *Martin*, one of the arch mutineers, to follow his example, and ſettle another in the country of *Nanſamund*, upon the ſame river, with the like number of men. But *Martin*, having ſeiz'd the king of *Nanſamund* in an arbitrary manner, and yet wanting courage to keep his people in aw, they made an inſurrection, reſcu'd their king, and kill'd ſeveral of the *Engliſh*; and altho' the preſident ſent him a recruit of men, he had not the heart to attempt any thing, but inglorioufly left his people to ſhift for themſelves, and came himſelf back to *James's Town*. Mr. *Weſt* having ſettled his plantation, left them in poſſeſſion, but the preſident going that way to ſee what they were doing, found the place ill choſen, and therefore made an agreement with *Powhaton*, whom he now reduced to better manners, for a very convenient ſpot of ground upon the ſide of the river; and in conſideration of their protecting his people from the *Monacans* their enemies, it was ſtipulated between them, that the natives ſhould furniſh the planters with corn, for a ſmall quantity of copper. The preſident having procur'd ſuch good conditions for them, deſir'd them to go down the river to that place; but they refus'd to obey him, and got to their arms; upon which he having only five men with him was fain to retire to his boat, but to be even with them, he ſeized the ſhip where their corn was; but finding them obſtinate he left them, and as ſoon as he was gone, the natives riſing upon them, for their oppreſſion, knock'd many of them on the head; ſo that ſending after the preſident, they offer'd to go to *Powhaton*, which they did, and call'd the place *Noneſuch*. But Mr. *Weſt* coming to them ſoon, altho' he was no encourager of the mutiny; yet perhaps a punctilio of honour, for his own plantation, made him give way to the ſolicitations of the grumblers, and ſo they left *Noneſuch*, and return'd to their firſt ſeat. The preſident ſeeing them ſo blind to their own intereſt, left them, and ſail'd down the river.

The lord De la Ware made governor of Virginia.

New colonies planted, but miſmanag'd.

In this voyage, an unlucky accident befel him; his powder bag taking fire, by ſome chance or other, (whilſt he was aſleep) blew him over-board, but he was ſo burnt, that, after the water had quench'd the fire, he could not make any help for himſelf, and had like to have been drown'd and burnt both at once: but being ſav'd by his men, he came in

that

that ſad pickle to *James*'s *Town*, before he could get a ſurgeon to dreſs him.

He was now reſolv'd to do juſtice upon ſome of the leading mutineers, particularly, *Martin*, *Ratcliff*, and *Archer*, whom he deſign'd to try by a fair jury; but they being conſcious of their own guilt, attempted to prevent their trial by the death of the preſident; and it was agreed that one of them ſhould ſhoot him as he lay ill of his laſt hurt; but the attempt prov'd abortive, ſo that they took arms, and getting a party to join them, and the honeſt people wanting the preſident to lead them, and Mr. *Scrivener* having been unhappily drown'd in a skiff ſome time before, they uſurp'd the government; capt. *Smith*'s friends carrying him aboard a ſhip ready bound for *England*, he ſet ſail, with many proteſtations that any miſchief which ſhould happen to the colony, for want of a lawful government, was not his doing.

The mutineers conſpire againſt him, and he is forced to go for England.

After capt. *Smith*'s departure, ſome of thoſe who had been the occaſion of moſt of his troubles, were, in the juſtice of providence, well ſerv'd by thoſe who had employ'd them againſt him: particularly the *Dutch* men, who, finding themſelves diſcover'd, upon the captain's ſearching the glaſs-houſe, had fled to *Powhaton*; after the preſident went away, they deſir'd leave to return to *James*'s *Town*, promiſing to repreſent matters to ſo great advantage for him to the new governors that he ſhould have a more beneficial trade with the *Engliſh*; but the ſavage king told them, that ſince they had betray'd capt. *Smith* to him, he did not doubt but they would betray him to the new governors, and ſo he gave orders to knock their brains out, which was accordingly done.

The colony dwindles after his departure.

But the *Engliſh* intereſt in *Virginia*, which by his courage, and good government was in a flouriſhing ſtate, fell immediately to decay. For, the natives, many of whom lov'd him, and all of them fear'd him, as ſoon as he was gone, fell upon the *Engliſh* wherever they found them in ſmall parties. Capt. *Ratcliff* was kill'd, with a conſiderable party at his back, by an ambuſcade; and ſo were Mr. *Weſt*, and capt. *Martin*. In a word, of 500 men that capt. *Smith* left in *Virginia*, there were not above 60 alive in ſix months; and thoſe reduced to live upon what they could pick up in the fields, or in the river, for *Powhaton*, being ſagacious enough to obſerve the difference between their old captain and the new ones, would trade no more with them, and their neighbour ſavages would give them no more corn.

The two knights arrive at Virginia.

In this forlorn ſtate Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers*, at their arrival found the colony. Theſe two gentlemen had been ſeparated from the fleet, as we obſerv'd before, by a moſt violent ſtorm; and their ſhip was ſo leaky, that they were forced to ply the pumps day and night, at which they labour'd ſo hard, throwing out 100 tun of water every four hours, that the men were quite ſpent, and were ſo diſcourag'd that they gave themſelves for loſt, when Sir *George Summers* gave them freſh vigour, by calling out *land*. This was the *Bermudas* iſlands, call'd from him, the *Summer's iſlands*, were they landed to their great joy, and found a comfortable habitation there, till they refitted their ſhip, and built a pinnace, to aſſiſt them in their voyage to *Virginia*, which they perform'd without any difficulty. But finding the affairs of the plantation in ſo bad a way, and being in no condition to retrieve them, or to force the ſavages to ſupply them, it was unanimouſly agreed upon to embark for *England*: ſo that having bury'd the great guns before the gate of the fort, they all went aboard, leaving the town as it was, by the abſolute command of the deputies, againſt the inclination of ſome who would have ſet it on fire.

The colony leave James's Town.

Having ſet ſail from *James*'s *Town*, down the river, they met their governor, the lord *De la Ware*, with three ſtout ſhips well provided, which ſoon determin'd them to return to their plantation. Upon their arrival, the governor immediately ſet about putting all things in order, and nam'd all his officers, making Sir *Thomas Gates* his lieutenant general; Sir *George Summers* admiral; the honourable Mr. *Piercy* governor of the fort; Sir *Ferdinando Weinman* maſter of the ordnance; and Mr. *Strachey* (who was the writer of the account, from whence our author took his relation) was made ſecretary and recorder. But, till they could bring the ſavages to better temper, Sir *George Summers* propos'd to return to *Bermudas*, were they could be plentifully ſupply'd with fiſh and fleſh. This propoſal was agreed to, and the admiral with capt. *Argol* were ſent upon the expedition. But being parted at ſea, capt. *Argol* miſſing his way to the *Bermudas*, fell in with the coaſt of *Sagadahoc*, upon the coaſt of *New England*, in 45 deg. where he furniſh'd himſelf with a ſmall ſtock of cod-fiſh which he carry'd back to *James*'s *Town*. The admiral was driven upon the ſame coaſt, but having ſtaid only to water, he made the *Bermudas* iſlands, where he unfortunately dy'd of a ſurfeit. He was a fine gentleman, and his death was much lamented, and was indeed a great loſs.

And return with lord De la Ware.

The death of Sir George Summers.

In the mean time, the plantation was but in a ſorry way. The ſavages were ſo

us'd to inſult them after capt. *Smith's* departure that they came often to the paliſades of *James's Town*, and knock'd on the head all the *Engliſh* whom they found ſtragling in the woods. To remedy this abuſe, the governor, finding that the forbearance of the *Engliſh* encreas'd the inſolence of the natives, reſolv'd to deal with them in another manner. He ſent Sir *Thomas Gates* to one of their towns, call'd *Kecoughton*, which he pillag'd, not ſo much out of any expectation of booty, as to ſtrike terror into the ſavages. And, at the ſame time, he ſent a meſſage to *Powhaton*, offering him his friendſhip if he would live peaceably, and trade with the colony upon the ſquare; but threatning fire and ſword in caſe of his obſtinacy: he likewiſe requir'd him to releaſe ſome *Engliſh* whom he detain'd as ſlaves. But *Powhaton*, fooliſhly imagining that all the *Engliſh* bravery was gone with capt. *Smith*, return'd an inſolent refuſal, bidding the meſſengers leave his country, and never appear before him with any meſſage, unleſs they brought him a coach and horſes, which he had been inform'd, (by one of his own people who had gone to *England* the year before by his contrivance,) the great lords made uſe of when they viſited one another.

A meſſage to Powhaton.

This refuſing to releaſe the priſoners would have been ſeverely reſented had the lord governor ſtaid much longer; but his lordſhip's ill health, and the phyſicians aſſuring him that nothing would recover him but his native air, determined him to leave *Virginia*; ſo that leaving a deputation with Mr. *Piercy*, till farther orders from the council in *England*, he embark'd, there being then in *James's Town* above 200 men in good caſe, and proviſions ſufficient for at leaſt 10 months. Sir *Thomas Gates* had been ſent for before, by the council of *England* for *Weſt-India* affairs, to give an account of the ſtate of the country, and to inform them whether it would be worth their while to be at farther expence in ſettling colonies there. To this he had return'd them an anſwer, which being confirm'd by the lord governor, at his return, gave them ſuch ſatisfaction, that they were reſolv'd to ſupport the plantations in *Virginia* to the utmoſt; and accordingly Sir *Thomas Dale* was diſpatch'd thither with a freſh ſupply, and a commiſſion to command in chief, as marſhal, till Sir *Thomas Gates* ſhould go over.

Lord De la Ware *goes for* England.

Sir Tho. Dale *ſent from* England *to* Virginia.

A. D. 1611.

Sir *Thomas Dale* found the colony at his arrival in the old ſtate of idleneſs and lazineſs, which gives one no extraordinary idea of the fitneſs of Mr. *Piercy* for government. However he made haſte to ſet them to work, and inſtead of letting them live upon the proviſions left them by lord *De la Ware*, he put them upon providing for themſelves in the country, and capt. *Argol* in one expedition among the *Patawomecks*, a people living upon the largeſt river in all *Cheſapeak* bay, and is the diviſion between what is now call'd *Virginia* and *Mary-Land*, brought to *James's Town* 1100 buſhels of corn; having met with a good reception from thoſe people. He likewiſe diſcover'd nearer the colony, the river *Nanſamund*, which runs into *James's River* about half way from the ſea on the ſouth ſide; and built a town, to which he gave the name of *Henry*, in honour of the prince of *Wales*. Nor was this all the advantage of this brave captain's expedition; for he made way for the redeeming all the priſoners who were in *Powhaton's* power, which he did in this manner.

Henry's Town *built by him.*

Powhaton's beloved daughter *Pocahunta*, being at this time in the king of *Patawomeck's* houſe, there being a friendſhip between them, capt. *Argol*, who was intimate with that king's brother, propos'd to him the getting this young lady into his hands, by aſſuring him, upon his honour, that ſhe ſhould be well treated, and by telling him, that he had no other plot in getting her in his power, but the releaſe of his countrymen, whom *Powhaton* unjuſtly detain'd. *Paſſtancie* at firſt boggled at it, as a breach of truſt, and an action which might bring the ſuperiour force of *Powhaton* upon their country; but *Argol* preſſing him upon the juſtice of it, and mixing ſome menaces of withdrawing his friendſhip if he would not comply with his requeſt; and at the ſame time promiſing to ſecure him againſt the reſentment of *Powhaton*; he prevail'd upon him to interceed with his brother, and by that means he got the lady deliver'd to him, to which ſhe had no averſion, having taken a liking to the *Engliſh* ever ſince capt. *Smith* had been her father's priſoner.

Captain Argol's *contrivance to redeem the priſoners.*

By getting Pocahunta *into his power.*

As ſoon as the captain arriv'd with his fair priſoner at *James's Town*, a meſſage was ſent to *Powhaton*, that ſhe was there; and if he expected her releaſe, he muſt ſend back all the priſoners he had, together with all the arms and working tools which the *Dutch* men had purloin'd out of *James's Town*, beſides that, he ſhould pay for her ranſom, a good quantity of corn, for the uſe of the colony. *Powhaton* was in great perplexity at his daughter's captivity, but as he lov'd her tenderly, (and indeed ſhe was the moſt valuable thing in his dominions) he ſent back word, that if the captain, who had his daughter, would ſail up his river, he would ſatisfy him, and enter into a firm alliance with the *Engliſh*. Sir

Sir *Thomas Gates* was now arriv'd, and had taken the government upon him; he treated *Pocahunta* with ſo much civility and reſpect, that ſhe was very indifferent about going home, having a ſpirit and inclinations very averſe from the ſavage way of living of the people of her country. She was young, having been but about 13 years of age when ſhe ſav'd capt. *Smith*'s life; ſhe was handſome too, and of a ſweet engaging temper, ſo that all the *Engliſh*, after the governor's example, ſhew'd her a great deal of reſpect; particularly Sir *Thomas Dale*, who took much pains to inſtruct her in the principles of the chriſtian religion, which ſhe ſoon learn'd, and began to have great liking to. It was agreed that Sir *Thomas Dale* ſhould go to treat with *Powhaton* inſtead of capt. *Argol:* and ſo taking the lady aboard his frigot attended by 150 men, he ſail'd to *Pamankie*, where the ſavage king reſided at that time.

However deſirous *Powhaton* was to relieve his daughter, yet the buſineſs was protracted, the ſavages, who came to the ſhip, pretending to know nothing of Sir *Thomas*'s affair, adviſing him to treat with the king's brother *Opecancanogh* (the ſame whom captain *Smith* had drag'd out in ſight of his army, as has been related in its place) becauſe they ſaid the king was not at home. But Sir *Thomas* giving orders to his men to uſe ſome hoſtilities, and to threaten more, *Powhaton* at laſt vouchſafed to ſend perſons to treat about *Pocahunta*'s releaſe; but when they came into her preſence, ſhe receiv'd them very coldly, bidding them tell the king, "That ſince ſhe found he "valued her ſo little, as to prefer a par-"cel of ruſty iron before her freedom, "ſhe would ſtay with the *Engliſh* where "ſhe was eſteem'd and reſpected."

Upon the return of the meſſengers to *Powhaton*, he ſent one of his chief courtiers to deſire Sir *Thomas* to retire to *James*'s *Town*, giving his word, that in 15 days, he would ſend all that they had demanded; and withal he told *Pocahunta*, that if ſhe inclin'd to ſtay with the *Engliſh*, he gave her leave, and deſir'd Sir *Thomas Dale* to treat her as his own daughter. This meſſage was agreeable to them both, and Sir *Thomas* ſhewing not the leaſt diſtruſt of *Powhaton*, went back to *James*'s *Town* with his fair diſciple, whom he inſtructed in a ſhort time ſo perfectly in the chriſtian faith, that ſhe deſir'd baptiſm, and had it by the governors chaplain, to the ſatisfaction of the whole colony, and to her own great comfort; and ſome time after, with her father's conſent, ſhe was marry'd to an *Engliſh* gentleman, of the colony, her uncle performing the father's part, in the publick church, by giving her to be marry'd according to the rubric.

Powhaton agrees with Sir Tho. Dale to give up the Engliſh priſoners.

Pocahunta turns chriſtian, and marries an Engliſh man.

Nor did *Powhaton* fail of his promiſe, but ſent the priſoners, the arms and inſtruments, together with a handſome preſent of corn, at the time appointed, and ſolemnly promis'd that if any of his people did any hurt to the *Engliſh*, he would ſend them to *James*'s *Town* to be puniſh'd. He liv'd ever after, in peace and friendſhip with the *Engliſh*. *Pocahunta* went with her husband to *England*, where ſhe was treated with great reſpect, as ſhe well deſerv'd, upon the account of her quality, but much more for her vertue and good ſenſe, and intending to go back to her own country, ſhe dy'd at *Graveſend* much lamented by all that knew her, having ſhew'd both by her life and at her death, that ſhe was a good chriſtian.

In the time, that Sir *Thomas Dale* was tranſacting the affair of the ranſom with *Powhaton*, capt. *Argol* ſail'd up the river, to the *Checahominies*, a people that inhabited a country, near a river of that name, which runs into *James*'s river from the north weſt ſide. Theſe people had never ſubmitted to *Powhaton*, but were ſtill at war with him. They had no king of their own, but were govern'd by eight nobles; and were willing to ſubmit themſelves to the king of *Britain*, and deſir'd to be call'd the *Checohominie Engliſh*. Theſe agreed with the captain, that every one who carry'd a bow, ſhould ſend two buſhels and a half of corn to *James*'s *Town* every harveſt, for which they were to receive ſo much copper a man, and each of their governors a ſuit of red cloth. Their country lies in a fine ſpot of ground.

Checahominies.

But one of the moſt conſiderable pieces of ſervice to his country, was his diſcovery northward to *Sagadahoc*, and farther north he ſail'd as far as S. *Croix* and *Port Royal* on each ſide the bay of *Fundi* in 46 deg. here he found the *French* making colonies, and thinking it an encroachment upon the right of the crown of *England*, he drove them out, deſtroy'd their forts, and brought their ſhips to *James*'s *Town*, with the two jeſuits who had the ſuperintendency of the plantations in thoſe parts.

Diſcoveries to the northward.

Thus by the good government of Sir *Thomas Gates*, and (after his departure for *England* in the year 1614) by the vigilance and excellent conduct of Sir *Tho. Dale*, and the bravery and indefatigable induſtry of capt. (afterwards Sir *Samuel*) *Argol*, the colony was brought to a flouriſhing condition. In the year 1616, *Dale* went for *England*, and left capt. *Yardly* in the office of deputy. It was with him that *Pocahunta* (now a chriſtian by the

Captain Yardly made deputy governor.

the name of *Rebekah*) went for *England* with her husband; and one of *Powhaton*'s councellors, call'd *Tomocomo* went at the ſame time; but he would never change his religion, altho' there was great pains taken to perſuade him to it. He was ſent by his king, to ſee whether *England* was as good a country as was pretended, and how it was peopled. At his firſt landing at *Plymouth*, he provided a ſtick and made a notch in it for every one he ſaw, intending by that way of reckoning to count the numbers of the people of *England*, at leaſt of the inhabitants of the cities where he ſhould happen to be; but he was ſoon convinc'd that the largeſt tree in his maſters dominions, would not have been enough to make the computation, and therefore threw away his ſtick, and admir'd the numbers he ſaw in that one place; and to be ſure was much more ſurpriz'd when he came to *London*.

Captain *Yardly* apply'd himſelf to advance the plantation, and made them employ a great deal of ground in planting tobacco; but he was forced at ſometimes to march out upon parties, to oblige the *Checahominies* to bring in the corn according to their agreement with capt. *Argol*. Several other provinces likewiſe furniſh'd them with corn and other neceſſaries, and all matters went very well on, the council from home, ſending them frequent recruits, with all things requiſite for advancing the colony. He being call'd home, capt. *Argol* was ſent to ſupply his place: and ſoon after the lord *De la Ware* ſet ſail for
1617. *Virginia*, but dy'd at ſea. About this time likewiſe dy'd *Powhaton*, and was ſucceeded by his ſecond brother *Itopaton*, who with the brother formerly mention'd renew'd the league with the *Engliſh*.

Upon *Argol*'s return to *England*, *Yardly* (now Sir *George*) was again made deputy of *Virginia*, to the general ſatisfaction of all the colony. And now the tobacco began to flouriſh, which has ſince been ſo conſiderable a branch of trade: but by an odd piece of roguery, they ſold the beſt *Virginia* tobacco, in *England*, as the growth of another country, and the worſt of it, as being only the produce of *Virginia*. Thus did ſome traders, for their own particular profit, cheat their country, and at the ſame time brought the *Virginia* plantation into diſrepute.

Notwithſtamding this and other inconveniencies, the planting in that country was well ſupported; for, before the
1619. end of the year 1619, eight ſhips were diſpatch'd by the company, and four more by private adventurers, in which went above 1260 perſons which made the number in *Virginia* 2260. And now they were model'd into a regular government; a college was erected, and many new houſes built, and all things had a fine appearance: and this year many particular patents were granted for ſeparate plantations, and much money was rais'd by voluntary contributions, for building churches, and propagating the chriſtian faith in *Virginia*, and publick ſchools were ſet up for breeding of youth in religion and literature; ſo that in the year 1621, by the encouragment of the earl of *Southampton*, and others, the company ſent over 21 ſhips, which carry'd 1300 perſons, and 26 new patents were given out this year, each of which occaſion'd freſh additions to the numbers already gone over. Their iron works, vineyards, ſalt-works, cotton plants, and tobacco, as alſo ſugar canes, hemp, flax, wood, mulberries, oranges, and lemons, corn, and all other things were in a thriving way; and by a particular recommendation from the king, the lord treaſurer *Southampton* and the company, they apply'd themſelves particularly to the making of wine and ſilk.

The colony in good condition.

The governor in 1621 was Sir *Francis Wyatt*, and all things ſeem'd to be in the moſt profound peace, and a good underſtanding kept with the natives. They had engratiated themſelves (as they thought) with *Opecancanogh*, by ſending workmen to build him a handſome houſe after the *Engliſh* faſhion, inſtead of the hog's-ſty he and his anceſtors had liv'd in before, and had furniſh'd it with their own moveables, of which he was very fond, and was ſo taken with the locks, that he ſpent the beſt part of the day in locking and unlocking the doors, wondering at the conjuration of ſhutting or opening of a large door, by only turning a key a little to one ſide or to the other.

1621. Sir Francis Wyatt governor.

But altho' this peace was honeſty meant on the part of the *Engliſh*, and that they were ſo far from having any ill deſign, or ſuſpecting any ill uſage from the natives that they entertain'd them in their own houſes like friends and brothers; and, without any fear, diſpers'd themſelves in ſmall parties thro' different places of the country to labour ſuch ſpots of ground as were aſſign'd them; yet all the appearance of good nature and familiarity in the ſavages, was only grimace, and they were actually carrying on a bloody conſpiracy againſt all the *Engliſh* in *Virginia*. In order to deſtroy them the more effectually, they did them all the good offices they could expect from their beſt friends, but under hand had a concert to cut them all off at one time; and to oblige the *Engliſh* to live the more ſecurely, they laid aſide their bows and arrows, for ſometimes

A plot againſt the Engliſh.

ſometime before the day fix'd for the execution of their plot; and obſerving that this made the *Engliſh* likewiſe go without arms, or lay them by, in a place by themſelves, they agreed ſecretly, to come unarm'd, and having ſeiz'd the weapons of thoſe they deſign'd to murder, they determin'd to cut their throats with their own ſwords.

Opechancanogh was at the head of this helliſh contrivance, and it had taken as fully as they intended it, had not the good hand of providence prevented it in a great meaſure, by putting it in the heart of one of the ſavages to diſcover it to one of the planters; ſo that the colony at *James's Town* were upon their guard, and as many others as they had time to give the allarm to. Notwithſtanding which above 400 *Engliſh* were murder'd in different places; for the ſavages coming about breakfaſt time, and being invited, as uſual, to eat with them, they watch'd the opportunity, and ſnatching up ſwords or other inſtruments of miſchief, fell in among the naked *Engliſh*, and ſpared neither age nor ſex, in all places where they had not been warn'd to be upon their guard. But at *James's Town*, and at the places near, finding the *Engliſh* arm'd they ſneak'd off, without attempting any thing. This happen'd on *Friday* the 22d of *March* 1621. How the *Engliſh* came to defer the chaſtiſing this villany till the year following, I don't know; but in the year 1622, they march'd in a body to *Pamanuc*, which they burn'd to the ground, together with many other towns and villages thro' the country, and kill'd all the ſavages who made any oppoſition, and *Opecancanogh* himſelf was ſaid to have dy'd by their hands. But after this revenge the natives beg'd peace, and the *Engliſh*, having ſettled the confuſions occaſion'd by the maſſacre, kept more upon their guard than formerly, and king *James* ſent them arms and ammuniton, from the tower of *London*.

In ſome meaſure executed.

And reveng'd.

But in the year 1623, there were ſo many complaints made of the ill management of the firſt colony call'd the *London Company*, that the king appointed an inquiry to be made into the affairs of *Virginia*; the reſult of which was, that a *quo warrnato* was iſſu'd out againſt their patent; and after a trial in the court of king's bench, in *Trinity* term the year following, it was declar'd forfeited; and, ſince that time, the plantations in *Virginia* have been under the imediate direction of the crown. And this is all that we have occaſion at preſent to ſay of *the firſt colony* mention'd in the patent granted in 1606; being in extent from ſouth to north, along *Cheſapeak* bay, from *Cape Charles*, on the eaſt ſide of the bay, about 60 miles, that is from 37 to 38 degrees lat. taking in all the land included in that degree, between *Cheſapeak* bay and the ocean. As alſo from *Cape Henry*, on the weſt ſide of the bay, to *Patowomeck* river, (call'd in the Atlas *Patowmeck*) about 90 miles, *viz.* from 37 to 38 degrees and a half; and keeps the courſe of that river north weſt, along the ſide of *Mary-Land*, from which that river divides *Virginia* on that ſide) till you reach the 40th degree of latitude. So that what is now call'd *Virginia*, is bounded by the ocean on the eaſt, till you come to the 38th degree (becauſe, ſo far it is on both ſides the bay of *Cheſapeak*) and by *Mary-Land* on the eaſt, for the reſt of it: by *Penſilvania* and a part of *Mary-Land*, on the north; by the *Apalitean* mountains on the weſt; and by *Carolina* on the ſouth. All which countries, at the time of their firſt diſcovery by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and even at the firſt patent's being granted by king *James*, went under the common name of *Virginia*. There are four great rivers, in proper *Virginia*, on the weſt ſide, which run into *Cheſapeak* bay within 15 or 20 miles of one another. 1. *Powhaton* river, to which the *Engliſh* gave the name of *James's* river, which is about three miles broad as it enters the bay, and is navigable 150 miles. 2. *Pamanuc* river, which, in honour of that moſt excellent prince king *Charles* I. then only duke of *York*, they call'd *York* river. It is 14 miles north of *James's* river, and is navigable 60 miles, and, with ſmall barges, 30 miles farther. 3. *Topahanoc*, navigable 140 miles, and 4. *Potawomec*, about 7 miles broad, and navigable 140; and is by much the largeſt river in *Virginia*, and the bounds between *Virginia* and *Mary-Land* on the weſt ſide of the *Cheſapeak* bay.

The ſituation of Virginia.

Four large rivers in Virginia.

In this country there are few towns, the *Engliſh* chuſing to live upon their ſeveral plantations. They are ſaid to have 49 pariſhes, moſt part of which have miniſters of the church of *England*, who are preſented by the church wardens and veſtry, and inducted by the governor: there are only two presbyterian, and three quaker meetings in all *Virginia*. It is divided into 23 counties, which have all *Engliſh* names, except *Nanſamund* and *Accomac*; and in the year 1703, the number of *Engliſh* in this country was reckon'd 60,616, beſides 6000 inhabitants of *Norther-neck*, which I ſuppoſe is that part of it, on the eaſt ſide of *Cheſapeak* bay, and about 200 *French* refugees.

Engliſh Atlas p. 242.

All the country here diſcrib'd was diſcover'd by *the firſt colony*, planted here by *the London Company*, being within

Ogilvy's America ch. 2. Virginia.

the limits fix'd by the patent to them, altho' they did not run farther up, on the east side of the bay, than 60 miles; and the patent being made void, before what is now call'd *Mary-Land* was discover'd, at least possess'd (which they might have laid claim to, had the patent subsisted) there was no more of that country call'd afterwards by the name of *Virginia*, than what is above describ'd.

SECT. V.

The Discovery and Planting of NEW ENGLAND.

HAVING in the preceding section, given an account of the progress of the colony, sent to *America*, by the *London Company*, we now proceed to the *2d Colony*, call'd in the patent of 1606, *the Plymouth Colony:* which (altho' granted to settle in *Virginia*) took another name so soon, that we think it properer to distinguish it from the former by the name of *New England*, as it was soon call'd, after the dissolution of the patent, than to confound our readers with the common name of *Virginia*.

The Plymouth Company *sends out ships.*

In the year 1606, the same year that the first colony set out, as we have already related, Sir *John Popham*, then lord chief justice of *England*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, governor of *Plymouth*, in conjunction with several other gentlemen and merchants in the west, fitted out a small ship, with only 30 men, for this great design of planting a colony among savages, and which was as bad, having the *Spaniards* constantly going and coming thro' the seas they had to cross in their way to their design'd settlement. And indeed the event shew'd that it was ill judg'd to attempt settling in *America*, with so slender a force. For their ship falling in with a fleet of *Spaniards*, near the islands possest by that nation, was taken, and capt. *Challons*, who commanded her, after very ill usage, was sent to *Spain*, where he and his men were treated no better.

The lord chief justice sent another ship, soon after, commanded by capt. *Hanham*, but gave him instructions only to view the country, and make report, that they might judge whether it would be worth their while to be at charge to make a plantation, many of the adventurers having been discourag'd by the miscarriage of their first ship. He perform'd the voyage happily, and gave so good an account of the country, that those who appear'd very backward to the attempt before, were now the most eager to carry it on. And therefore,

Two ships were forthwith, fitted out under the conduct of capt. *Popham* and capt. *Gilbert*, with 100 men, and all necessaries, who going to the north east of *Chesapeak* bay, according to the tenure of their patent, landed at *Sagadehoc*, formerly mention'd, in 45 deg. n. lat. in the country now call'd *New England*, and staid till the year folowing. But in that time, the lord chief justice dynig in *England*, and likewise Sir *John Gilbert* (brother to the captain, and president of the council for *West-India* affairs,) and capt. *Popham* dying in *America*; altho' Sir *Francis Popham*, who succeeded to his father's estate, sent over a fresh supply; yet capt. *Gilbert* being oblig'd to return to *England* to take possession of his brother's estate, and there being no other person there, whom they thought proper to be entrusted with the plantation, they unanimously agreed to return with the ships lately arriv'd; which they accordingly did, to the great discouragement of all the adventurers; so that the *Plymouth Company* was good as dissolv'd of itself.

But with little success.

The *English* plantation being thus deserted, the *French*, pretending to have been the first discoverers of that part of the continent, in the reign of *Francis* I. 1524, by *Verrazanus* an *Italian* then in the *French* service, now took possession of that part of the country up *Fundi* bay, and planted S. *Croix* and *Port Royal*, the one on the west, and the other on the east of that bay, and opposite to one another. But they were dispossest by capt. *Argol*, as has been already related.

The French *possess themselves of* Fundi *bay.*

But are thrust out by Argol.

The *French* being thus dispossest, the *English* adventurers for the *Plymouth Company*, again pluck'd up their spirits, and sent two ships in 1611, under the command of capt. *Hobson* and capt. *Harley*, to revive their old plantation; but they did not meet with that peaceable reception from the natives that the rest of their country men had done, of which this was the occasion: Before their arrival upon the coast one *Hunt*, who had come to some place thereabouts, in a smuggling way, had entice'd a good number of the natives aboard his ship, whither they went without any scruple, confiding in the honour of the *English* which they had experienced before. But as soon as he had them in his power, he clap'd them all under hatches, and sail'd away, and afterwards sold them for slaves. This piece of villany so exasperated the natives (otherwise a good natur'd people) that they no sooner perceiv'd the *English* ships, but they took to their arms, and altho' the captain's sent two of their country men ashore,

A piece of treachery done by one Hunt.

aſhore, who had been well us'd in *England*, they could not prevail with their friends to have any commerce with ſuch perfidious people as they believ'd the *Engliſh* to be. *Such miſchief is one wicked man, abandon'd to honour and vertue, capable of doing, when he has little private intereſt more at heart, than the honour and advantage of his country.* The two natives, whom they had ſent to perſuade their country men to renew their former correſpondence, were as much diſguſted, when they were inform'd of *Hunt*'s treachery, as the others were, and therefore plotted the deſtruction of the *Engliſh* they had come over with, however innocent they knew them to be of their country men's crime. Having concerted meaſures to bring this about, they fell upon the *Engliſh* one day, but they being more upon their guard, than the natives thought, they ſoon defeated them. But, finding it impracticable to bring them to have confidence in them, they thought it needleſs to ſtay any longer in that country unleſs they had had force ſufficient to ſubdue it; they therefore return'd to *England*.

A great damage to the Engliſh.

Capt. *Smith* was prevail'd upon to ſail with two ſhips to that coaſt, where he oblig'd the natives to trade with him, and with eight men only went along the coaſt, and, landing in ſeveral places, took an exact plan of it; and at his return, made 1500 pounds of otters and beavers skins, ſalt fiſh, and train oil. He ſet out a ſecond time that year, with two ſhips more, but being forced back by a ſtorm with his maſts all broken, he went aboard a ſmall bark to proſecute his voyage, and was taken by the *French* and carry'd priſoner to *France*, altho' the ſhip made her eſcape. Several other ſhips were ſent before the year 1620 and this *Plymouth* colony was in good reputation in *England*.

Several voyages to New England.

In the year 1620, a freſh recruit was ſent from *England*, by the *Plymouth Company*, under the command of capt. *Standiſh*, who arriv'd at *Cape Cod*, in the lat. of 42 and having turn'd the cape, they found a ſpacious bay running ſouthward, capable of containing 1000 ſhips, having the land on the eaſt, ſouth and weſt of it, and its entry, at the cape, about five miles broad, but is conſiderably wider farther ſouth, for about 10 miles. In this bay they ſaw a great number of whales, but were not equip'd for that kind of fiſhing. Their buſineſs being to find convenient places for ſettling, they ſent ſome parties aſhore, well arm'd, to view the country, who ſaw ſome of the natives, but could not overtake them. They found ſeveral places cover'd with mats, under ſome of which were hid bows and arrows, and under others, *Indian* wheat, which laſt they borrow'd ſome part of for food, and likewiſe for ſeed. They ſaw in the country great ſtore of ſtrawberries, walnuts, and ſome vines; and the ruines of an old fort; by which and by a ſhip kettle, which they found, they concluded that ſome *Europeans* had been in that country before. Another company of 24 men were ſent out in one of the long boats to ſearch the rivers that run into the bay, if any ſuch there were. One of the parties that landed, found ſome houſes, but no inhabitants, but they concluded they could not be far off, becauſe they found freſh proviſions, and good ſtore of corn in them: and at laſt they found they had judg'd right, for one night they were attack'd by the natives; but having kept ſtrict watch, they gave the *Indians* ſo warm a repulſe that they fled. Having view'd a good part of the country, they returned to the ſhips, and by the report of the ſeveral officers and their ſoldiers, that it ſeem'd to be a fruitful country abounding with all ſorts of trees, and a fat ſoil for producing all things neceſſary and beneficial, it was thought proper to ſettle a colony there. And their long boat returning at the ſame time, with the news of a moſt commodious harbour, at a place directly oppoſite to the point of *Cape Cod*, at the mouth of the bay, where there was great plenty of fiſh and fowl; at the entry to which harbour, there were two iſlands, not inhabited, well ſtock'd with wood, which would be of great uſe to them in building; thither they went; and finding every thing anſwer their expectation, they ſet about building a new town, and call'd it *Plymouth*; every family, and indeed every particular perſon taking ſuch a proportion of work.

1620 *the* Plimouth Company *arrive at* Cape Cod.

New Plymouth *built.*

When their town was pretty far advanced, one of the natives came very boldly thro' the ſtreets alone, and coming up to ſome of the *Engliſh* who were at work, bid them welcome to the country. He had his bow and arrows, but was ſtark naked, except a ſort of a leather girdle about his waſte. The *Engliſh* treated him civilly, and made him eat with them, and gave him ſtrong liquor to drink, which he ſeem'd to like very much by the quantity he drank. He told them that the place where they were was call'd *Patuxet*, and that the old inhabitants were either dead of the plague, or had deſerted the place. He ſaid he was a *ſagamore* (that is a lord) of *Moratiggon*, a country about five days journey from thence, and would come again to viſit them. In a ſhort time, he was as good as his word, and brought five or

ſix

ſix more of his country men along with him; but now they were all cloth'd with deer skins, and the chief man had a cat's skin upon his arm. Theſe were in like manner, well entertain'd by the *Engliſh*, and went away very well pleas'd.

Soon after this ſecond viſit a meſſage came to the governor, to give him an account, that *Maſſaſoyt*, the great *Sagamore* of the adjacent country was come to a certain place hard by to have an interview with the governor. Capt. *Winſlow* was ſent to meet him, with ſome toys, by way of preſent, who was well receiv'd by that king, and being told that the governor had no ill deſign, but only propos'd a league between him and his maſter the king of *Great Britain*, [*Maſſaſoyt* readily accepted it, and leaving capt. *Winſlow* with his brother, went himſelf only attended by 20 men, to the town. Capt. *Standiſh*, being advertis'd of his coming by a meſſage from *Winſlow*, went out to meet him with a ſmall retinue, and after they had embraced one another, in a friendly manner, the king was conducted to the governor's houſe, where he was treated with the beſt things they had, the principal part of the entertainment being ſtrong waters, which his majeſty was very fond of, and drank very plentifully of them. After the collation was over, they went upon buſineſs; and in a ſhort time concluded a peace, and enter'd into a league of friendſhip upon equitable terms on both ſides, *viz.* "That they "ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other in all "juſt wars. That reſtitution, and ſatisfaction ſhould be made in caſe of any "injury of either ſide, and all offenders "duly puniſh'd. That all *Maſſaſoyt's* "allies ſhould be comprehended in this "treaty; and that it ſhould be notify'd to them by him. And laſtly, that "both the *Engliſh* and the *Indians* "when they came to viſit one another, "ſhould be without arms."

A peace concluded between the Engliſh *and* Maſſaſoyt *lord of the country.*

This treaty was carry'd on and agreed to, by the help of an *Indian* interpreter call'd *Tiſquantum*, a native of *New England*, whom the *Engliſh* had carry'd out of *America* to *England* ſome time before, and ſpoke good *Engliſh*. The king having ſtaid ſome hours at *Plymouth*, retir'd to the woods about a mile from the town, where he lodg'd all night, his wives and children coming there to him, and the governor ſending, the next day, two gentlemen to make his compliments, *Maſſaſoyt* gave them a good entertainment, and ſhew'd by all his behaviour that he deſign'd to adhere to the treaty; and in this mind he retir'd to his own habitation.

In the mean time the colony went on to admiration, the town of *Plymouth* was far advanc'd, and they took care to to ſow their ground with ſuch ſeed as they had either brought from *England* or found in *America*. But in four or five months after the treaty, the governor having a mind to know how *Maſſaſoyt* reliſh'd it, and likewiſe being deſirous to have an account of the country, diſpatched capt. *Winſlow* with only three attendants (one of which was *Tiſquantum*) to *Pacanoke* where the *Indian* king kept his court. Mr. *Winſlow*, in this march, found all the marks of truth in what the *Moratiggon* had told them relatiug to the deſolation of the country by the plague, for he ſaw a fine country all along, but almoſt uninhabited. However ſuch people as he found, gave him the beſt entertainment they had, and offer'd themſelves to carry his baggage, and took himſelf and his company upon their ſhoulders, when they had any rivers to paſs.

When they arriv'd at *Maſſaſoyt's* palace, he was much out of countenance, for he was quite deſtitute of proviſions that he could not give them a dinner; their manner being to live from hand to mouth. However his people went a fiſhing and fowling, and in a little time, they got ſome fiſh and patridges. Nor were they better lodg'd, for they were forced to ly upon a mat with the king and his wife, where ſome of his nobles pidg'd in with them. So that having found by his chearful countenance, and open behaviour that he had not repented the treaty, they cut their viſit ſhort, and return'd back to *Plymouth*; giving great joy to the colony for *Maſſaſoyt's* firmneſs.

Mr. Winſlow makes a viſit to Maſſaſoyt.

But there were a people towards the ſouth eaſt from *Plymouth*, known by the name of *Narraghanſets*, ſituated near the great ſea, in 31 and a half n. lat. who ſeem'd to be quite diſaffected to the *Engliſh*; for *Conauacus*, their great *Sagamore* or king, ſent a meſſenger to *Plymouth*, with a bundle of arrows wrapt in the ſkin of a rattle-ſnake. This, as the interpreter told the governor, was an open declaration of war; and therefore in anſwer to this bravade, the governor took the arrows out, and ſtuff'd the ſkin full of powder and ball, and ſo ſent it back by the meſſenger: but at the meſſenger's return to his king, he was ſo frighted at the powder and ball (which he imagined were ſent to deſtroy him and his people before the *Engliſh* appear'd) that he would not let it ſtay a moment in his houſe, but ſent it back by another meſſenger. Whether he had been informed of the dreadful effects of powder and ſhot from the meſſenger who had carry'd the arrows, or ſome other way, I don't know, but he would not touch either, which gave occaſion of good diverſion

The king of the Narraghanſets, *ſends a challenge to* New Plymouth.

to

to the *Engliſh*, and gave them reaſon to believe, that he who was ſo much afraid of touching powder and ball, when they were not in a condition to do him hurt, would not ſtand the diſcharging them from a cannon or a musket.

But that they might not be attack'd at diſadvantage, they fortify'd their town as well as they could; and when they had finiſh'd their works, capt. *Standiſh* went with 10 men intending to go to the country of the *Meſſachuſets* northweſt from *Plymouth*, and afterwards a flouriſhing colony of *Engliſh*. But he was forced to return by an allarm from the city, that the *Norraganſets* were upon their march to attack the *Engliſh*. This allarm was a contrivance of *Tiſquantum*, who, altho' he was then with capt. *Standiſh*, had left inſtructions with a correſpondent of his to vent this piece of news as ſoon as they ſhould be ſome miles out of town (as appear'd afterwards). The *Indian* told this news with ſuch ſeeming concern, and zeal for the colony, that no body doubted the truth of it; he added likewiſe that *Maſſaſoyt* was in the league againſt them. Upon capt. *Sandiſh*'s return, the whole colony was in arms, and guards were placed at the proper poſts. But having continu'd ſome days ready prepar'd for ſo conſiderable an enemy, and no appearance of their coming, *Hobbamock*, one of *Maſſaſoyt*'s chief captains, who had reſided for ſome time with capt. *Standiſh*, being confident of his maſter's innocency, advis'd the captain to ſend to *Puchonoke*, that they might be convinced whether the king was making any preparations for war. This was accordingly done, and the meſſenger who was ſent, found *Meſſoſayt* at home, in his old way, hunting ſometimes with his ordinary retinue, without dreaming of war. The king was ſtruck with this ſtory, being vex'd that he ſhould be thus unjuſtly miſrepreſented to the *Engliſh*, and therefore went immediately to *Plymouth*, to clear himſelf. This was the firſt diſcovery of *Tiſquantum*'s villany, which was ſuppos'd not to be ſo much with a deſign to hurt the *Engliſh*, as to make himſelf appear a conſiderable perſon both to them, and to his own countrymen. For at the ſame time that he had threaten'd the *Engliſh* with this pretended invaſion, he told the natives that the *Engliſh* had the plague ſhut up in a hole under ground juſt by their ſtore houſe, and could let it looſe upon them in greater or ſmaller portions as they thought fit. By this ſtory he kept the *Indians* ſo much in awe, that that they courted him, and gave him conſiderable preſents to keep the hole cloſe, becauſe he made them believe, that he had ſuch intereſt with the colony, that they would make peace or war at his pleaſure. It happen'd that ſome barrels of gun-powder, kept under ground, were dug up in the late allarm, and *Hobbamock* ſeeing the hole, from whence it was taken, ask'd *Tiſquantum* what it meant, who very gravely told him, that they had dug that hole to let the plague out among the natives: but *Hobbamock*, being a man of better ſenſe than to believe him, told the ſtory to capt. *Standiſh*, which was the firſt diſcovery of the interpreter's roguery; and upon enquiry, ſeveral other things having appear'd againſt him, he loſt his credit with both parties; altho' the governor, thinking ſtill he was uſeful to him as an interpreter, would not give him up to *Maſſaſoyt*, altho' he deſir'd it, that he might puniſh him for having contriv'd an open rupture between him and the *Engliſh*. This gave ſome diſguſt to the *Indian* king, and indeed it was ill judg'd, for many of the *Engliſh* having by this time learn'd to converſe with the *Indians* in there own language, as the *Indians* had learn'd a good deal of *Engliſh*. The *Indian* king ſeem'd to have a right to demand the ſlave who had ſo unjuſtly ſlander'd him. However *Maſſaſoyt* never broke the league, nor enter'd into any meaſures, which could give any umbrage againſt him.

Tiſquantum's roguery.

Diſcover'd.

About, or ſome time before, this tranſaction, the *New England* colonies were much augmented. For multitudes of *Non Conformiſts* (having gone to *Holland* from *England*, for what they call'd *liberty of conſcience*, altho' others gave it a worſe name) thinking this open trade to the *Weſt-Indies* a good opportunity of enjoying their own opinions in religion, offer'd their ſervice to the *Plymouth Company*. And the grand patent having been given up to the king, particular patents were granted to the lord *Mougrave*, the duke of *Richmond*, the earl of *Carlile*, lord *Edward Gorges*, the marquis of *Hamilton*, capt. *John Maſon*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*. And now colonies were planted in ſeveral places, which encreas'd in king *Charles* I's reign, being encourag'd by Sir *Harry Vane*, the lord *Say* and *Seal*, and the lord *Brook*, men afterwards very famous for the part they acted in the troubles and civil wars in their country.

Ogilvy's America, *ch.* 2.

But as we do not deſign a hiſtory of the progreſs of thoſe plantations, we ſhall only add, that in a few years time, the *Engliſh* had built 45 good towns, beſides a great number of villages. The whole country is divided into three provinces, *viz.*

1. The *Maſſachuſets* 110 miles in length, and in ſome part of it 80 broad, and is divided into ſix counties, *Main*,

Engliſh Atlas.

Cornwal, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Hampſhire*. Each of theſe have ſeveral towns, and moſt of thoſe towns, and have their teachers. In the county of *Suffolk* is the city of *Boſton*, the metropolis of *New England*, the fineſt town in all *America*, except ſome of the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* towns. And in the county of *Middleſex* is the town of *Cambridge*, where *Harvard College* and *Stoughton Hall* are, ſo call'd from two perſons who were the erectors of them for the encouraging of learning.

2. *Plymouth* province is about 100 miles long, and 50 broad: and contains three counties, *viz. Plymouth*, *Barnſtable*, and *Briſtol*, each of which have their towns and teachers.

3. The third province is *Connecticut*, 70 miles long, and 50 broad; and contains four counties, *New London*, *Hartford*, *New Haven*, and *Fairfield*, with their towns, &c.

SECT. VI.

NEW-YORK, JERSEY, PENSILVANIA, *and* MARY-LAND.

WE chuſe to put theſe four colonies together, altho' they were not planted at one time, both becauſe they ly contiguous to one another, and becauſe we deſign to be very brief in our account of them, the principal *Engliſh* colonies of *Virginia* and *New England* having taken up ſo much of our time already.

New York.

Ogilvy *ubi ſupra.*

New York lies on both ſides of *Hudſon's River*, from lat. 41 to 44 deg. as it is in the *Engliſh Atlas*; the breadth from eaſt to weſt, that is, from *New England* to *Penſilvania*, being pretty near as much This country, as diſtinct from the others, was diſcover'd by *Henry Hudſon* in 1609, who having been employ'd by the *Eaſt-India Company* to diſcover the north weſt paſſage, in that voyage ſail'd up this river, and afterwards went to *Amſterdam*; where the *Dutch* either having purchas'd, or pretending to have purchas'd the chart he had made of the *American* coaſt, they founded upon that a good *Dutch title* to the country; and ſo having procur'd a patent from the ſtates at the *Hague* in 1614, only to trade in *New England*, they ſettled in this country, which they call'd *New Netherland*; and kept poſſeſſion till Sir *Samuel Argol*, formerly mention'd, diſputed their title, and ſhewed them, by the moſt prevailing argument with them, that that country having been diſcover'd by an *Engliſh* man in right of his maſter, he could not alienate it from the crown, without the king's

The Dutch *poſſeſs themſelves of it.*

conſent. Thus the *Dutch* colony was forced to ſubmit to the governor of *Virginia*, and held their plantation there in ſubordination to the *Engliſh*. But ſome time after, a new governor coming from *Amſterdam*, they not only neglected to pay their uſual acknowledgment to the governor of *Virginia*, but fortify'd their colony by building *New Amſterdam*, and *Orange Fort*, the one on the weſt, and the other on the eaſt of *Hudſon's River*, which laſt is mark'd on the map *Hell-Gate*, and the former is now call'd *New York*.

Theſe proceedings having been repreſented to king *Charles* I. then upon the throne of *England*, his ambaſſador at the *Hague*, made ſuch preſſing inſtances to the ſtates, that they diſown'd their, having given any commiſſion for what the *Dutch* had done, and laid the blame upon the *Eaſt-India* company at *Amſterdam*. Upon this his majeſty gave a commiſſion to Sir *George Calvret*, lately made lord *Baltimore* in *Ireland*, to poſſeſs and plant that part of *America* from *Cheſapeak* bay northward, under the name of *Mary-Land*, in honour of his queen; and to Sir *Edmund Loyden* to plant the northern part, towards *New England*, by the name of *New Albion*. The *Dutch* being afraid of the *Engliſh* power, were willing to compound matters a ſecond time, and offer'd to leave all their plantations in conſideration of 2500 l. to be paid them for the charges they had been at. But ſoon after, thoſe crafty people, ſeeing that excellent prince involv'd in troubles at home, which they too well foreſaw, would hinder him from ſupporting the colonies abroad, they not only flew off from their firſt propoſals, but (as was reported) furniſhed the natives with guns and ſwords, and taught them the uſe of them, that by their aſſiſtance, they might diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* all round them. Thus they kept poſſeſſion during the civil wars, and *Oliver's uſurpation*. I do not know how *Cromwel* came to neglect reducing this country: for altho' he was an *uſurper* and a *tyrant*, yet *to give the devil his due*, he ſuffer'd no *foreign* power to affront *England*, nor could he be ever charg'd with having ſuffer'd *Engliſh ſhips*, either of *war* or *trade*, to be *diſturb'd* or *inſulted*, in any ſeas wherever they they ſail'd. Perhaps the ill ſucceſs at *Hiſpaniola* had diſcourag'd the fleet; and in fact he did recover a part of this country from the *Dutch* in 1655, ſince call'd *Penſilvania*.

However that was, the *Dutch* kept poſſeſſion of *New York* till the happy *reſtoration* of the *exil'd* royal family: and king *Charles* II. conſidering of what ill conſequnce a *Dutch* colony might be, in the

the very heart of his dominions in *America*, determin'd to diſpoſſeſs them. To this end, he gave a patent to his brother the duke of *York*, of all the places in *America* which ſhould be retriev'd from foreigners, together with *Long Iſland*, ſituated near the ſouth coaſt of *New York*, and running along a part of *New England*. His royal highneſs gave commiſſion to colonel *Nichols*, groom of his bed-chamber, to go and poſſeſs himſelf of *New Albion*, which he did, and gave it the name of *New York*, which it retains to this day. *New Amſterdam* got likewiſe the ſame name with the country, and lies oppoſite to the weſt end of *Long Iſland*. Fort *Arundel* was call'd fort *James*, on the one ſide of the city of *New York*, a place well fortify'd, and defended with ſtore of cannon: and fort *Orange* got the name of fort *Albany*, the duke of *York*'s *Scotch* title. Theſe two forts command the entry to *Hudſon*'s river and by them on either ſide that river is the beſt defended of any one in north *America*.

But forced to reſign it.

Between the weſt end of *Long Iſland*, and *New York* city, there is a large bay, in which are two iſlands call'd the *States* iſland, and the *Manhatten* iſland. *Hudſon*'s river runs directly north, as far as it is diſcover'd that way. About 120 miles up the river from *New York* lies *New Albany*, a place of great trade with the *Indians*, ſince it came under the *Engliſh* government. In this town, the governor of *New York* has all his meetings with the *Indians*, and tranſacts all affairs with them.

In this government, the chief towns are, 1, *New York*. 2. *New Albany*, both above mentioned. 3. *Kingſton*, 50 miles north weſt from *New York*. 4. *Schenectada*, about 20 miles from *New Albany*. This town was burnt, and the inhabitants kill'd by the *French*, after the revolution; but is rebuilt and better peopled ſince. There are reckon'd about 8000 *Engliſh* in this province of *New York*, and not above 1000 *Indians*.

Engliſh Atlas n. America.

New Jerſey is rather a part of *New York*, than a diſtinct province, and the reaſon why it is reckoned apart from it, is that the duke of *York*, afterwards king *James* II. gave this country (which was included in his patent from his brother) to under proprietors, *viz*, the lord *Berkeley*, and Sir *George Carteret*.

New Jerſey.

It lies on the ſide of *De la Ware* river to the weſt and ſouth of *New York*, and reaches ſouthward as far as the ocean, and has the ſea on both ſides, all ſouth of the city of *New York*, being from ſouth to north above 200 miles, but nothing proportionable in breadth. The firſt proprietors, under the duke, aſſign'd their right to Sir *William Pen*, and partners. It is reckon'd, that there are 12,000 *Engliſh* in this ſpot of ground. It is divided into weſt and eaſt *Jerſey*, altho', by the ſituation, it would be more proper to call them north and ſouth *Jerſey*. In weſt *Jerſey* there are nine towns well inhabited, each of which has a great quantity of land of 30, 40, ſome 50,000 acres aſſign'd for plantations, beſides the plantations belonging to particular perſons in the different counties. Theſe towns are, 1. *Berghen*, which is the fartheſt north. 2. *Elizabeth* town; the ſeat of the government, and of the courts of judicature. 3. *Newark*. 4. *Piſcataway*. 5. *Wood-Bridge*. 6. *Perth Amboy*. 7. *Middleton*. 8. *Shrewsberry*, and 9. *Freehold*.

In eaſt *Jerſey* are, 1. *Cohanzy*, 2. *Fort Elſingburg*, at the mouth of *De la Ware river*. 3. *Salham*, upon a river of the ſame name. 4. *Glouceſter*. 5. *Burlington*, the ſeat of the *aſſembly*, and courts of juſtice; and 6. *Maidenhead*.

The country moſt contiguous to theſe laſt mention'd is *Penſilvania*, which lies to the weſtward of *New York*, and *New Jerſey*; being bounded by thoſe two provinces on the eaſt; by the *Indian* unconquer'd countries on the north and weſt; and by *Mary-Land* on the ſouth. This country takes its name from *William Pen* the famous *Quaker*, ſon to Sir *William Pen* admiral of the fleet in the time of the *rump parliament*, who commanded afterwards under the duke of *York* in the firſt *Dutch* war in 1664. In conſideration of the good ſervice of the father, upon this occaſion, the ſon obtain'd a patent in 1680, to plant this part of *America* recover'd by the *Engliſh*, in the year 1655 from the *Dutch*.

Penſilvania.

Engliſh Atlas ubi ſupra.

The extent of land granted by king *Charles* II. to Mr. *Pen* out of this country, call'd by the *Dutch New Belgia*, comprehends about 330 miles in length and 200 in breadth, and is divided into ſix counties, each of which ſends ſix members to the aſſembly; which aſſembly, with the governor's conſent, makes their laws. The other parts of their government are manag'd after the *Engliſh* model by ſeſſions, *&c.* there are people of different nations and religions in *Penſilvania*, but the bulk of them *Engliſh*, and for the moſt part Quakers. The *European* inhabitants with their negroes are reckon'd 35,000, and the *Indians* about 6000. Scarce a 30th part of the province is inhabited, but what is ſo, is better clear'd than any other *Engliſh* plantation in *America*. The chief rivers in this country are *De la Ware* and *Suſquahanagh*. The former of which is navigable, by ſmall veſſels 300 miles, and taking

taking its riſe from the *Iroquois* country runs in a ſouth courſe, and falls into the ſea at *De la Ware* bay, which divides *New Jerſey* from *Mary-Land*. The other river riſes in the ſame country, and emties itſelf in *Cheſapeak* bay. There are ſeveral ſmaller rivers which fall into thoſe; the moſt conſiderable of which is *Schoolhill* river, which enters *De la Ware* at *Philadelphia*. There are ten conſiderable towns in *Penſilvania*, beſides others of leſs note. 1. *Oxford*. 2. *The Falls Town*. 3. *Briſtol*. 4. *Pensburgh*. 5. *Philadelphia*, between *De la Ware* river, and that of *Schoolhill*, and is the capital of the whole province, well built, having two ſtreets in the middle of it, *viz*. the *High-ſtreet* and *Broad-ſtreet*, each 100 foot broad; there is a ſquare of ten acres, in the centre of the city for the town-houſe, ſchool-houſe and quaker's-meeting-houſe. There is a large church in *Philadelphia* with about 700 of church principles who frequent it. This is the ſeat of the government, and courts of juſtice. 6. *German Town*. 7. *Cheſter*, 8. *New-Caſtle*. 2 *Dover*, and 10. *Lewes*. Moſt of theſe towns are upon the river.

Mary-Land.

South of *Penſilvania*, lies *Mary-Land*, a ſmall track of land on both ſides of *Cheſapeak*, from about 38 deg. to 40. It has *Virginia* on the ſouth and weſt; *De la Ware* bay on the eaſt; and *Penſilvania* on the north. The lord *Baltimore* had a grant from king *Charles* I. in 1631, as we obſerv'd before: but that lord dying, before the patent paſt the great ſeals, another was made out in favour of his ſon, bearing date *June* 20 1632. This patent comprehends all the land between *De la Ware* bay and *Patowmeck* river from eaſt to weſt, and beginning on the ſouth by a ſtreight line drawn from the ſaid river in 37 deg. and 50 minutes eaſtward, (which divides it from that part of *Virginia* between *Cheſapeak* bay and the ocean) it reaches to the 40th deg. n. lat. By this patent, his lordſhip was made abſolute proprietor of *Mary-Land*, ſaving the allegiance and ſovereignty due to his majeſty.

Ogilvy's America *ch.* 2.

This lord ſent his two brothers, Mr. *Leonard* and Mr. *George Calverts* in the year 1633 with about 200 perſons, many of them gentlemen, to ſettle a colony in his new eſtate; who arriving on the *Virginia* coaſt the 24th of *Feb.* 1630, ſail'd up the bay of *Cheſapeck*, and turning up *Patowmeck* river, the elder *Calvret*, who was governor, purchas'd an *Indian* town from the natives, for things brought from *England*, and chang'd the name of it from *Tocomaco* to St. *Mary*'s; the natives were the readier to give up this town, becauſe they had ſome thoughts of removing farther up the country, to be free of the neighbourhood of the *Saſqenhanocks*, a troubleſome people lying between *Cheſapeak* and *De la Ware*, who us'd to croſs the river, and do them miſchief. This town of S. *Mary*'s, which afterwards became the metropolis of the *Engliſh* colony, lies upon S. *George*'s river, which runs into *Potowmeck* not far from the place where that river falls into *Cheſapeak* bay: ſo that S. *Mary*'s is ſituated near theſe two great rivers, upon the ſouth eaſt point of that part of the country, which lies weſt of *Cheſapeak* bay.

After they had purchas'd this town, they began to build after the *Engliſh* manner, and in a ſhort time brought it to be a large place, and the lord *Baltimore* ſending, from time to time, recruits of families to his new plantation, ſoon after the reſtoration, the *Engliſh* in *Mary-Land* amounted to near 20,000: for, by that time they had ſettled ſeveral colonies on both ſides the bay of *Cheſapeak*, and built ſeveral towns.

In the year 1661 the lord proprietor ſent his ſon and heir, the honourable *Charles Calvert*, as governor under him to *Mary-Land*, who took great care to oblige both the *Engliſh* and the natives, as indeed all the gentlemen of that family had done all along; only they had been oblig'd ſometimes to chaſtiſe the *Saſquehanocks* on the eaſtern part of the country; but having, at laſt, reduced them to good humour, they liv'd as quiet as thoſe on the weſt, and lord *Baltimore* govern'd that country by his lieutenants with as abſolute ſovereignty as any tributary king could deſire. The council and lords of manors, made a houſe of lords; and repreſentatives from the 10 different counties made up their houſe of commons, and the governor acted as king.

But as this family was *Roman* catholicks, (which was judg'd, at the revolution, to be ſufficient reaſon for making void titles, and taking away prerogatives,) the then government of *England* (notwithſtanding lord *Baltimore*'s patent) made him *abdicate* the government of *Mary-Land*, and ſent proteſtant governors thither, as they thought proper. Indeed his lordſhip had the good luck to keep his eſtate there tho' not his ſovereignty, a favour not granted to all of that religion at that time.

Eng. Atlasp. 241.

Of the ten counties which compoſe the *Engliſh* plantation here, five of them are on the weſt ſide of *Cheſapeak*, and as many on the eaſt. Thoſe on the weſt are S. *Mary*'s, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Arundel*, and *Baltimore* counties; on the eaſt are, *Somerſet*, *Dorcheſter*, *Talbot*, *Cecil* and *Kent*. The chief towns are on the weſt ſide,

ſide, *viz. Annapolis*, in *Arundel* county, which is the ſeat of the governor, and aſſembly, altho' at firſt they were at St. *Mary*'s, but were transfer'd from that to the other, as being more centrical. St. *Mary*'s, the capital of the country, is ſtill the place where the courts of juſtice are kept. And this is all we think proper to ſay, in this place, of *Mary-Land.*

SECT. VII.

CAROLINA.

CAROLINA is that part of *North America* which lies ſouth of *Virginia* from 37 deg. to 31 deg. n. lat. having *Virginia* on the north; the *Atlantic* ocean on the eaſt; the point of *Florida* next to *Cuba* on the ſouth, and the mountains (which divide the eaſt coaſt of that part of *America* from *Florida*) on the weſt, being 360 miles in length, and almoſt as much in breadth on the north part, but narrower by one half towards the ſouth.

Eng. Atlas p. 243. About the year 1622 ſome *Engliſh* families ſettled in the ſouthmoſt part of this country, then reckon'd a part of *Virginia*, near the head of the river *May*, otherwiſe call'd *Matheo*, where they were well receiv'd by the natives, many of whom they converted, and, among the reſt, one of their kings. But this was not the firſt *European* ſettlement in this country; for Mr. *Hackluyt* gives an account of a *French* colony ſent thither in 1562, by *Chaſtillon*, admiral of *France*, under the command of *Rebault*. Of which it may not be improper to give a ſhort account in this place, having but little to ſay of the *Engliſh* ſettlement there before the reſtoration.

Hackluyt Vol. III. p. 308.

Capt. *Rebault* having been ſent, the above mention'd year, with two *French* ſhips, to diſcover and plant a colony in *America*, where the *Spaniards*, by that time, made ſuch a figure; ſet ſail the 18th of *February*, and in two months arriv'd upon the coaſt of *Florida*, northward of the *Bahama* iſlands, and touching at a point, in the latitude of 30 degrees he gave it the name of cape *Francois*, or the *French* cape, and it is, to this day, call'd in the *Engliſh* maps, cape *Francis*. Not far from this cape, he found the river of *May*, where the natives receiv'd the *French* with all the marks of hoſpitality, altho' they did not underſtand their language; and having obſerv'd thoſe ſtrangers lift their eyes to heaven, in their devotions, and believing from thence, that they worſhip'd the ſun, they became very fond of them; and expreſt great ſorrow, when they ſaw them ready to go from them; but not being able to keep them, their king order'd his people to go a fiſhing to ſupply them in their voyage, which was immediately perform'd; they took out of their weares great ſtore of trouts, mullets, plaiſe, turbets, and other fiſh, to which the *French* did not know what names to give, as having never ſeen any of the kind before.

The French expiditi-on to Carolina.

The river of May.

Leaving the place of their firſt landing, where they ſet up a pillar of ſtone, on which they had carv'd the arms of *France*, they croſs'd over to the other ſide of the river, where the king had aſſembled his people. Upon their approaching the ſhore, two ſons of this king came to meet them, and ſaluted the captain very courteouſly, inviting him to go to their father, which he did, accompany'd by all his men, who had landed with him, becauſe the *Indians* about the king had their bows and arrows. The king did not ſtir from his ſeat, at the captain's approach, and only bow'd his head a little, which look'd liker a nod, than a bow, from thence *Rebault* imagin'd that he had been affronted that they had viſited the king on the other ſide of the river, before they ſaw him. However the captain ſitting down by him, preſented him with ſome trifles of glaſs and guilt bracelets, and at the ſame time made preſents to his ſons. The king put on a chearful countenance, and treated the captain in the beſt manner he could, but they were at a great loſs by not underſtanding one another.

Having taken a view of the country, and found it marriſh ground, they went aboard their ſhips, and ſteer'd farther north along the coaſt; where they ſaw ſeveral rivers, to which they gave *French* names, as the *Seine*, the *Loire*, the *Soam*, the *Garonne*, &c. But coming to one river larger than any they had yet met with, they call'd it *Port Royal*, where they caſt anchor in ten fathom water, when the tide is out. This river is about 6 miles broad at the mouth of it, and ſeems by the deſcription of it to be the ſame with what is now call'd *Aſhley Cooper* river in 32 degrees and a half north lat. Capt. *Rebault* ſail'd 12 leagues up this river, and found abundance of fiſh in it; and all along the ſhore fine mulberry and palm trees. But as they went towards the ſhore, as they frequently did in their boats, the natives, who ſtood there to gaze at them, fled to the woods. But at laſt, the captain making ſome of his people land, and leave ſome trinkets upon the ſhore, the natives came to the place, after the *French* had retir'd to

Port Royal *river.*

their ſhips, they made no ſcruple. after that, to ſtay the landing of the captain, and treated friendly with the *French*, who ſtill us'd them with all demonſtrations of friendſhip.

Coming to an iſland in this river, and trading with the natives in a peaceable manner, they took two *Indians* aboard, with the conſent of the king of the iſland, which from the abundance of cedar trees, they call'd the *Iſland of Cedars*. With theſe *Indians* monſieur *Laudonniers* (from whom this account of *Hackluyt*'s was taken) made himſelf very familiar, and by writing down the names of every thing in the *Indian* language, as they pronounced them to him, in a ſhort time he was able to make himſelf be underſtood by the natives, and with the help of demonſtrations, at which the *French* are very expert, he convers'd with them without great difficulty. But theſe two *Indians* finding that they were ſtrictly watch'd, and never ſuffer'd to go aſhore, began to apprehend themſelves to be priſoners; ſo that altho' they were very well us'd by the *French*, and eſpecially by *Laudonniers*, they could not brook ſlavery, and therefore one night made their eſcape, leaving the cloaths which the captain had given them, becauſe they would take nothing but what was their own.

Rebault having ſearch'd the country on both ſides this river a great way up, and finding that it was a very proper place for trade, reſolv'd to ſettle towards the mouth of it; and to that end, calling his whole crew upon deck, he diſclos'd his purpoſe to them, ſhewing them how advantagious it would be to *France*, how acceptable to their king, and how glorious for themſelves, to reduce ſuch a fine country under the obedience of *France*. The men agreeing to the propoſal, he went aboard and ſet ſail for the entry where he had firſt come in, and coming to an anchor, went in his pinnace, with all who were willing to ſettle in *America*, to pitch upon a place for building a fort upon the north ſide of the great river; and having found an iſland near the mouth of the river, he pitch'd upon it for his colony, and immediately ſet about building a fort for their defence, and after he had finiſhed it, he gave the command of it to capt. *Albert*, and call'd it *Charles*'s fort.

Charles's Fort.

Having thus ſettled his new colony, and provided it with all things neceſſary, *Rebault* took his leave of them, and having given the name of *New France* to this part of *America*, and coaſted a little farther northward, till he met with ſhallows, he call'd a council, and with common conſent, ſet ſail for *France*, where he landed in *July*, having been abroad but ſix months.

Rebault *returns to* France.

After his departure, the colony made friends with all the neighbouring kings, and living in profound peace with them, were reliev'd by them in all their neceſſaries for ſome time; and when an accidental fire had conſum'd the fort, the *Indians* built a new one for them. But the *French* falling out among themſelves, murder'd capt. *Albert* for ſome rigorous proceeding of his againſt one or two ſoldiers: after they had rid themſelves of him, they choſe one *Barre* for their captain, and reſolv'd to leave the fort, and therefore built a pinnace (the natives having provided them with cordage) with a deſign to ſail for *France*. Having put to ſea, they were ſo detain'd by the calms that they were ready to ſtarve, and reduced to the ſad neceſſity of killing one of their number for food to the reſt. But their ſhip grew ſo leaky, that they had certainly periſh'd, if, by good providence, they had not been viſited by an *Engliſh* merchant ſhip, and taken on board, and ſo carry'd to *England*.

The civil wars at that time a foot in *France*, had hinder'd the court from ſending any ſuccours to *Albert*; but things being in a better way in 1564, the admiral began to think of the colony at *Charles*'s fort, and pitch'd upon *Laudonniers* to conduct the recruits thither, being ignorant of what had happen'd to them.

Laudonniers ſet ſail with three ſhips, the 22d of *April* 1564, and having ſtop'd at the *Canaries*, and afterwards at *Martinico*, and *Dominica*, where he ſtaid ſome days, he arriv'd on the coaſt of the continent near cape *Francois* on the 22d of *June*. Going aſhore there in a river, which, from the number of dolphins at the mouth of it, they call'd the *Dolphin River*, they were welcom'd by the natives; but making a ſhort ſtay there, they proceeded to the *May*, where, at their landing, they were met, and welcom'd by the *paracouſſy* or king of the place, whom they had ſeen two years before. As ſoon as he ſaw *Laudonniers*, he run to him and cry'd out *amy*, *amy*, which is the *French* word for *friend*; and having entertain'd the captain and all the company, he took him to ſee the pillar which *Rebault* had erected, which they found crown'd with bays. The natives went near and kiſs'd it with great reſpect, and the *French* did the ſame, at their deſire. After this they proceeded farther up the river, and were treated in a friendly manner by ſeveral kings, among whom one of them was above 250 years of age, if *Laudonniers* did not miſtake their manner of computation: altho' he muſt have been very old, for they ſhew'd five generations from him.

Laudonnires *ſent to* Carolina.

Is well receiv'd by ſeveral kings.

Having

Having discover'd a fine country up the river, especially that part of it belonging to *Satouriava*, they return'd to the pillar, where the king entertain'd them again, and gave the captain a large wedge of silver, and being ask'd, from whence it came, he gave them to understand, that many days journey from them liv'd the king of *Timogoa*, their mortal enemy, in whose country there was abundance of gold and silver. *Laudonniers* promis'd to assist him against this king, at which the *paracouſſy* shew'd much joy, desiring him to be as good as his word, and he should have gold enough.

Taking their leave of this king, they return'd to their ships, and sail'd farther north, but being inform'd that their countrymen had abandon'd *Charles*'s fort, and the country, they held a council to determine where to settle; and there being several gentlemen, besides the commodore, who had been in the country with *Rebault*, they agreed that the river *May* was the propereſt place for a colony; and therefore they return'd thither; and going up the river as far as *Satouriava*'s dominion, they pitch'd upon a spot of ground to build upon, and set about it forthwith, with the approbation of that *Indian*, who came almost every day to see their work, and gave them all the assistance they desir'd.

He settles upon the river May.

When they had finish'd the fort with convenient houses for themselves, and a store-house for their provisions and ammunition, the commodore call'd it *Carolina*, in honour of *Charles* IX. king of *France*. And having heard much of *Timogoa*, he sent his lieutenant *Ottigni* up the river, with two *Indian* guides to shew them his country. *Ottigni* having sail'd about 20 leagues his guides spy'd 3 canoes upon the water, and calling out *Timogoa*, *Timogoa*, they run, one to a halbert, and another to a cutlace, the lieutenant had enough to do to hinder them from throwing themselves into the water to attack them; but he manag'd the matter so, that the *Timagoans*, taking the alarm, got safe ashore before he thought fit to pursue them. After they were landed, he went ashore with a party, leaving the *Indians* aboard in custody of some of his own people, and advancing to the people whom he spy'd upon the shore, he laid down some of the things he had brought with him, and retiring from them, with all the signs of peace he was able to make, they took heart and came towards him, and finding by his behaviour that he was no enemy, they convers'd very famililarly with him: and being ask'd if there was any gold in their country, they answer'd that if he would send one along with them, they would shew him where it was to be had. Upon this *Ottigni* sent one of his men, who offer'd to venture himself along with them: but he staying all night, and not appearing next morning, *Ottigni* sail'd farther up the river to find him, and spying the boat he had sent with him, he made towards it, where he found him, with some pieces of gold of small value, but he told him that they had promis'd him great abundance of that sort of metal, provided he would have gone three days farther up the country, which he had refus'd to do without his consent. *Ottigni* gave him leave to go with them, and return'd with the rest of his party to fort *Carolina*.

Sends a party to Timogoa.

Laudonniers sent *Vasseur* with a party back again a fortnight after to bring back the soldier, who had so couragiously ventur'd himself among the natives. At their arrival at *Timogoa*, there were scouts upon the shore, to reconnoitre whether any *Indians*, their enemies, were in the boats; but seeing them all strangers they waited for their landing, and being ask'd where the soldier was, they told *Vasseur*, that he was with king *Molloua*, who was vassal to another great king, call'd *Olata Ovae Utina*, not far from thence. Thither *Vasseur* went in his boat, the natives going by land. When he came to *Molloua*'s house, the soldier came out to him, having five or six pound weight of silver. The king receiv'd the *French* very courteosly, and entertain'd them with fish and bread; and whilst they were eating, he told them of the power of the great king *Olata*, who had, for his vassals, above 40 kings besides himself. He likewise reckon'd up *Olata*'s enemies, among whom the principal person was *Satourioua*, who had 30 kings his tributaries. He told them too, that there was a nearer neighbour to *Olata*, who often made war upon him for a hard slate stone which they made use of for wedges to cleave their wood, and likewise for heading their arrows. This king's name was *Potanou*.

Vasseur promis'd that *Laudonniers* should come and assist *Olata* against his enemies in the high country, at which *Molloua* was highly pleas'd, and told him that the least of the great *Olata*'s vassals, should give them gold and silver, of a certain length and breath, two foot high. And thus parting good friends, *Vasseur* sail'd down the river towards *Carolina*: but stopping short of it three leagues, they went ashore in *Molona*'s dominion, who was one of *Satourioua*'s vassals. This king hearing that they had been at *Timogoa*, as'd how many of them he had kill'd. *Vasseur* dissembling with them, said they design'd to have destroy'd the whole country, but that the natives,

natives having taken the alarm, fled to the woods, but he affirm'd they had kill'd ſeveral of them. *Molona*, deſiring a ſight of his ſword, look'd all over it for blood, but ſeeing it very clean, ſeem'd out of humour, but the other told him that after he had kill'd two men, it was ſo bloody that he took great pains to waſh it in the river. This lie ſatisfy'd the *paracouſſy*, and was the occaſion of a ridiculous feaſt, for the ſuppos'd murder of people who were in good health.

A miſunderſtanding between the French *and an* Indian *king.*

Soon after *Vaſſeur*'s return to the fort, *Satourioua* ſent a meſſage to the governor to claim his promiſe of aſſiſtance againſt *Timogoa*, becauſe all things were now ready for the expedition. *Laudonniers* excus'd himſelf as not ready; but being preſt by the meſſenger, upon his promiſe, he made anſwer "That he would not fall out "with another king to keep friendſhip "with his maſter." This diſguſted *Satourioua* highly; and indeed the *French* commodore was much to blame, in having promis'd his aſſiſtance to his neighbour king, unleſs he had deſign'd to have made good his word: for refuſing to go along with him after having occaſion'd the levying forces, in hopes of his aſſiſtance, loſt the credit of the *French* among thoſe people, and ſtuck in the mind of *Satourioua*, with full purpoſe of revenge. However he diſſembled it, and went the expedition with his *Indians*, and falling upon the *Timogoans* unawares, he kill'd a good many of them, and took 24 priſoners, which they divided among the confederate kings, and ſet up the heads of the ſlain before the doors of their houſes when they return'd; and made ſolemn feaſts and dances, by way of triumph for their victory.

Upon *Satourioua*'s return, *Laudonniers* ſent to him for two of his priſoners, which the king refus'd, telling the meſſenger that he did not think himſelf under any obligation to his captain, ſince he had not aſſiſted him, according to his promiſe. Upon this ſmart anſwer, the commodore went to him, attended by 20 musketeers, and going into his houſe without ſaluting him, having placed centinels at the door to hinder any one to come out, he ſet himſelf down by *Satourioua*, with a very ſtern gravity. This behaviour ſurpriz'd the *Indian*, but he was more ſo when the commodore, in an imperious tone, demanded all the *Timogoan* priſoners; who after ſome difficulty, were deliver'd to him, and were carry'd by him to *Carolina*, to the great mortification of the *paracouſſy*. Theſe priſoners the commodore ſent, in his own boats, home to their own country who having declar'd to their friends how they had been reſcu'd and treated by the *French*, their king receiv'd the *French* with open arms, and ſent preſents to the commodore.

But this civility to the king of *Timogoa* rais'd ſuch a jealouſy in thoſe who were enemies to him, that they withdrew their former friendſhip from the *French*, and refus'd to ſend them proviſions, ſo that *Laudonniers* was forced to give way to ſome hoſtilities, againſt his own inclination. But this obliging his ſoldiers to more conſtant labour than they car'd to be employ'd in, bred a mutiny, and he himſelf falling ſick, their inſolence grew to that height, that they ſeiz'd him, and carry'd him aboard one of the ſhips, and there forced him to ſign a paſt-port for the ſhip, and ſetting him aſhore, ſet ſail with a deſign to trade to the *Lucay* iſlands, or, which is more probable, to turn pirates. But their pilot, being well affected to the commodore, and having been preſt aboard, made ſuch a party in the ſhip, that when the ringleaders of the mutiny were aſleep, they ſecur'd them, and brought back the ſhip to the river *May*. As ſoon as the governor was appriz'd of their return, he had the priſoners brought aſhore, and having try'd them by a court marſhal, they were ſhot, and all the reſt pardon'd upon promiſe of obedience for the future.

A mutiny among the French.

Laudonniers being inform'd from ſeveral quarters, that *Olata's* enemies in the mountains abounded in gold, had a mind to get acquainted with that country; and now a fair opportunity offer'd: for, *Olata Utina* having ſent for aſſiſtance againſt them, *Ottigni* was diſpatch'd with 30 muskeeters, who going to join the *Indians*, they march'd againſt *Patanou*, but very privately, becauſe *Olata* was afraid of his force: and when he found they had taken the allarm, he would have return'd without doing any thing, eſpecially being warn'd by a conjurer whom he kept, that *Patanou* was at ſuch a place with a ſuperior force to his; but *Ottigni* upbraided him for his cowardice, and deſir'd he would give him guides, and he would go and fight him with his own company without the *Indians*. This put ſome life in *Olata*, ſo they march'd on, and meeting with *Patanou*'s forces, *Ottigni* charg'd them ſo briskly, that in a ſhort time, they put them to flight; but it was more owing to the terror of the fire arms, than to the valour of the *Indians*. However *Olata* was ſatisfy'd with that one defeat, and would not venture upon another engagement, which bred a miſunderſtanding between him and *Ottigni*, and it went ſo far, that if that captain had not been reſtrain'd by the governor's orders, to do no harm to the *Indians* who profeſt friendſhip to them, he would have chaſtis'd *Olata* for bringing him ſuch a fools errand As it was, he ſhew'd his reſentment ſo much, that the *Indian* was no longer friend to the *French*, but, on the contrary ſought all ways to entrap them.

Laudonniers ſoon felt the effects of this change in the *Indian* kings: ſo that having try'd but in vain, all other methods of obliging the natives to ſend him proviſions as uſual; he ſent *Ottigni*, with a ſtrong party to *Olata*'s houſe, who ſurpriz'd him and one of his ſons, and, in ſpite of the reſiſtance the ſavages made, brought them aboard his boat. This had not the effect they expected; for the natives, believing that the *French* would certainly put him and his ſon to death, elected a new king, and thought no more of him, ſo that after *Olata* and his ſon had contiun'd ſome time priſoner at *Carolina*, they ſent them back again, upon the king's promiſe to ſend them proviſions. But he diſappointed them, when he was at liberty; and they, having diſoblig'd all their neighbour kings in releaſing him, were reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity of want; when by good providence, capt. *Hawkins* came upon the coaſt with four *Engliſh* ſhips, in *Auguſt* 1565, who generouſly ſupply'd them with neceſſaries, and offer'd to tranſport them to *France*; but *Laudonniers* not accepting that offer, he ſold them one of his ſhips for that purpoſe.

The French reliev'd by capt. Hawkins.

After the *Engliſh* were gone, the *French*, with one conſent, prepar'd for their voyage, deſpariug of relief from *France*; but as they were upon the point of embarking, they ſpy'd a fleet towards the mouth of the river, and ſending a boat to reconnoitre, it was detain'd aboard all that day, which made the governor put all things in readineſs for defence. The next day ſeven boats, of which *Laudonniers*'s was one, made up the river to the fort; nor would they make anſwer to any of the centinels poſted at different places; ſo that, as they came towards the fort, the governor was going to give orders to fire upon them, when one call'd out, that it was *Rebault*. As ſoon as *Laudonniers* heard who it was, he went to welcome him with great joy, and the garriſon laid aſide their arms, and receiv'd their countrymen with open arms.

Rebault *returns to* Carolina.

The reaſon of this behaviour of *Rebault*, they afterwards found to be, that upon ſome miſrepreſentations made of *Laudonniers* by ſome of his enemies, who had return'd to *France* in the firſt ſhips, the admiral had ſent capt. *Rebault*, to ſecure his perſon, and to take ſuch order about the colony, as he ſhould find proper, *Rebault*, finding upon inquiry, that there was no truth in the ſtories which had been told, frankly diſcover'd all to *Laudonniers*, and beg'd of him to give over his intended voyage to *France*: but he excus'd himſelf, telling *Rebault*, that ſince he was come thither with a commiſſion as governor, it was not conſiſtent with his honour to be commanded in that fort which he had built, and defended with ſo great hazard and fatigue, and therefore he could not think of ſtaying; but he was ſo vexed at the ill offices which had been done him with the admiral, that he fell ſick.

In the mean time a *Spaniſh* fleet appear'd upon the coaſt, and bearing down upon the *French*, the latter finding themſelves inferior in force, cut their cables and ſtood out to ſea, and being better ſailors than the *Spaniſh* ſhips, they got out of their way. The *Spaniards* having purſu'd them to no purpoſe, took into the river of *Dolphins*, formerly mention'd; where having landed, they began to entrench themſelves, being within eight leagues over land from *Carolina*. Upon this intelligence, *Rebault* determined to go with his ſhips (which were all but one come back to the river *May*) to diſlodge them from that place, againſt the advice of *Laudonniers*; but being obſtinate and by his commiſſion, maſter, he left the old governor ſick, with an inſignificant garriſon, and taking the beſt of the old colony with him, embark'd, and ſail'd out of the river, which loſt him and his fleet; for he was caſt away, and knock'd on the head by the ſavages of *Florida*.

His fleet is attacked by the Spaniards.

He embarks to purſue them, and is caſt away.

Not long after the *Spaniards*, marching over land, attack'd fort *Carolina*, and altho' *Laudonniers*, ſick as he was, made all the defence he could, they carry'd it, and he eſcap'd to the woods with one man, where meeting with ſome of his garriſon, he ſent two of them to the mouth of the river, where one ſmall ſhip lay at anchor; the maſter of which, hearing where he was, ſent his boat, and took him aboard, the people who were with him being oblig'd to carry him to the ſhore. The *Spaniards*, in the mean time, took poſſeſſion of fort *Carolina*, and *Laudonniers* landed in *Wales*, and ſo went thro' *England* to his own country.

Fort Carolina *taken by the* Spaniards.

The *Spaniards* put all the *French* to death that came in their way, hanging them up in the woods where they had hid themſelves; but this cruelty was revenged by *De Gourges* in 1568, who coming to the river *Seine* not far from *May*, was join'd by all the ſavage kings as ſoon as they found who they were. Theſe *Indians* complain'd highly of the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, beg'd *De Gourges* to rid the place of them, which he undertook, and with the aſſiſtance of theſe kings, took fort *Carolina* and two others which they had built down the river *May*. He put all the three garriſons to the ſword, and having demoliſh'd all the forts, return'd to *France*.

And recover'd by De Gourges.

Thus ended both the *French* and *Spaniſh* plantations in *Carolina*. We have little farther account of this country till the glorious reſtoration of king *Charles* II. ſoon after which, inſtead of *New France* it got the name of *Carolina* from that prince, and was by him beſtow'd upon the earl of *Clarendon* lord chancellor, the duke of *Albemarle*, the earl of *Craven*, lord *Berkeley*, lord *Aſhly* afterwards earl of *Shaftsberry*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *William Berkeley* and Sir *John Colleton*. Theſe gentlemen fitted out ſhips and planted the country at a conſiderable charge, and in a few years there were two very flouriſhing colonies ſettled there: one upon *Albemarle* river towards *Virginia*, about 36 degrees n. lat. to which ſeveral *Engliſh* families from *New England* very ſoon removed, either upon the account of a warmer climate, or, which is more probable, to enjoy a cooler devotion, more agreeable to the ſpirit of chriſtianity, in the free exerciſe of the *church of* England *ſervice*. The other colony ſettled at *Charles's Town*, formerly mentioned, to which many families, not only from *Old England*, but from the iſlands thereabouts, flock'd about the year 1671, and to encourage people to go thither, the proprietors allow'd every man 100 acres a a head, for himſelf, his wife, children and ſervants for ever, to him and his heirs at a penny an acre; and even that penny chief rent was remitted for 19 years: and every ſervant, when out of their time, was to have 100 acres for themſelves at the ſame price.

Ogilvy's America, *ubi ſupra.*

Carolina *granted to proprietors after the reſtoration.*

This province is divided into north and ſouth. *North Carolina* is made up of *Albemarle* and *Clarendon* counties: and *South Carolina* conſiſts of *Craven*, *Berkeley*, *Colleton*, and *Carteret* counties. *Albemarle* county borders upon *Virginia*, and lies along on both ſides of *Albemarle* river which falls into the ſea lat. 36. This county was once well peopled, but moſt of the *Engliſh* remov'd to *Cooper* river. *Clarendon* county is ſouth from that of *Albemarle*, and is water'd by a river of the ſame name, which enters the ſea near *Cape Fear*, lat. 34. On the ſouth ſide of this river (which divides the two *Carolina*'s) lies *Craven* county; being, pretty well inhabited by *Engliſh*, and by *French* refugees. *Berkeley* county is next to *Craven*, which is well planted in the ſouth part of it, having the advantage of *Aſhly* and *Cooper* rivers, which join at *Charles*'s town, and fall together into the ocean, in about 32 deg. and a half. *Charles*'s town, built in the ſame place where the *French* had their *Charlefort* in 1562, ſtands at the meeting of the two rivers, which from that place to the ſea take the name of both, *Aſhley Cooper* river. It is the metropolis of *South Carolina*, the reſidence of the governor, and the ſeat of juſtice. The *Colleton* county is ſouthward of *Berkeley*, and divided from it by the river *Stono*. The *Ediſto* river is likewiſe in this county, and the country on both ſides of it well planted. *New London* ſtands on the weſt ſide of *Ediſto*, and has ſeveral conſiderable plantations in the neigbourhood of it.

Engl. Atlas *p.* 243.

The diviſion of Carolina.

As *Carteret* county is not as yet planted, altho' generally eſteem'd the moſt fruitful and pleaſant part of the province, lying upon the river *May*, we have little to ſay about it. Perhaps when the new colony call'd *Georgia*, takes effect, there may be more to ſay of the ſouth parts of *Carolina*, but as we don't know how that may turn out, we ſhall leave it to time, and make an end of the *Engliſh* diſcoveries ſouthward on the continent of *North America*.

SECT. VIII.

The ENGLISH *Diſcoveries North of* NEW ENGLAND.

WE have elſewhere * mentioned the diſcoveries made by *Cabot* or *Gabot*, which gave the claim to moſt of the north of *America* to the *Engliſh*, and, altho' that claim was but a ſhadow with regard to the *Indians*, the true proprietors of the country, yet it was undoubtedly good againſt any other invaders and conſequently might juſtly have been pleaded, as it frequently was, againſt the encroachments of the *French*, *Dutch*, and others, who, by no better title, uſurp'd upon the true proprietors, and often turn'd them out of their country, or oppreſt them in it; and, under pretence of having been the firſt diſcoverers, challeng'd the property not only from the *Engliſh* and the other *Europeans*, who poſſeſt any of the adjacent provinces, but likewiſe pretended a right to ſubject the lawful ſovereigns of thoſe dominions, without their conſent; *as if ſailing by chance, or deſign, into another king's-harbour, were ſufficient to entitle a captain or admiral to take poſſeſſion of the country ſo viſited.*

* Univ: Tra. p: 31:

Gabot, as we have ſaid, having been employ'd king *Henry* VII. in 1497, to diſcover a north weſt paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, went as far as 60 deg. n. lat. and there found out that part of *North America*, unknown to *Europe* before him; and in expectation of finding a paſſage farther ſouth, he coaſted along as far as *Virginia* to about 38 deg. from which voyage of his the *Engliſh* afterwards claim'd all that country as their own.

But it was ſome time before they purſu'd the firſt diſcovery, or made any other advantage

Martin Frobiſher's *expedition.*

advantage of it. At laſt *Frobiſher* ſet out with two ſhips in 1576, not to uſurp any other's dominions, but, as *Cabot* had done before, to find the north weſt paſſage, ſo long deſir'd. He ſet ſail the 7th of *June*, and came up with land about the ſouth of *Greenland*, being 59 or 60 deg. but the depth of the water was ſuch, and and the ſhoals of ice like iſlands, ſo numerous, that he durſt not venture near the ſhore, but in boats.

Hackluyt *vol.* iii. *p.* 29.

In this way he was oblig'd to ſail to and again, for many days, ſhuning the mountains of ice, which, (by the temperature of the air, when they got clear of them) he concluded not form'd where he ſaw them, but had been driven from the north by the wind. In this courſe he obſerv'd the variation of the compaſs, to the weſt about two points and a half between 59 and 61 deg. north lat. In this latitude they had ſight of land, which they ſuppos'd to have been *Labrador*, but ſeems to have been one of the iſlands towards the ſouth eaſt of *Greenland*, but having ſounded for ſeveral leagues, as the ice would ſuffer them, and found no anchoring ground, they went aſhore in their boats; and having ſeen ſome natives, they took one of them aboard and treated him well, and afterwards ſet him ſafe aſhore, giving his people expreſs orders to land him upon ſome rock by himſelf, for fear of being kidnap'd by the *Indians:* his men not obſerving his orders, landed the ſavage amongſt his own people, who in recompence of their civility to the *Indian*, ſeiz'd the *Engliſh* and their boat, nor could the captain ever recover either. So that having in vain ſearch'd for his men, he ſail'd along the iſland northwards to find out what he came for, and enter'd a ſtreight ſome little way in a ſoutherly courſe as he found the current run; but in a few days more, towards the end of *Auguſt*, he ſet ſail homewards, being afraid of being frozen if he had ſtaid any longer ſo far north.

Capt. Frobiſher's 2d *voyage:*

About the ſame time, the next year capt. *Frobiſher* ſet out upon the ſecond voyage for the ſame end as formerly, with one of the queen's ſhips, and two ſmall barks for tenders. He ſail'd by the *Orkneys*, where it would ſeem the writer of the Journal had not met with good reception, for he gives no very favourable account of the country; but, by his own confeſſion, he ſtaid there but one night, *too ſhort a time to pretend to know even a ſmall ſpot of ground.* Sailing from thence the 8*th* of *June*, altho' they had uninterrupted day till they came up with that part of *Greenland* to which the captain gave the name of *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*, yet they paſs'd whole iſlands of ice, which ſeem'd to be 30 or 40 fathoms along the ſurface of the water. The captain went aſhore upon *Greenland*, and had like to have been left there, but that the gunner and the maſter's mates would not ſtir, altho' they were in great danger of being beat to pieces by the ice in a rank ſtorm. When he was come aboard, finding no poſſibility of going further north, he ſteer'd ſouthward, and finding a ſtreight about the latitude of 64, which was the ſame he had enter'd the year before, and ſuppos'd it was the entry to the South Sea; this ſtreight they call'd *Frobiſher's Streight*, which name it retains to this day.

He finds a paſſage into Hudſon's *bay:*

When they arriv'd at the weſt ſide of *Greenland*, they found a good harbour there, and going aſhore, they ſaw many of the natives, but ſo wild that they would not ſuffer them to come within ſpeech of them; only after ſeveral efforts in vain, at laſt they caught a woman and child. In ſome of the tents which the natives deſerted, they found a ſhirt, and ſhoes, which the *Engliſh* believ'd had been taken the year before from thoſe of their people whom the natives had detain'd, as was obſerved before.

Having ſtaid about thirteen days in that place, which they call'd from the firſt mate *Jackſon's Sound*, they return'd to the eaſt ſide, where the commodore often landed to ſee if he could have any communication with the natives, that he might find whether any of his five men were alive, whom he had loſt in the laſt voyage. Having ſeen ſome of the *Indians* one day, he made ſigns to them; but finding them ſhy, he laid down ſome Trinkets on the ground, and retir'd; when the natives had taken them up, they made ſigns and told the captain that three of his men were alive, and that they would bring them to him in a few days. Accordingly, there appear'd ſome of them upon the ſhore, and captain *Frobiſher* expecting to recover his men, went aſhore in his boat. They made ſigns to him to go behind a point they ſhew'd him; but as the natives were more malicious than cunning, he diſcover'd a great number of *Indians* arm'd among the rocks, and therefore would not go aſhore.

They ſtaid in this cold country till about the middle of *Auguſt*, and having found a ſort of ſhining oar, which the captain believ'd to be gold, he ſhip'd a good quantity of it, and returned home for fear of the ſtoſts. But when the oar was try'd, they perceiv'd the old proverb verify'd, *All is not gold that glitters.*

The year after, being 1578, captain *Forbiſher* ſet ſail upon the ſame deſign, with no leſs than 15 ſhips, the 31ſt of *May*, and arriv'd at the ſtreights the beginning

ginning of *July*, but found them quite frozen over. Here one of the ſhips receiv'd ſuch a ſhock with a huge piece of ice, that ſhe ſunk; but having time to fire a gun, there came ſo many boats from the other ſhips as ſaved all the men, and diſpos'd of them in the fleet. But one great loſs they had by the ſinking of this ſhip, that they loſt the greateſt part of the wooden houſe which they had brought from *England* in pieces, to put together in *Greenland* for wintering there, as ſome of them deſign'd to have done. Two other ſhips were ſeparated by the ice, and a ſtorm that happen'd with it, and for above twenty days they were miſſing. In this ſtorm, which was accompanied with ſuch a diſmal fog that they could not ſee the length of their ſhip, they had no way left to keep together (as much as the wind would allow) but by beating drums and ſounding trumpets; and as ſoon as it began to clear up, and that they had time to look about them, they found they were quite out of the courſe they propoſed, and that they were near the entry to ſome ſtreights, to which they who had been twice before at *Frobiſher's Streights*, declared they were ſtrangers. Nor could they take the ordinary method to find the latitude, for they could not ſee the ſun.

The commodore, altho' he knew they were upon an unknown coaſt, yet he diſſembled it, and order'd the fleet to follow him, thinking that, at leaſt, he might be able to find a paſſage to the ſouth ſea; which would have been a full amends for the diſappointment of his former port. But he was miſtaken; for this paſſage where he was ſeems to have been only between iſlands lying to the ſouth of *Greenland*, which brought him no nearer the ſouth ſea than he had been the year before. However in paſſing theſe ſtreights they found the natives more tractable than they were on the other; for in ſome places where they put a ſhore either for freſh water, or for diſcoveries, the people came about them, and traded for ſuch trifles as they ſhew'd them, and in exchange gave them fiſh and fowl in abundance, as alſo bears skins and other things as the country afforded. As ſoon as they had ſun to take their obſervations, they found they were not far from their former port, an finding an inlet running that way, the admiral ſent a pinnace to try which way it tended, and was by it led into his old ſtreights, which was a plain indication, that what he had taken for the continent of *America*, was only an iſland. They were much in danger among the iſlands hereabouts, and three of their ſhips were ſeparated from them; but upon the admiral's arrival at his place of rendevouz, which was the ſame port he had been in the year before, and where he had propoſed to ſet up his wooden houſe, he found two of his fleet there before him, and ſome time after they all ariv'd, except one, which by the contrivance of the pilate ſet ſail for *England*, for which the captain was call'd to account, and acquitted himſelf, by declaring that it was againſt his will, that the crew, by the perſwaſions of the pilot, had forced him to return.

Having laded the ſhips with oar, at the eaſt ſide of rhe ſtreights which they call'd the *Counteſs of Warwick's Sound*, and built a houſe on a pleaſant iſland there, they thought of returning home, the month of *Auguſt* being now well nigh ſpent; and being all ready, the admiral gave the ſignal for weighing anchor on the laſt day of the month: and ſo they made the beſt of their way for *England*, where they arriv'd ſafe, about the beginning of *October*. This was the laſt voyage of *Forbiſher* for finding out the north weſt paſſage.

Captain Davis's diſcoveries

The next *Engliſh* man who attempted the north weſt diſcoveries was capt. *John Davis*, who in the year 1585 with only two ſmall barks of 50 and 35 ton. They ſet ſail the 7th of *June*. Having ſail'd towards the north weſt till the 20th of *July*, and having ſeen many whales, and porpoiſes (of which laſt they kill'd ſeveral, and found them good meat) they came among the ice as uſual in thoſe ſeas, and at laſt diſcover'd land, but it had ſuch a diſmal aſpect, that they called it cape *Deſolation*. The captain went along the coaſt in his boat, but could not get near the ſhore for ice. But in lat. 64, the ice was gone, and they went aſhore in their boats, had ſpeech of the natives, and bartered ſome goods. But proceeding ſtill farther north to 66 deg. they arriv'd at *Totneſs* road, near a place call'd *Mount Raleigh*. Landing here they ſaw large white bears, one of which they kill'd. They found this country much more temperate than it was farther ſouth, and had no appearance of ice. But having cours'd along the coaſt, looking in vain for a paſſage to the ſouth ſea, and fearing the decline of the year, it being now towards *September*, they ſet ſail for *England*, the captain intending to make another eſſay the year following.

Davis's 2d and 3d voyages.

There being no great variety in theſe two voyages, we ſhall only ſay, in ſhort, that the captain having, in his firſt voyage left *Greenland* to the eaſtward, ſail'd by the weſt entry of *Frobiſher's* ſtreights, without ſeeing it, and having come up with the land of *Greenland*, farther north, which had a very ugly appearance to him, for which reaſon he gave it the name

name of *Deſolation*, as was ſaid before; he had ſail'd as far as GOD's *Mercy Cape*, upon the coaſt oppoſite to *Greenland* weſtward in the lat. of 67 deg. But being oblig'd to return home, becauſe of the ſummer's being ſpent; he left the farther ſearch to another time.

In the year 1586 he ſet out a new, and made a third voyage in 1587. But in both theſe he made little farther progreſs than he had made in the firſt, only that he made a more perfect diſcovery of the *American* coaſt than he had done in his firſt voyage; and gave name to that track of ſea which divides *Greenland* from the continent of *America*, near the *Artic Circle*, where he found many iſlands, and great ſtore of fiſh, many of which he brought home with him; they were the beſt ſort of cod. In this fiſhing place, during his third voyage, he left two of his ſhips, going himſelf farther up ſome leagues beyond the actic circle to 73 deg. n. lat. and meeting with new ſhoals of ice, from which he had been free for ſome time before, he was forced to ſteer ſouthward, to the fiſhing iſlands, where he expected to have found his two ſhips, but they had given him the ſlip, and return'd laden with cod for *England*, whither he follow'd them, bringing accounts of a fair probability of a paſſage thro' thoſe ſtreights call'd to this day by his name, but no certainty. Nor was the paſſage where he thought it was, nor has it been diſcover'd to this day.

Hudſon's *voyages.*

In the reign of king *James* I. of *Great Britain*, Mr. *Henry Hudſon*, having diſcover'd farther towards the north and north eaſt, than any *Engliſh* man, or perhaps any other, had ever done; for in 1607 and 1608 he had ſail'd as far as 80 deg. and 23 min. reſolv'd now to diſcover towards the northweſt; and therefore in 1609 he ſail'd along the coaſt of *Newfoundland* in 50 deg. to cape *Cod*, in *New England*, then part of *Virginia*.

But in 1610 he ſet ſail from the *Thames* to perfect *Davis's* diſcovery, if poſſible; and having paſt the *Orkneys* on the 5th of *May*, he came up with *Iceland* on the 11th, paſſing towards the eaſtward of it, only ſtoping at a place of that iſland call'd *Lowſy Bay*, where there is a bath hot enough to ſcald a fowl. On the 4th of *June* they made the coaſt of *Greenland*, in about 69 deg. lat. but could not come near the ſhore for ice. So that changing his courſe ſouth weſt, he turn'd round the iſlands on the ſouth part of *Greenland*, and having doubled *Cape Deſolation*, made directly over to the coaſt of *America* in a courſe due weſt; in which courſe they were ſo ſhut in with ice, that they could not ſtir any way; but in a ſhort time, they found a way out, and diſcover'd land, which is now call'd *New Britain*, or *Terra de Labrador*, in 60 deg. lat. and found there a *Streight* running north weſt from the ocean, where he enter'd, inſtead of purſuing *Davis's* courſe; and having great difficulty to keep clear of the ice, he put in at an iſland call'd by *Hudſon*, GOD's *Mercy*; lat. 62 deg. 9 min.

From this iſland ſteering ſouth weſt, he came to 58 deg. 50 min. but being embay'd and peſter'd with ice, he chang'd his courſe, and return'd into the ſtreights again, and kept along the weſt coaſt to 63 deg. and a half, till coming to the north weſt cape of *Labrador*, he paſt, between that point and *Mansfield* iſland, thro' a large bay of above 300 leagues broad, call'd from him *Hudſon's* bay; having given names to the different capes as he paſt, ſuch as cape *Henry*, cape *Charles* and queen *Anne*. Their courſe was now ſouth weſt again till they came in ſight of land, in about 56 deg. and then ſail'd due ſouth to the bottom of the bay; where ſome difference happening between Mr. *Hudſon*, and his mate *Robert Ivet*, and the boatſwain, he put them both out of their poſts, and put two others, *viz. Robert Billet* and *William Wilſon* in their places. This may ſeem a ſlight circumſtance to give it a place here, but conſidering that it occaſion'd the ruin both of the maſter and themſelves, it was thought proper to take notice of it.

Hudſon's *bay.*

It being by this time, towards the end of *October*, and conſequently not practicable to get back that year, the maſter began to think of a proper place to winter in, and ſending the author of this account, Mr. *Pricket*, with the carpenter, to ſearch for a ſecure harbour, they found one upon the firſt of *November*, where they hal'd the ſhip aground: and by the 10 of that month they were frozen in. Then they found it high time to take care of their proviſions, and ſet themſelves to kill fiſh and fowl. But there happened another little incident, which contributed not a little to their deſtruction; which was this.

The gunner dying, after they had taken up their winter quarters, his effects were to be ſold, by auction, at the main maſt, according to cuſtom. Among the reſt of his goods, there was a cloth gown which one *Green* had a mind to have for his money, and Mr. *Hudſon* promis'd he ſhould have it. This *Green* was a *Kentiſh* man, of good parents, but of ſo looſe a life, that they had diſcarded him, and he had been entertain'd in Mr. *Hudſon's* houſe at *London*, and was brought this voyage out of mere favour to him; and when he had quarrel'd with the ſurgeon

A ſmall matter the occaſion of the ruin of many.

of the ſhip, and had beaten him unmercifully, to the great diſguſt of the crew, the maſter ſupported him. But the winter coming on, and *Hudſon* having order'd the carpenter, ſome what too late, to make up a houſe for them on ſhore, he refus'd it as impracticable; and hard words paſſing between them, the maſter turn'd the carpenter out of his cabin, and threaten'd to hang'd him. The day after this quarrel, the carpenter going abroad with his fowling piece, choſe *Green* for his companion, which ſo diſguſted the captain, that he ſold the gown to his mate. This ſo exaſperated *Green* that he join'd with the two, formerly diſoblig'd for being turn'd out; and they three enter'd into a plot againſt him, which ended in the ruin of moſt of the crew, as the reader will ſee by and by.

In the mean time the winter was a very hard one, and their proviſions were ſo very ſcanty, that had it not been for good ſtore of white partriges ſent them by providence, and, when thoſe diſappear'd, that they were ſucceeded by ſwans, geeſe and ducks, the whole crew had dy'd of famine. The hardſhips they endur'd encreas'd the ill diſpoſition of *Wilſon*, *Ivet*, *Green* and ſome others againſt the maſter; they firſt plotted to take away the ſhallop with the fiſhing nets, and to leave the maſter and the reſt of the crew the bark only; but the maſter going on board of it himſelf to make diſcoveries about the head of the bay, they made their cabal ſtronger againſt his return. *Hudſon* coming back from his cruiſe, and finding the ice quite gone from about their bark, had all things fitted up for their departure, and ſet ſail about the beginning of *June*, taking much the ſame courſe he had held the year before, in coming thither. They had not ſail'd 60 leagues to the north weſt, before they came among the ice again; and the captain, to ſatisfy them, diſtributed all the cheeſe he had aboard equally among them.

A plot againſt the capt.

But the conſpiracy being now ripe for execution, *Wilſon* and *Green* came to *Pricket* (the author from whom theſe memoirs were taken) who was lame in his cabin, and told him plainly, they deſign'd to put the maſter and all the ſick people aboard the ſhallop, and to go away with the ſhip. *Pricket* endeavour'd to diſſuade them from their purpoſe, but labour'd in vain. At laſt upon *Monday* the 23d of *June*, as ſoon as *Hudſon* came out of his cabin, two of the conſpirators attack'd him before, whilſt *Green* ty'd his hands with a rope behind. Then they hurry'd him into the ſhallop, with the ſick and lame to the number of eight in all. The carpenter, notwithſtanding his quarrel with the maſter, was no way concern'd in the plot; but threaten'd the conſpirators with proſecuting them to tyburn, if ever he ſhould ſee them in *England*: and when they deſir'd him to be eaſy, promiſing to uſe him well, he told them, he ſcorn'd to ſtay with ſuch a rebellious crew, but would take his hazard with the captain, and thoſe honeſt people whom they had devoted to deſtruction. Then going for his cheſt and other things, when they were put aboard the ſhallop, he went to take his leave of *Pricket*, who had come out of his cabin lame as he was, and beg'd them up his knees to take the maſter into the ſhip again: but not being able to prevail, he preſt the carpenter to ſtay, telling him, that they two together might be able to make a party aboard for the captain. The carpenter ſaid, the captain wanted hands in the ſhallop, moſt of his crew being ſick; and he deſign'd to adviſe him to follow the ſhip being confident they would be glad to take them aboard in a ſhort time, becauſe there was none in the ſhip capable of taking her home.

They force him aboard the ſhallop.

When they had put aboard all they did not like, they cut the rope of the ſhallop, and ſet ſail, ſoon loſing ſight of her, making the beſt of their way towards the north cape of *Terra de Labrador*. But falling in with freſh ice, they were detain'd 14 days; in which time the ſhallop came in ſight again, for the laſt time. The ſhip getting, at laſt, clear of the ice purſu'd their courſe north eaſt towards *Digge*'s iſland, in order to get ſome fowl, of which they had ſeen plenty at their coming into the bay. Here they ſaw and convers'd with ſome of the natives, who invited them aſhore; and five of the chief conſpirators, of which *Green* and *Wilſon* were two, taking *Pricket* along with them in the boat, went aſhore upon the iſland, without arms, where they ſaw the ſavages, likewiſe unarm'd, dancing as they us'd in token of peace. *Pricket*, being lame, ſtaid in the boat, and the other five went aſhore with bells, looking-glaſſes, and other trinkets for bartering. The natives came to the ſhore to meet them. But as they were at a little diſtance from the boat, one of the ſavages came aboard, and *Pricket* riſing from his ſeat, pointed to him to go aſhore, without taking notice of another who had got behind him; and after he had ſate down, he preceiv'd a leg juſt by him; ſo that looking about, he ſaw the ſavage with his arm lifted up, going to plunge a knife in his breaſt. *Pricket* ſav'd the ſtroke from his breſt by receiving it in his right arm, and grappling with the ſavage, after he had receiv'd another wound in the thigh, keeping faſt hold of his knife hand with his own left, he drew

The ſavages ſet upon ſix of the Engliſh on land.

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a dagger with the other, and thruſt it into the ſavage's body, and then into his throat.

And kill four of them.

Whilſt *Pricket* was thus engag'd in the boat, his companions were attack'd at land; *Wilſon* and *John Thomas*, had their bellies ript up with knives, which they had ſold to the ſavages; *Green* and *Perſe* being mortally wounded tumbled into the boat together; yet getting up, *Green* with the trunchion of a ſpear, which he had for a ſtaff, and *Perſe* with a hatchet, defended the head of the boat, and put off from the ſhore. *Moter* who was the fifth, leaping from a rock into the ſea, ſwim'd to the boat, and was help'd aboard by *Perſe*. Upon their ſetting off the boat, the ſavages ran to their bows, which were hid hard by; and ſhooting at them, diſpatch'd *Green*. *Perſe* and *Moter* row'd the boat, but in a little time, *Perſe* fainted, ſo that there was none to aſſiſt *Moter*, *Pricket* beſides his lameneſs, and the wounds he had receiv'd from the ſavage, having likewiſe an arrow ſticking in his back. *Moter* therefore, ſtood up, making ſigns to the ſhip to advance, which as ſoon as they perceiv'd aboard, made towards the boat, and took in all that were alive, which were only three, *viz.* *Perſe*, *Pricket* and *Moter*; throwing the other three over-board, which was likewiſe the fate of *Perſe* who dy'd of his wounds in two days.

After this diſaſter (a juſt judgment of heaven upon *Green*, and ſome of his accomplices) they ſet ſail from that place, and doubling the north cape with much difficulty, enter'd *Hudſon*'s ſtreights, *Billet* being now maſter. Their proviſions began to decreaſe much, ſo that they were oblig'd to ſtop ſome time in order to provide themſelves in fowls, which they got in great plenty in the ſtreights: and having laid in good ſtore, they made the ocean, and by *Ivet*'s advice ſteer'd towards *Newfoundland*; but the wind coming at ſouth weſt, they chang'd their reſolution, and made for *Ireland*; but were in ſuch want of food, that *Ivet* dy'd of hunger, and the reſt were ſo faint that they could ſcarce work: but at laſt they reach'd *Ireland*, and from thence got home. What ſort of death poor capt. *Hudſon* and his companions dy'd, was never known, but that they periſh'd is without diſpute.

The ſhip returns to England.

Much about the ſame time, the *Muſcovia* company fitted out, from time to time, many ſhips, for the whale fiſhing in the north eaſt ſeas, and ſome ſhips of force were ſent by the order of the government to diſlodge the *Dutch* from that fiſhery, where the *Engliſh* had ſometimes the better, and ſometimes the *Dutch*. But this controverted coaſt being towards the north eaſt, we ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe expeditions in this place.

But the account given by capt. *Thomas James* of his intended diſcovery of the northweſt paſſage in 1631 is ſo full and exact, that we ſhall compendize it here to give the reader a diſtinct notion of the coaſt of *America* about *Hudſon*'s bay, and of the difficulties which muſt be encounter'd by thoſe who undertake ſuch a voyage.

Captain James's *Expedition to* Hudſon's *bay.*

In 1631, the merchant adventurers of the city of *Briſtol*, being very eager to find out the north weſt paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſo often attempted to ſo little purpoſe, fitted out the *Henrietta Maria*, a ſmall veſſel of 70 tuns, for that ſervice. The reaſon why they choſe ſo ſmall a ſhip, and but one, was, that capt. *James* whom they pitch'd upon to command in that voyage, adviſ'd them to it, as the fitteſt method to make the diſcovery. There were 22 men aboard, all ſtrangers to one another, but 19 of them were able ſeamen, altho' they had never been in the north weſt ſeas before. Thoſe the captain (who was well acquainted with that courſe himſelf) made choice of, becauſe they were the more likely to give into his opinion, and conſequently to obey his orders: for he was well aware of the trouble which ſeveral able maſters had met with, and the ruin which had attended them, from mutiny and diſobedience.

Harris's Bibl. P. I. *p.* 593.

Having then ſhip'd them aboard, with all things neceſſary for ſuch a voyage, he ſet ſail the 3d of *May*, and after ſome ſtops, by contrary winds, having doubled cape *Clare* in the ſouth of *Ireland*, he bent his courſe north weſt, and made *Greenland* on the 4th of *June*, where they were engag'd with ice, with which they ſtrugled long, getting frequently ſuch ſhocks, as they believ'd would have ſplit the ſhip in two. The ſhallop being in the water, for uſe upon occaſion, was broken to pieces, ſo that launching their boat, they brought the ſhallop aboard to be mended. With much ado, about the 10th of *June* they weather'd cape *Farewel*, where, they had terrible fogs and miſts, and ice not far from them. Being come to cape *Deſolation*, he ſteer'd due weſt over to *Reſolution* iſland, at the mouth of *Hudſon*'s ſtreights; the diſtance being about 140 leagues. In this courſe they were much tormented with ice, many pieces of it being higher than their top maſt (*a moſt unaccountable thing to be believ'd*) their ſails and rigging were all frozen; and the fog was of ſuch a piercing nature, that the needles of their compaſſes did not play freely; for which reaſon, the captain adviſes all who attempt thoſe ſeas, to have their compaſſes cover'd with *Moſcovia* glaſs.

The fog in the bay to the weſtward of Greenland, *hinder'd the compaſs to traverſe.*

Being

Being now at *Hudſon's* ſtreights in the middle of *June*, they found it almoſt ſtopped with ice, ſome of which was a great heighth above the ſurface of the water, other ſhoals of it upon a level with the water; ſo that they could run their boat along the ice, or go upon it themſelves for 40, 50, or 100 yards in a line; and ſometimes they had the courage to ſtep from one piece of ice to another. One advantage they had from the ice was, that when they were in danger of being driven aſhore upon the rocks, they faſten'd grapling irons to a huge piece of ice, and got it between them and the ſhore; ſo that, the mountain of ice being aground firſt, when either wind or tide drove them that way, they were ſhelter'd from the rocks, and by putting planks, or whatever other fence they had aboard, and by watching the turns of the tide, or wind, they made off from the ſhore unhurt, only the ſhocks the ſhip receiv'd from the ice madethem believe they were gone; but,by good providence, they had not ſo great dammage as they apprehended. It is true, they were often in danger of having their boat, with a third part of their company (whom they were oblig'd to ſend out upon occaſion, to clear the way for them) clos'd up between ſhoals of ice, and ſo loſt; and were ſometimes in hazard of having the ſhip ſwallow'd up, or tore in pieces by the breaking of one of thoſe iſlands of ice, which frequently burſt in pieces near them; and with ſuch a noiſe as if an old caſtle had been blown up; but providence was ſo kind to them, that they either had time to retire before the ice broke; or elſe were, before, at ſuch a diſtance, that all the harm they got by it was, the having a ſliver now and then taken off ſome part of the ſhip, which I don't name, becauſe I believe a great many of my readers would underſtand the terms as little as I do.

Great ice in the bay.

Whilſt they were in this diſtreſs, near *Reſolution* iſland, the great piece of ice, which they had for their fence againſt the rocks, gave them the ſlip, and expos'd them to the hazard of running aſhore, but their cable held to the turning of the tide, and then their old bulwark took up its former ſtation. But as this removing of the ice was like to happen every flood, there was no guard againſt it; ſo that once they were thrown upon a rock, and the ſhip ſettled about a yard behind the main maſt, which in the ſea term is *abaft* the maſt, and as the water ebb'd, the ſhip being heavier before the maſt,ſunk forward,ſo that there was no ſtanding upon deck, and they expected every moment ſhe would overſet; but upon the turn of the tide, ſhe got up her head, and the water riſing high brought her clear off the rock, for which, like men of ſenſe, they gave hearty thanks to GOD Almighty; for *free thinking, in the language of the preſent age, was unknown to the* Virtuoſi *of that time.*

The ſhip ſticks upon a rock.

But gets clear.

Having ſpent all the month of *June* in the ſtreights, the captain began to deſpair of finding out a paſſage, to the ſouth ſea, that year. They were ſtill ſo entangled with ice near cape *Charles*, not far from the north weſt point of *Labrador*, towards the turn to the bay call'd *Hudſon's*, that altho' their was a brisk gale of wind, and the ſhip afloat with all their ſails up, ſhe ſtood ſtock ſtill. This made the crew begin to murmur, and the captain excuſes them for it, becauſe they had good reaſon to think that they ſhould never have got out of that difficulty. Howevet, to chear them he propos'd to go upon the ice and there to drink the king's health, which he knew would be acceptable to all loyal hearts, in the greateſt danger.

In the month of *July*, they got out of the ſtreights, and croſſing over as the ice would let them, they ſail'd by the north weſt point of *Digge's* iſland, and from thence to the weſtward 160 leagues to the oppoſite ſhore, and then coaſted along to the ſouthward, almoſt to the place where *Hudſon* had winter'd. In this courſe, they had an unlucky accident with halling in a cable, when they thought the anchor was loſt, becauſe of the ſhip's driving; a ſmall rope having got foul of the cable in the dark, twiſted about the maſter's leg, of which he got clear, but much hurt, the two mates in helping him were bruis'd, one in the head, and the other inthe arm, one of the hand-ſpokes hit another upon the breaſt, and laid him a ſprawling; ſeveral others were hurt, particularly the gunner, who had his foot torn off by the ancle, between the cable and capſton, ſo that he was forced to have his leg cut off at the knee.

Upon the 29th of *Auguſt* they ſaw a ſhip, and, coming up with her, found it was one of the king's ſhips, commanded by capt. *Fox*. They ſaluted and entertain'd each other, as well as their preſent circumſtances could allow, and parted the next day. capt. *James* purſu'd his courſe along the coaſt ſouthward, and gave the name of *Henrietta Maria* to a head land in lat 55. They had frequent ſtorms from the eaſt which put them in danger of being driven upon the rocks, there being no landing place for above 130 leagues; and they felt it as cold the 1ſt of *Sept.* as it is in *Englnad* at any time of the year.

In this bay theycruiz'd, ſometimes ſticking upon rocks, and ſome times ſtop'd by ice all the month of *September* and *October* going aſhore in the boat in ſeveral iſlands,

to

to find a ſafe place to winter in. At laſt the ſhip being very leaky, the men fatigu'd, and the ſails quite uſeleſs with ice, ſo that they could not ply; they were forced to go aſhore upon an iſland, in 52 deg. where they built a wooden houſe, and as the ice would ſuffer them, they brought out all things neceſſary out of the ſhip, which lay at anchor near them. But the winter being ſo hard that they, who by turns, ſtaid aboard, were in danger of being frozen to death, they reſolv'd to bring the ſhip aſhore at all hazards, which they did, running her aground upon the moſt convenient place they could find; but, perceiving that ſhe was in danger of being broken to pieces, by beating againſt the ground, the captain, by the advice of the chief perſons of his company, bor'd holes in her bottom, and ſunk her. Then all the men went aſhore in the boat, and coming to the houſe, comforted one another the beſt they could.

They go aſhore & build a houſe upon an iſland.

They ſink their ſhip.

By the firſt of *December*, they could go over the ice to the ſhip, and with great labour, ſhoveling the ſnow off the deck, they got out of the hold the remaining part of their proviſions, but their beer and other liquors were all frozen, and when they thaw'd the beer in the kettle, it was good for nothing; ſo that being afraid of ſome diſtemper, by conſtant drinking ſnow water, they dug a well, but that was ſoon dry'd up; however by good providence, they found a ſpring at a little diſtance from their houſe, which never froze the whole winter. The captain had choſen the moſt convenient place he could find near the ſhip, to build their houſe in. It was in the middle of a tuft of thick trees under a ſouth bank. They made it about 20 foot ſquare, having a view to cover it a top, with their main ſail. Having driven ſtakes into the ground with great fatigue, by reaſon of the froſt, they wattled between the ſtakes as thick as they could, with boughs, which they beat as cloſe as poſſible, up to the top, only leaving two holes for light, and to let out the ſmoke, and a little low door to go in and out, with a porch to fence the houſe from the cold. The two ſide walls were only ſix foot high, but the ends, where the windows were, higher, between the two ends, they laid a rough tree, with rafters between that and the ſide walls, and over thoſe the main ſail, and lin'd the rafters within with the ſmaller ſails. Round the inſide walls they made bedſteads, one above another. And to keep off the cold, they paliſaded the houſe very cloſe with thick trees, which they cut on purpoſe. and placed them very cloſe quite round. Their hearth was in the middle of the room, round about which they placed boards at a convenient diſtance to perſerve them from the cold and damps of the earth.

Their houſe.

About 20 foot from their manſion houſe, they built another ſmaller, after the ſame manner, and cover'd it with the fore ſail of the ſhip, and in lieu of the paliſades they put their cheſts round the inſide of it. which kept it warm. This was their kitchin, and for recreation in the day time. They likewiſe made a ſtore houſe at ſome ſmall diſtance from the other two, for fear of fire, laying rough trees all along the floor on which they ſet their proviſions, about two foot from the ground. By chriſtmas their ſtore-houſe was quite buried in ſnow, becauſe their was no fire kept in it, but they dug a path to it, which ſerv'd for a gallery to walk in, when it was fair over head.

During this winter, the captain obſerv'd, *January* the 21ſt, that the ſun roſe in an oval ſhape, and was ſometime above the horizon before it recover'd its roundneſs: and on the 30th and 31ſt he ſaw more ſtars than ever he had ſeen before. For inſtance, he obſerv'd the cloud in *Cancer*, full of ſtars, as alſo the *Via Lactea*, and the *Pleiades*. *But this is no news now, ſince the great improvement of* teliſcopes, *and the accurate obſervations of modern* aſtronomers. This month the whole ſea was frozen round them, ſo that they could ſee no water; only at a diſtance they could perceive the ice riſe higher, when the tide was full.

In the month of *February*, it was exceſſively cold, and many of the crew had ſore gums, and looſe teeth, beſides other pains and aches all over their bodies, ſo that they were under the ſurgeons hand, yet they were oblig'd to work, for ſome or other were forced to bring wood in, and they were building a pinnace, being uncertain whether their ſhip would be fit for ſervice, if they ſhould be able to get her afloat. The cold was ſo intenſe that their clock and watches, altho' kept in a cheſt by the fire, were ſo frozen that they ſtop'd; and the kettle ſtanding cloſe by the fire for watering the beef or pork, when the water was hot next to the fire, the other ſide was frozen an inch thick. The ſame cold continu'd all the month of *March*, and many of the men were indiſpos'd.

Exceſſive cold.

But as ſoon as *April* began, they bent their thoughts to recover their ſhip, if poſſible, and therefore were at work to clear the inſide of her of ice and ſnow. They had but indifferent tools to work with; yet with great induſtry, they got acceſs to the hold. Here, to their great comfort, they found a cask of good beer. And finding water in the hold, they ſet about breaking the ice on the outſide to

get ſome of the higheſt holes ſtop'd which they had made to ſink her the year before, which with much labour they effected; and found that the water did not encreaſe within. All this month they wrought at the ſhip, but few of them being capable to undergo much fatigue, a little work went a great way. And yet it is admirable to conſider the ſpirit and courage of the *Engliſh*. One would have thought that the hardſhips they had ſuffer'd, and the uncertainty they were in, of ever getting out of that deſolate iſland, might have baniſh'd all thoughts of mirth and jollity from their hearts; but it was not ſo with this brave captain and his crew, for upon the eve of *May-Day*, after having fatigu'd themſelves aboard with work, they return'd to their houſe, and making a good fire, they choſe their *May-Ladies*, every one putting in his cap the name of her who came to his ſhare. A frolick, which I dare ſay would recommend them to their miſtreſſes at their return, and very juſtly. *If any one is ſo preciſe, as to cenſure this innocent mirth, or me for approving of it, in their circumſtances, they ſhall have my conſent to enter themſelves at* La Trap, *or ſome other place, beſt ſuited to their moroſs tempers. For, ſince they did not neglect the duties of* Religion, *as the captain takes notice of all along in his account of this voyage, their diverting themſelves, and keeping up their ſpirits by ſuch inoffenſive mirth, was far from being a crime.*

A brave ſpirit in the Engliſh.

The iſland where they had winter'd afforded but little ſuſtenance, a few foxes, and (but very ſeldom) a white partridge were all that they could purchaſe for food, except the proviſions they had brought from *England*, which they manag'd to the beſt advantage, yet without ſtarving themſelves. And the captain, who ſeems to have been a man of vertue and good ſenſe, having foreſeen that they would be weakeſt in the ſpring, had wiſely reſerv'd a butt of alicant for their refreſhment; which was of great ſervice, eſpecially to the ſick. But to their great grief, the carpenter, who had been ill for ſome time, altho' he had labour'd hard at building the pinnace, could hold out no longer, but being oblig'd to keep his bed, dy'd upon the 18th of *May*, the pinnace, not being finiſh'd.

Now the ice began to melt at land, and yet the ſea continu'd frozen, and the ſeaſon was uncertain, that one day they could not bear the heat of the ſun, and the next they were like to ſtarve with cold. However the ice going off from the iſland, and from about the ſhip, they had hopes of getting her up again; and therefore they obſerv'd the 29th of *May*, the birth day of the then prince of *Wales*, and afterwards the never-to-be-forgotten day of his *glorious reſtoration*; and in honour of him, they call'd their habitation *Charles Town*, and the iſland is by corruption, call'd *Charleton Iſland*. Going about the iſland, when the ice was gone, they found vetches, which recovered the ſick in a wonderful manner. When they were all pretty well recruited, they went aboard the ſhip, and having got their pumps to anſwer, they pump'd out all the water, and ſtop'd up all the holes they had made: and throwing out all the ballaſt, made her as light as poſſible, and having looſen'd the ſand quite round her, the firſt flood that came, with their united force to ſhove her out a little, ſet her afloat, to their great joy, for which they gave hearty thanks to Almighty GOD.

The iſland gets the name of Charleton.

They get the ſhip afloat.

Upon midſummer-day, they ſet up a great tree, which they had cut and fix'd a piece of another to it in form of a croſs, upon a hill in the iſland where they had bury'd the carpenter and gunner and his mate. Upon this tree they affix'd a plate of lead with the king's titles, adding (to *Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*) *Newfoundland*, and *New Albion to* 80 *deg. of n. latitude*, &c. together with his majeſty's arms, and a ſilver ſhilling and ſix pence of his coin: and under all theſe the arms of *Briſtol*. After this they made haſte to rig out their ſhip, and to carry the proviſions aboard, and carefully mended all the defects they perceiv'd about her.

But the poor captain run the greateſt hazard upon the 25th of *June* that he had ever done in his life. For, being deſirous to know if there were any people in the iſland, or any place near, he went up to a hill, and climing up a tree, order'd one that was with him to ſet fire to ſome of the trees thereabouts, having carry'd a lighted ſtick for that purpoſe. The other unadviſedly kindling ſome low trees to the windward of the tree where the captain was, they took fire like gunpowder, ſo that he being intent upon looking at a diſtance, did not advert till the tree he was in was a fire, and blaz'd ſo fiercely upwards, that he was forced to leap off the tree a great highth. This fire continued to burn all the next day, whilſt they were carrying all aboard; and it was well they did, for the wind changing, brought the fire upon their town, and burnt it to the ground. However they loſt nothing, the ſails being already on the ſhore to be ſhipp'd. And now having no habitation at land, they all went aboard, to wait for a proper time to ſail.

A ſtrange fire.

By this time, the ice was quite gone towards the north. And here the captain has

has an obſervation, which I believe may be true. He ſays it does not freeze naturally above ſix foot thick; but when the heat begins in *May*, the ſhallows near the ſhore thaw firſt, and the tide breaks the ice, and carries it away in pieces, which, by the current, get one upon the other, and ſo by degrees it becomes ſo high as ſome times to run to an incredible heighth.

Before they ſet ſail, they went up to the hill where they had ſet up their croſs, to take their laſt leave of the graves of their dead. This they did with great ſolemnity upon ſunday, marching up with their arms, drum, colours, cook, and kettle, and after reading morning prayer, they din'd there, and having obſerv'd the progreſs of the late fire, they ſaw it had gone quite croſs the iſland; and the reaſon why it had not come near their croſs was, that it was fix'd upon a hill, which was all ſand round the bottom. After evening prayer, the captain, at his laſt farewell to his dead friends, rehears'd ſome verſes by way of *Elegy*, but they are too long to be inſerted here. Whoever has a mind to ſee them may conſult the book laſt quoted upon the margin. Then having gather'd about two buſhels of an herb reſembling ſcurvy graſs, which made an excellent ſupper, boil'd, they retir'd to their ſhip. All that they had ſeen upon this iſland, was ſome deer, of which they kill'd one, but never any more, a great many foxes which they ate ſome dozens of, but they vaniſh'd in *May*; and in their places came ducks and geeſe, of which they kill'd a few, as alſo white partridges, but they had no ſhot left: and not a fiſh to be ſeen in that ſea.

Captain James leaves his winter quarters.

Upon *July* the 2d they ſet ſail from the iſland, thinking that the ice had been quite gone, but they quickly found their miſtake, for they had not ſail'd four days before they found themſelves in their old incumbrance. It were tedious to give his journal thro' this long ſea, and the ſtreights, and would only be a repetition of his voyage to *Charleton Iſland*. We ſhall therefore only add, that they were for ſix weeks together ſtrugling with the ice in this ſea, before they could reach the mouth of the ſtreights, and having by common conſent concluded it impracticable to make any diſcoveries that way, they determin'd to take the ſhorteſt way home. In this mind they enter'd the ſtreights, and had the ſame difficulty to return eaſtward as they had in paſſing them at firſt. But at laſt they got ſafe to *Reſolution Iſland*, and from thence by good providence, in a ſhip which had endur'd more ſhocks than would, in all probability, have ſtav'd a conſiderable fleet, they got, upon the 22d of *October*, into the road of *Briſtol*.

And arrives at Briſtol.

The captain freely gives his opinion of his own attempt, or any other of that kind, *viz.* that it is in vain to purſue it any farther for two moſt ſubſtantial reaſons. 1. That he believ'd there was no ſuch paſſage; and 2. If there could ſuch a one be found, it would be no manner of ſervice to *England* as to the *Eaſt-India* trade. That there is no paſſage (or not a practicable one) to the ſouth ſea by the north weſt, at leaſt not by thoſe ſtreights he preſumes for theſe reaſons. 1. Becauſe of the conſtant tide of ebb and flood, whereas, were there a paſſage to the ſouth ſea, the run would be one way, as in other ſtreights where is the like paſſage. 2. There are no ſmall fiſh, and very few great ones, which is not the caſe where there is a communication between two large ſeas. 3. From the great quantity of ice lying in ſhoals, in lat. 65, he concludes that the ſeas to the weſt and north muſt be ſhallow, for were there any communication between theſe two parts and the ſouth ſea, the ice would have been broken to pieces. 4. The ice always ſeeks its way out towards *Hudſon's* ſtreights, which ſhews that it has no vent weſtward.

His reaſons againſt a paſſage north weſt.

But ſuppoſe there were ſuch a paſſage found, he makes it very plain, that it would be no advantage to *England*, either for expedition or ſafety. For conſidering the time that muſt be ſpent in ſtrugling with the ice, one may ſail as far as the cape of *Good Hope*, or the ſtreights of *Magellan*, to the ſouth, before they can ſail between *Deſolation* iſland, and the ſouth ſea, ſuppoſing there were a paſſage, either by *Davis's*, or *Hudſon's* ſtreights. Beſides that there is but one time of the year, and that only for about 10 weeks, that there is a poſſibility of attempting the north paſſage, were it diſcover'd; ſo that if one, of many accidents ſhould ſtop a ſhip at any other port or iſland, or a ſtorm ſhould blow her back to any part of *America*, farther ſouth, in her voyage outward, ſo that they could not make *Terra Labrador* before the beginning of *Auguſt*, there's an end of her voyage weſtward, for that year; and the ſame inconvenience might often happen, in returning from the *Laſt-Indies* by the northweſt paſſage. But if we add to this, the danger of paſſing thoſe ſtreights, even at the beſt ſeaſon; where the ſea is ſuch, that no frequency of paſſing it can make it eaſier; it is not to be imagin'd that our merchants would conſent, that their ſhips ſhould take that courſe to the eaſt, at ſuch maniſeſt risk of ſhips or mens lives, for any ſuppos'd expedition in the voyage. This is the

ſubſtance

ſubſtance of capt. *James's* reaſoning upon the attempt to find out the north weſt paſſage into the ſouth ſea; which ſeems to me to be ſo juſt, that I wonder there were ſo many attempts made that way.

But notwithſtanding all the hardſhips ſuffer'd by ſuch as had ventur'd into thoſe ſeas before, one *Gillam*, ſail'd thither in 1667, and penetrated *Hudſon's* bay as far as 51 deg. almoſt as far as *Hudſon* and *James* had gone; and going back along the eaſt coaſt of *James's* bay, he found a river on the continent of *Labrador*, to which river he gave prince *Rupert's* name, and built a fort upon it, calling it *Charles's* fort. Upon his coming home, king *Charles* gave a patent, to prince *Rupert*, and the owners of *Gillam's* ſhip, of this bay, which was the foundation of *Hudſon's Bay Company*, who ſending a colony thither in 1670, or ſoon after, they erected ſeveral forts, and traded with the natives for beavers-skins, and other furs, till the *French* ſeiz'd their forts in 1682. But they did not keep poſſeſſion long, the *Engliſh* getting the better of them the next year. In 1686, the *French*, from *Quebeck*, attack'd the *Engliſh* colony near *Rupert* river, and took all the places poſſeſs'd by them, except port *Nelſon*, on the oppoſite ſide of the bay, lat. 57. And thus the forts in that bay were ſometimes in the hands of the *Engliſh*, and ſometimes of the *French*, till the peace of *Utrecht* in 1713, and then they were ſurrender'd to the *Engliſh*.

Eng. Atlas *p.* 238.

Upon the weſt ſide of this large bay from north to ſouth are, *New North Wales*; *Cape Churchil*; *Brigg's Bay*; *Port Nelſon*; *Cape Henrietta Maria*; *New South Wales*; together with the iſles call'd *Briſtol Iſle* and *Charleton*.

Ibid.

Upon the eaſt of *Hudſon's* bay, lies the large continent call'd *Terra de Labrador* by the *Spaniards*, *New Britain* by the *Engliſh*, *Eſtotiland* by the *Danes*, and *North Canada* by the *French*. This country is bounded by *Hudſon's* bay on the weſt. It reaches from ſouth to north 780 miles, *viz.* from 50 degrees to 63. Many fabulous accounts have been given of the firſt diſcovery of this country, and of *Latin* books having been found in it, that they brew'd ale and beer, and traded by ſea to *Greenland*, *Frizeland* and other places, 1500 miles diſtant. But theſe accounts are not very likely, conſidering the manners and cuſtoms of all the other natives of *America* whither north or ſouth.

New Britain.

Ogilvy's America *ch.* 1.

The *Engliſh* claim to this country is founded upon *Cabot's* diſcoveries formerly mention'd: The *Portugueſe* pretended to it from *Corterealis*, from whom it was once call'd, who is ſaid to have diſcover'd it in 1500, but that was later than *Cabot*. And the *French* claim it as a part of *Canada*, and have civilis'd ſome of the inhabitants. But there are but imperfect accounts to be had of it from any of them; ſo that we ſhall proceed to

Nova Scotia, the only part of the continent, (belonging to, or diſcover'd by the *Engliſh*,) left untouch'd; which has been long diſputed between the *Engliſh* and *French*; but having been given up to us, by the treaty of *Utretcht*, I ſhall give ſome account of it as an *Engliſh* plantation.

Nova Scotia *or* Accadie.

There ſeems to be little diſpute about the firſt ſettlement of a colony here; for it is agreed by all, that about the year 1604, the *French* from *Canada* river, took poſſeſſion of *Accadie* as a part of *Canada*, calling both together *New France*. Here they had *Port Royal* in the bay of *Fundi*, where they were attack'd by *Argol*, as has been already mention'd.* In the year 1621 king *James* I. thinking the *French* encroach'd upon his right, by ſettling in *Accadie*, gave a patent to Sir *William Alexander* (afterwards earl of *Stirling*) to plant that part of *America* by the name of *Nova Scotia*, which he kept for two years; but upon prince *Charles's* marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, the *French* king got it reſtor'd to him. In the year 1627 king *Charles* I. being engag'd in a war with *France*, Sir *David Kirke* and his brothers ſent at their own charge, three ſhips, and afterwards nine, with the king's commiſſion, to recover *Nova Scotia* from the *French*. The firſt ſhips which went there that year, took 18 ſhips ſent from *France*, for the relief of *Port Royal* and *Quebec*, under the command of *Rocmand* and *Da la Tour*, father to the governor of *Port Royal*, and brought both ſhips and garriſon to *England*. The year following, the ſame *Kirkes* beat the *French* out of *Quebec*, and took poſſeſſion of the country on the north ſide of the great river *Canada*, of which Sir *Lewis Kirke* was made governor, and that conqueſt was divided between the *Kirkes* and Sir *William Alexander*, he keeping poſſeſſion of *Nova Scotia*, ſouth of *Canada*, and they having *New France*, on the north of the river, granted to them, as they well deſerv'd. And they kept poſſeſſion till the year 1632. When king *Charles*, upon the peace with *France*, gave up all the conqueſts which the *Kirke* family had made, but oblig'd the *French* to reimburſe the charges they had been at. This was punctually perform'd on the part of the *Engliſh*; but the *Kirks* were never paid.

Ogilvy's America b. II. *ch.* 1:

* Univ. Tra. *p.* 239.

Sir David Kirke *beats the* French *out of* Nova Scotia *and* New France.

In 1633, the king, conſidering that the ſubjects of *England* were not to be debar'd

But they are reſtor'd by treaty.

bar'd the trade of *Canada* river, altho', by the treaty, he had given up the forts and caſtles to the *French*; granted letters patents to Sir *Lewis Kirke* and his brother *John*, for the term of 31 years, not only to traffick in the river *Canada*, but to plant colonies and build forts where they ſhould think fit. Accordingly the *February* following they ſet out a ſhip, laden with goods of a conſiderable value, to *Canada*, which, as ſoon as ſhe arriv'd, was ſeiz'd by the *French*, in time of peace, and confiſcated as lawful prize; by which thoſe two brothers loſt to the value of 12,000 pounds. And altho' the lord *Scudamore*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at *Paris*, and Mr. *Kirke*, who went thither to ſolicite that affair, repreſented the matter ſtrongly, by his majeſty's orders, to the *French* court; nothing was done; ſo that the *Kirkes* after long attendance loſt both their time and money.

The French are again diſpoſſeſt by Cromwel.

The *French* kept poſſeſſion of *Accadie*, till the year 1654, when the great uſurper, being in full poſſeſſion of the government, made a handle of the *French* not having perform'd articles to the *Kirkes*, and therefore ſent a fleet, under the command of *Sedgwick*, who turn'd the *French* out of all their forts in *Nova Scotia*, and reſtor'd them to the *Engliſh*, who kept them till the reſtoration, notwithſtanding a peace made in 1655, between *Cromwel* and the *French* king. But after the reſtoration (notwithſtanding the juſt claim of the *Kirkes*) the *French* got poſſeſſion of *Accadie* again, and it was reſtor'd to *England* in 1713, as we obſerv'd before.

This country is bounded, on the north and weſt, by the river of *Canada*, call'd by the *French* S. *Laurence*, on the ſouth by *New England*, and part of the *Atlantic* ocean, which likewiſe waſhes the eaſt coaſt of it. It lies between 44 and 50 degrees north latitude. The chief town, in this province, is *Port Royal*, now call'd *Annapolis Royal*. But there are few *Engliſh* as yet in this country; the more ſouthern plantations having engroſs'd all the trade and care of the merchants and planters.

SECT. IX.

The ENGLISH *Iſlands in* AMERICA.

HAVING given ſome account of all the *Engliſh* plantations upon the continent of *America*, we ſhall proceed to the iſlands poſſeſt by the *Engliſh*; and *Newfoundland* being the moſt northerly, we ſhall begin with it.

The next expedition, that I can hear of to this country, after the firſt diſcovery of it by *Cabot*, was by a certain canon of S. *Paul's London*, whoſe name is not known, who went thither in 1527, with two ſhips: one of which being caſt away about the coaſt of *Labrador*, the other landed not far from *Cape Briton*, which was ſuppos'd to be in *Newfoundland*; but return'd home without doing any thing remarkable. Hackluyt Vol. III. *p.* 129.

Mr. Hore's expedition.

In the year 1536 Mr. *Hore* of *London* ſet out with two ſhips, the *Trinity* and the *Minion*, having ſeveral gentlemen aboard, being in all 120. They landed upon the iſland of *Newfoundland* in two months, but found no inhabitants for ſome time, and were in ſuch extremity of famine that they privately knock'd one of their comrades on the head, and ate him by ſtealth: ſeveral of them were miſſing, and it was ſome time before the captain knew what was become of them, till it was diſcover'd by a quarrel that happen'd between two of them for fleſh. At laſt they ſaw ſome ſavages in a canoe, but could not come to ſpeak with them, they were ſo ſhy of them. Being at the utmoſt pitch of want, a *French* ſhip accidently came to the iſland, which they immediately ſeiz'd, and being thus well provided of victuals, ſet ſail for *England* in that ſhip, leaving their own for the *French*: who coming likewiſe ſafe to *England*, made a complaint of the robbery, which coming to king *Henry* VIII's ears, he examin'd the matter, and having found the extremity his ſubjects had been in, would not puniſh them, but out of his own money paid the *French* men all that they demanded, and ſent them home well pleas'd. It ſeems the gentlemen who made this voyage have had ill luck, or were bad fiſhers, that could be reduced to ſuch famine in a country ſo well ſtor'd with ſuch variety of fiſh, as all that coaſt is known to be.

But ſoon after, *viz.* in the reign of king *Edward* VI. the fiſhing of *Newfoundland* ſeems to have been very much frequented, altho' the country was neglected; for there was an act of parliament made in the 2d year of his reign exempting the traders to that iſland for fiſhing, from all duties or taxes exacted for licences to ſail thither to fiſh.

Sir Hum. Gilbert gets a patent.

In 1578, queen *Elizabeth* granted a patent to Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* to ſettle upon any part of *America* not poſſeſt by any other chriſtian prince, at peace with *England*. By virtue of which patent, he took aſſociates with him in the deſign, but ſome of them failing in the performing what they had promis'd, and others were ſo ſlow in their preparations, that he was quite tir'd, and therefore went to ſea with ſuch friends as came heartily and ſeaſonably into his meaſures. But he had bad

ſucceſs, and return'd without doing any thing, having loſt one ſhip, in which was Mr. *Miles Morgan*, a gentleman much lamented.

Sir *Humphrey* had mortgag'd a good part of his eſtate for this undertaking, and now being reſolv'd to go on with it, he was oblig'd to give aſſignments (by vertue of his patent) upon the land not as yet poſſeſs'd. But two years being conſum'd ſince his return home in getting men of ſubſtance to join him, without which it was not in his power to go thro' with it; it was late in the year 1583 before he could be ready to ſet ſail. At laſt having agreed among themſelves to go firſt to *Newfoundland*, and there to winter, in the moſt ſoutherly part of it, they ſet out on the 11th of *June*, with five ſhips and 260 men, among whom were ſhipwrights, maſons, carpenters, ſmiths, and all ſuch other artiſts as they had uſe for. After they had ſail'd two days, the largeſt ſhip they had, call'd the *Rawleigh*, fitted out at Mr. *Walter Rawleigh*'s charge, return'd to *Plymouth*. It was ſaid they had got an infectious diſeaſe among them, which occaſion'd their leaving the fleet.

Sails for Newfoundland.

Upon the 30th of *July* they made land, having for ſometime before had hazy foggy weather, ſo that they could not exactly obſerve the ſun or ſtars, but by their courſe, they gueſs'd they were in 51 deg. n. lat. they found themſelves in a large bay, but not liking the coaſt, they held farther ſouth, and came to *Penguin* iſland, which lies in 49 degrees. This iſland takes it name from the multitude of that ſort of fowl, which are about the bigneſs of geeſe, and very fat, and ſo unwieldly that they cannot fly. The *Europeans* who go to that coaſt a fiſhing, take them in great numbers, and barrel them up; but Sir *Humphrey* made no ſtay here, ſo that keeping his courſe to the ſouth, they came in ſight of S. *John*'s harbour, a place where the ſhips landed, which were upon that coaſt a fiſhing: it lies in 48 deg. Here they found about 36 ſhips, whereof the greateſt part were *Engliſh*. Sir *Humphrey* ſent a boat on board the *Engliſh* ſhips to give them an account of his commiſſion, and deſign; and the maſters coming aboard the admiral, and ſeeing the queen's commiſſion, welcom'd Sir *Humphrey*, and promis'd him all aſſiſtance.

Penguin iſland.

Having landed and ſet up his tents, he ſent for all the maſters of ſhips as well *Engliſh* as foreigners, and his commiſſion having been read, and care aken to tranſlate it for the ſtrangers, he took poſſeſſion, (by wood and turf, after the *Engliſh* manner) in name of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, and for the uſe of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* and his heirs, under her majeſty and her ſucceſſors. This done, all the ſhips, by a ſignal from the land, diſcharg'd their guns; and the governor having been well provided of freſh fiſh, and ſuch other things as the fiſhing ſhips had aboard, gave them an entertainment, and told the ſtrangers, that he would protect them againſt all violence, and provide them in proper places for curing their fiſh aſhore, in conſideration of a ſmall acknowledgment, rather as owning the ſovereignty of his miſtreſs, than as a tax. This they ſeem'd to be ſatisfy'd with, eſpecially the *Portugueſes*, who ſent him ſuch preſents as they had.

Sir Hum. takes poſſeſſion of the country in name of q. Eliz.

The governor immediately ſet up the queen's arms, engrav'd in lead, upon a wooden pillar near his tent; and granted out ſeveral parcels of ground near the ſhore to the ſeveral maſters of ſhips, which was a great eaſe to them, for, before, it was, *firſt come firſt ſerv'd*, and they were like to go to logger-heads for place. All the ſhips which they found upon the coaſt contributed towards furniſhing Sir *Humphrey* and his people with proviſions, becauſe he deſign'd to ſettle there.

Having thus adjuſted all matters, he ſent ſeveral parties along the coaſt both ways, to find out the propereſt place to ſettle in; the chief conſideration being to pitch upon the moſt commodious harbour for ſhipping, and, at the ſame time, a country about it able to ſubſiſt the colony. They found many good ports upon this coaſt, and, in the country, good paſture for all ſorts of cattle. Grain of all kinds grew to great perfection; and there was the greateſt plenty of fiſh that can be imagin'd, as ſeveral nations of *Europe* have, ever ſince the firſt diſcovery of this iſland, experienced to their great advantage.

But whilſt the governor, like a careful worthy man, was ſearching the country for the fitteſt place to ſettle in; his people were intent upon other affairs, quite contrary to his thoughts. There were ſome of them, eſpecially the crew belonging to the *Swallow*, who had their heads bent upon buccaneering, and therefore had laid a plot of taking away the beſt ſhip, and making prize of all they met with, whether friends or foes. Others withdrew into the woods, in order to get themſelves aboard ſome of the homeward bound ſhips. Some were ſick of fluxes, and ſeveral dy'd; ſo that the company who had been brought out of *England*, with a deſign to plant *Newfoundland*, was greatly diminiſh'd. The captain of the *Delight*, in which Sir *Humprey* himſelf ſail'd, went for *England*, and capt. *Brown* was remov'd from the *Swallow* to the *Delight*, and brought with him many

Mutinies among the governor's people.

of

of the *Swallow*'s crew, as thinking he ſhould be able to keep them in better command when mix'd with others.

He goes to make diſcoveries farther ſ.

Sir *Humphrey* being vex'd as thoſe miſcarriages, and eager to make diſcoveries farther ſouth, ſet ſail with the *Delight*, the *Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, which laſt the governor would needs go in, contrary to the advice of all his friends; but he perſiſted obſtinately in his purpoſe, as judging her the fitteſt for making diſcoveries, being a frigate of ten tuns, and ſo could run into any creek. He left St. *John*'s harbour the 20th of *Auguſt*, and the next day towards evening came up with cape *Race*, the ſouth point of the iſland, in 45 deg. and a half. Under this cape, they were becalm'd, and went a fiſhing, and, in leſs than two hours, caught a vaſt number of large cod. But having been told by a *Portugueſe* at S. *John*'s, of a certain iſland, not far from cape *Britain*, call'd *Sablon*, where his countrymen had left cows and ſwine to breed (above 30 years before,) and that he had occaſion to put aſhore, and found they had encreas'd very much; the governor determin'd to ſettle ſome where near that iſland, to be in the neighbourhood of ſo ſure a ſupply upon a pinch. So they ſailed from cape *Race* to the ſouthweſt, out of ſight of land for eight days. But a ſtorm ariſing, and with it a fog, they found themſelves among flats, they did not know where, and the *Delight* being fartheſt forward, ſtruck a ground, and was loſt, and with her moſt of their proviſions, Sir *Humphrey*'s papers, and ſomething elſe which he ſeem'd more griev'd for than the papers, which the author of this account ſuppoſes to have been ſome ore which he had got in the north part of *Newfoundland*, which he believ'd to be either gold or ſilver.

The delight caſt away.

The foul weather continuing, and the proviſions being ſcarce, the crew on board the *Squirrel*, preſt Sir *Humphrey* to make for *England*, as the ſureſt way to ſave themſelves, becauſe they were now too ſmall a number to attempt conqueſts upon the continent, having loſt 100 men in the *Delight*, as they thought, and indeed they were loſt to them, altho' ſome of them eſcaped wonderfully, as we ſhall relate by and by. Sir *Humphrey* call'd a conſultation of the captain and maſter of of the *Hind* aboard the frigate, and expreſt his willingneſs to comply with the deſire of his crew, telling them that by the bleſſing of GOD, he would return the next year, and make all their fortunes; upon this aſſurance they concluded to ſail homeward.

Here the author of this account, who was maſter of the *Hind*, tells a ſtrange ſtory, of a creature appearing near their ſhips, in ſhape and colour as like a lion as could be; and gliding along the water with his whole body above the ſurface. The noiſe he made was like the roaring of a lion, and he open'd his mouth wide, and ſhew'd long teeth, and glaring eyes. Some took this for a bad, and others for a good ſign. The reader may think as he pleaſes both of the ſtory and the *omen*.

A ſtrange appearance.

Having determin'd to ſail for *England*, Sir *Humphrey* came aboard the *Hind* once, to have his foot dreſs'd by the ſurgeon, having hurt it upon a nail, and another time to make merry after a ſtorm; but altho' he was preſs'd by the captain and all the officers to ſtay aboard that ſhip, he was poſitive, and went back to the *Squirrel*. They had ſtormy weather moſt of this voyage, and particularly about the *Azores*, where the frigate had like to have been ſwallow'd up; but growing a little calm, the *Hind* ſpoke to the governor, who was ſitting upon deck with a book in his hand. They beg'd of him to come aboard them, but he anſwer'd, *we are as near heaven by ſea as by land.* But that very night, the frigate being a head as ſhe generally was, (the *Hind* obſerving her motion,) all of a ſudden her lights went out; at which the watch called aloud, *the general is loſt:* which prov'd true; for they never heard more of the frigate, altho' they look'd for her all the voyage home, making the ſigns agreed upon between them to all the ſmall ſhips they ſaw in their courſe. The *Hind* arriv'd ſafe at *Falmouth* the 22d of *September*.

The governor caſt away.

But, as I hinted above, ſome of the men of the *Delight* were wonderfully preſerv'd. For ſome that could ſwim, having got into the boat, which, by good providence, was at the ſtern of the ſhip, they took in ſome others, to the number of 16 in all, whereof the maſter was one, who liv'd to give this account. They had but one oar, ſo that they had but little proſpect of prolonging their lives, but as it is natural to put the evil day as far from us as we can, they wrought at the ore by turns to keep the boat's head right before the wind, which they found fair for the iſland of *Newfoundland*, and by the mercy of GOD continu'd ſo for ſeven days, for ſo long they were at ſea. Two of the 16 dy'd, and were caſt over-board: the other 14 arriv'd on the iſland half dead for fatigue, but more for hunger, having ate nothing in all that time, but weeds ſwiming in the ſea. As ſoon as they could crawl out of the boat, they found ſome berries, and when they were a little recruited, and had given thanks to Almighty GOD for their wonderful deliverance, they divided themſelves into three parties, going about to look

A miraculous preſervation of 14 of the crew of the Delight.

look for food. They quickly found good peaſe, and a brook which was very refreſhing. There they ſtaid three days, living upon the peaſe and berries; and then got into the boat again, to coaſt, along the iſland, in hopes of meeting with ſome of the fiſhing ſhips bound for ſome part of *Europe*. Every now and then they put aſhore for berries and peaſe, which they found all along the coaſt. And at laſt, to their great comfort, they ſpyd a ſhip, and making towards her, found ſhe belong'd to the *Spaniards*, who kindly took them aboard, and brought them to the bay of *Biſcay*, and landed them at *Paſſage*, the maſter being ſo kind to conceal that they were *Engliſh*, and from thence they travell'd by land in a few hours to *France*, and ſo got to *England*.

Hackluyt *ubi ſupra.*

In the year 1597, Mr. *Charles Leigh* and *Abraham Van Herwick*, *London*-merchants, fitted out two ſhips, the *Hopewell* and *Chancewell*, for an expedition towards *Newfoundland*; where Mr. *Leigh* being on board arriv'd in *May*, and coaſting along the ſouth part of the iſland, from *Caplin* bay round cape *Race*, on the 5th of *June*, they paſt *Placentia* bay, where they loſt ſight of one another in the fog, very frequent about *Newfoundland*. The *Hopewel*, made over to cape *Britain* on the eaſt of an iſland, to the northward of *Nova Scotia*, call'd the *Gaſpa*: and holding ſtill northward, they took abundance of large cod, at the iſland of *Menego*; and in two iſlands farther north, they found incredible numbers of birds, with great number of *Morſes*, or ſea oxen, ſleeping upon the rocks; the *Hopewell* ſent the boat towards the rocks, but the morſes taking the allarm leap'd into the ſea, and purſu'd the boat with ſuch eagerneſs, that the ſeamen being afraid of them, were glad to make the beſt of their way back to the ſhip. About five leagues north of the bird iſland at *Brian*'s iſland, the cod were in ſuch plenty, that, with four hooks only, they caught 250 in an hour's time. There they found excellent corn and meadow ground, and good wood but not large.

Mr. Leigh's *voyage.*

The 18th of *June* they came to *Ramea* iſland, lat. 47 and a half, being in the middle of S. *Laurence*'s bay, about an equal diſtance from *Nova Scotia* and *Newfoundland*. Here they found four ſhips, two of S. *Malo*, and two of *Sibiburo*, a place near S. *Jean de Luz*. The two laſt they took for *Spaniards*, altho' indeed they were ſubjects of *France*. Mr. *Leigh* ſent to thoſe ſhips to ſend their charter parties to him, that he might ſee to what country they belong'd; and upon affirming that they were *French*, he deſir'd they would deliver their ammunition to him, which he promis'd to reſtore to them, upon his being certify'd that they were what they pretended. But they refuſing to give it up, he ſent a party aboard to ſeize it, but with ſtrict orders to touch nothing nothing elſe. But the two ſhips making reſiſtance, the *Engliſh* boarded them by force, and began to pillage, which Mr. *Leigh* perceiving, went aboard them himſelf and reſtor'd all that his people had taken, only ſending their ammunition on board his own ſhip; but finding upon ſtrict examination that one of the ſhips was certainly *French*, and having no evidence that the other was not, he diſmiſt them both.

They have a ſquable with ſome French ſhips at Ramea iſland.

But the captain of one of the S. *Malo* ſhips, coming aboard Mr. *Leigh*, had like to have ſurpriz'd her, by a correſpondence laid with the other ſhips, which Mr. *Leigh* perceiving, he threaten'd to fire upon one of them which lay next him, if they offer'd to man their boat, which diverted the plot for that time; and finding that he was in danger, by ſtaying there, he ſet ſail, with intention to go towards *Canada* river, but the crew petitioning him to return home for greater force; to be able to withſtand any aſſaults of *French* or *Spaniards*, he was fain to comply with them; and ſo they bent their courſe ſouthward, and came back to cape *Britain*; where they met with eight of the *Chancewell*'s crew in a boat, who gave them an account, that the ſhip having ſtruck upon a rock, and by that ſhock being bulged, they had been oblig'd to run her aſhore in that bay, where the *French* had pillag'd her againſt the maſter of their ſhip's inclination who had us'd the *Engliſh* well.

The Chancewell ſtranded.

Mr. *Leigh* ſail'd by their direction, to the bay where they lay, and ſaw the *French*, ſhip riding at anchor. As ſoon as the *Speedwell* came in ſight, the *French* deſerted their ſhip, and went aſhore, only the maſter ſtaid, and Mr. *Leigh* treated him well taking nothing from him but what they had plunder'd from the *Engliſh*, in recompence of which civility, the maſter gave him two hogsheads of cider, a barrel of peaſe, and 500 fiſh. Departing from thence, they ſail'd towards port *Anglois*, a place near the ſame iſland on the ſouth ſide, where they were told another of the ſhips lay, which had pillag'd the *Chancewell*. Thither Mr. *Leigh* ſail'd, and ſome other *French* ſhips being there, he went aboard the commodore, deſiring reſtitution; but finding that they reſtored only part of what they had taken, and reſolv'd to ſurprize the ſhip to boot, they took what they could get, and left the place.

Mr. *Leigh* deſign'd to have attack'd the ſhip which had committed the robbery, but the wind did not ſerve; ſo that they held

held their courſe towards *Newfoundland*, and in S. *Laurences*'s bay, took a *Spaniſh* ſhip; the maſter of the *Speedwell*, Mr. *Crafton*, and 16 of the crew, having boarded her, in their boats; but as Mr. *Crafton* with three of his men were rowing towards their own ſhip, there fell ſuch a fog, that he was forced to caſt anchor near the ſhore, where he was ſurpriz'd by a ſmall ſhip of S. *John de Luz*, and taken priſoner. When it clear'd up, they carry'd him to the *Spaniſh* prize, threatning to hang him; unleſs the *Engliſh* deſerted the ſhip; which they did, releaſing the *Spaniards* aboard, upon promiſe of doing no harm to the *Engliſh*: but as ſoon as they had poſſeſſion of the ſhip, they ſail'd to a bay, not far from thence, where there were other ſhips from *Spain*, and, contrary to their promiſe, detain'd the maſter and *Steven Van Herwick*, and ſtripping the reſt, ſet them aſhore. This was done whilſt the *Speedwell* was carry'd out of ſight in the fog. Some days after, the men who had been ſtrip'd made a ſhift to get a boat and came aboard; and capt. *Leigh* hearing the treachery of the *Spaniards*, watch'd all opportunities of getting ſome of them in his power, which he ſoon effected, exchanging them for Mr. *Crafton* and *Van Herwick*.

A Spaniſh ſhip taken, & retaken.

After they were come aboard, they ſail'd for cape S. *Mary*, and in that bay took another *Spaniſh* ſhip of 200 tun after ſome reſiſtance: and finding her a good ſtout ſhip, Mr. *Leigh* went aboard her, and ſail'd for *England*, landing in the *Iſle of Wight* on the 5th of *September*.

Another of 200 ton taken, and brought to England.

I find no account of any farther attempt to ſettle in this iſland (altho' the *Engliſh* continu'd fiſhing there) till the year 1610, when Mr. *Guy* of *Briſtol*, having writ a treatiſe the year before concerning the importance of a colony in *Newfoundland*, prompted the earl of *Northampton* to to procure a patent, from king *James*, of this iſland, which being obtain'd, ſign'd *Apr.* 27th 1610, to the ſaid earl, in partnerſhip with many others there nam'd, of which Mr. *Guy* was one; immediately a fleet was ſent thither, and Mr. *Guy* appointed governor.

Harris's Bibl. *p.* 1. B. V. *ch.* 32.

A patent granted for Newfound land. *to the earl of* Northampton &c.

He behav'd there with ſuch prudence, by treating the natives well, that by degrees he brought them to be familiar with the *Engliſh*. For altho' there were no inhabitants in the place where he firſt ſettled, *viz.* in the eaſt and ſouth parts of the iſland; yet Mr. *Guy* having had occaſion to view the other parts of it farther north, and treating the natives with great kindneſs and humanity wherever he found them, they made it their buſineſs to ſearch out the *Engliſh*, and inſtead of laying their goods upon the ground and retiring from them, as they did at firſt, they came to their ſhips or houſes, and traded with them without any reſerve. One reaſon of their confidence in the *Engliſh* was, that the *Engliſh* lighting upon a village of theirs, in one of their progreſſes, and finding no body at home, they put ſome things out of their places, and left ſeveral trinkets behind them to ſhew that they been there; but did not take a pin's worth either of goods or proviſions. This gave them ſo great credit with the natives, that there never was the leaſt quarrel between them.

Mr. Guy's prudent government.

In 1620 Sir *George Calvert*, ſecretary of ſtate, purchas'd a part of this iſland from the proprietors; for which he obtain'd a patent from king *James* in 1623, by which the land he had bought was erected into a province, under the name of *Avalon*, from a place in *Somerſetſhire*, where the chriſtian faith was firſt receiv'd in *England*. This province is in the ſouth eaſt part of *Newfoundland*, from 46 to 47 deg. n. lat. and reaches to the colony of S. *John*'s northward; from whence drawing a line weſtward, it reach-to *Placencia* bay; ſo that it may be ſaid to be about 60 miles ſquare. All the iſlands and inlets upon the coaſt were granted to Sir *George* by his patent, only reſerving full liberty to the *Engliſh* for fiſhing, as well in the ſeas as in all creeks and harbours within his juriſdiction, and likewiſe the priviledge of drying and curing the fiſh on the ſhore of the ſaid province, as they formerly us'd to do, ſo as no injury ſhould be done unto the proprietor.

Ogilvy's America *p.* 307.

Sir Geo. Calvert's *plantation.*

Sir *George* caus'd a handſome houſe to be built in this province, at a place call'd *Firreland*, in the ſouthmoſt part of his purchaſe, and being, at his own deſire, diſmis'd the office of ſecretary, and created lord *Baltimore*, he went over to his new eſtate at *Avalon* in 1627, to ſee his houſe, and plantation; and returning the ſame year, took his whole family there the year following, except his eldeſt ſon. In that expedition he releas'd about 20 *Engliſh* ſhips taken by *Monſieur de la Rade*, (there being war, at that time, between *England* and *France*:) and whilſt he ſtaid at *Ferriland*, he took ſix *French* ſhips fiſhing upon the coaſt, and ſent many priſoners to *England*. After he had ſtaid ſome time, and order'd his colony to the beſt advantage, he return'd with his family, leaving a deputy to take care of the plantation, which went on well as long as he liv'd.

His ſon *Cecil*, ſucceeding him in honour and eſtate in 1632, ſent over capt. *Hill* as his deputy to *Avalon*. But the marquis of *Hamilton*, the earl of *Pembroke*, and others having obtain'd a patent for *Newfoundland* in 1638, in which they had

taken care, that *Avalon* ſhould not be excepted, under pretence that the lord *Baltimore* had neglected it; they diſpoſſeſs'd him of his houſe at *Ferriland* and all the privileges he enjoy'd in the province: and king *Charles* I's troubles coming on ſoon after, they kept poſſeſſion, till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. and then upon the lord *Baltimore*'s petition, his majeſty refer'd the matter to be examin'd by Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, then lord chief juſtice, and ſome others appointed to aſſiſt him: who, upon a full hearing of council on both ſides, gave their opinion, that the lord *Baltimore*'s patent was ſtill of force, and was not voided by the patent of 1638. Upon this report, the king order'd poſſeſſion to be given to the ſaid lord, which was accordingly done; the other proprietors or their aſſigns kept the reſt of the iſland by vertue of their patent. After the revolution, the *French* took poſſeſſion of ſeveral places on the ſouth of this iſland, their chief colony was *Placentia* in the bay of the ſame name, where they had a town and fortreſs; both which were deliver'd up to the *Engliſh* by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

Engl. Atlas p. 238.

This iſland is divided from *Terra de Labrador*, on the continent of *America* by a channel much of the ſame breadth with that between *Dover* and *Calais*. The iſland lies from 52 degrees to 46, about 360 miles in length, and towards the ſouth much the ſame breadth; ſo that it may be ſaid to be as big as *England*. The northern parts of it are ſeldom frequented by the *Engliſh*, all our colonies having been on the ſouth end of the iſland towards the eaſt, and as far weſt as *Placentia* on the ſouth coaſt; which having had few or no natives, the *Engliſh* had no ſtruggle in planting colonies there, except what diſturbances they met with from *Europeans*, particularly the *French*.

Ogilvy *ubi ſupra.*

All along the coaſt, are many excellent bays, and the moſt commodious harbours in the world. Some of thoſe bays run up into the land twenty leagues. The chief of which on the eaſt coaſt, are the *Trinity* and *Concepton* ſtretching towards the ſouth weſt. *Tor* bay and *Capelin* towards the weſt. On the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, are the bays of *Trepaſſey*, S. *Mary*'s, *Berrel*, and *Placentia*: all which run into the land northwards. The great bay of S. *Peters* on the weſt coaſt, lies overagainſt *Anticoſti* iſland, in the mouth of the river of S. *Laurence* or *Canada*: beſides a great number of others, leſs remarkable, or leſs frequented by the *Engliſh*. The beſt harbours are thoſe of *Trinity* and *Trepaſſey*, the one on the eaſt, the other on the ſouth coaſt, in the bays of the ſame names. *Trinity* harbour lies in 49 deg. and is moſt conveniently ſituated for ſhips to lye in, and to ſail from, either to the eaſt, weſt or ſouth. It has three arms, or rivers, where many hundreds of ſhips may ly ſafe, near a mile from the mouth of the harbour. And by the ſides of thoſe rivers, there is abundance of ground capable to feed a great number of cattle both winter and ſummer. *Trepaſſey* harbour is likewiſe a good one, and has the advantage of a more ſoutherly ſituation; being in 46 deg. (or ſome leſs according to the *Atlas*.) The coaſt near this bay is a very ſafe one, being free from rocks and ſhelves. This harbour is the moſt commodious of any in the iſland for ſhips, which come from *New England*, *Virginia*, *Canada*, or *Bermudas*. The climate on this part, as indeed of all the iſland, is very temperate, and agrees well with *Engliſh* conſtitutions.

The bays and harbours in Newfoundland.

Produce of the iſland.

The ſoil is naturally very fruitful, producing plants, fruits, and grain of ſeveral kinds, without art or pains. The country abounds in bilberries, raſpberries, barberries, cherries, goosberries, ſtrawberries, pears and filberds; as likewiſe in variety of wholeſome herbs, ſuch as parſley, ſorrel, alexander, &c. Wheat, barley, rye, and peaſe were found upon the iſland at the firſt diſcovery of it: the *Engliſh* ſow'd oats and beans, which thrive to admiration. And all garden ſtuffs, of which they carry'd the ſeeds from *England*, proſper'd exceeding well. The country is well ſtor'd with wood, and their firrs are reckon'd as good for maſts as any in *Norway*: and the pine and birch are particularly commended for the ſtatelineſs of them.

Beaſts.

This iſland abounds in deer, hares, foxes, ſquirrels, wolves, bears, otters and beavers, which yield excellent furs. And it is ſaid that the wild beaſts in this country are tamer than the ſame ſort of animals are in *Europe*: of which they tell a remarkable ſtory; and altho' Dr. *Harris* makes himſelf merry with it, in his way, I ſee nothing ridiculous in it, nor repugnant to probability: I ſhall therefore give it in few words. As ſome of the *Engliſh* were a fiſhing, a great number of wolves came out of a wood near them: they having a maſtif dog with them, of approv'd mettle, he advanced towards them; his maſter expecting a very unequal battle. But, to his great ſurprize, inſtead, of ſnarling at one another, the wolves wag'd their tails, and fawn'd upon the maſtif; which he returning in the ſame manner, they fell to playing, as dogs do, when they are in friendſhip with one another. Having thus entertain'd the *Engliſh* for ſome time, with their play, they went off towards the wood, whither the

Harris, *ubi ſup.*

An inſtance of good nature in wolves.

the maſtif bore them company, and did not return for eight or ten days, and then came home without the leaſt ſign of any inhoſpitable treatment. This he repeated twice afterwards, ſtaying a week at a time, and ſtill returning in good condition; from which they concluded (and not without reaſon) that the wolves were not ſo ill natur'd in *Newfoundland*, as in *England*.

Fowl. Thoſe of the feather'd kind, both of land and water, are infinite in number. The land birds are partridges, thruſh, and thruſſets, as alſo filladies, nightingales, and other ſinging birds; likewiſe birds of prey, as hawkes, ravens, gripes, crows, &c. And the country is well ſtock'd with ducks, geeſe, pidgeons, &c. And great plenty of water fowl, ſuch as wild ducks, teal, penguins, &c. The penguins are in ſuch plenty in this iſland, and multiply ſo faſt, that they drive them by hundreds to their boats alive, for their wings are not able to ſupport their bodies in the air, ſo that they are eaſily caught.

But of all the commodities with which this part of the world abounds, the fiſh about this iſland bring the greateſt advantage to *Europe*. Here are to be found whales, porpoiſes, ſeals, and other large ſea fiſh; and in the rivers, ſalmon, trouts, eels, flounders, launce, and ſeveral others. But above all, the infinite number of cod, taken upon this coaſt, has allur'd all *Europe* to ſail thither; and vaſt numbers of ſhips from *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal* us'd to lye along the coaſt in the ſeaſon for fiſhing. Near the iſland there is a ſound, call'd the *Bank*, above 300 miles long, where the cod are in ſuch numbers, that they catch them faſter than they can be cur'd by many hands, and ſeamen know without ſounding, when they are upon the *Bank*, by the multitude of gulls and other ſea fowl hovering over the place, waiting for the guts and garbiſh of the fiſh taken there. *Hackluyt.*

It is obſerv'd by Mr. *Ogilvy*, that if this iſland were well fortify'd, as it might eaſily be, we might command all the fiſhing of that important place, and either debar other nations from fiſhing upon that coaſt altogether, or make them pay a conſiderable ſum for liberty to fiſh. I ſhall tranſcribe his own words. "The "trade of fiſhing is of ſo great concern- "ment to *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *the* "*Streights*, and other parts, that they "cannot well be without that yearly "ſupply, in fiſh which comes from that "iſland. Neither can the *Hollanders*, "*Spaniards*, or *Portugueſes*, well ſet any "ſhips to the *Weſt-Indies*, without *New-* "*foundland* fiſh, there being none that "will endure to paſs the line, ſound and "untainted, but the fiſh of that country, "ſalted and dry'd there. And ſo long "as the act continues ſtill in force, that "no fiſh be tranſported from the ſaid "iſland, but in *Engliſh* bottoms, it will "contribute very much to the encreaſe of "our ſhipping there, and by conſequence "of the imployment of mariners; and "the fiſhing of that part of the iſland "will be ſolely appropriated to the *Eng-* "*liſh* nation, to whom of right it be- "longs, which will prove the greateſt "ballance of trade in that part of the "world; and that whereas above 200 "ſail do trade thither yearly to fiſh, if "1000 ſail come, if there be but fiſher- "men enow, they will all have fraugh- "tage there.

"The *French*, if once the iſland be "fortify'd, will be depriv'd of their "nurſery of mariners; this being the on- "ly place, beſides *Canada*, and one or "two adjacent coaſts, where they come for "ſupply of fiſh, with which that nation "cannot be ſupply'd from other parts.

"By well planting, and fortifying "*Newfoundland*, the trading to *Virginia*, "*New England*, and thoſe parts, would "be much encourag'd, *New England* ha- "ving had of late great traffick with "*Newfoundland*, where they vent the "growth of their plantation. Beſides, "*Newfonndland* is a key to the gulf of "*Canada*, which if the *Engliſh* had "again in their poſſeſſion, as they had in "the years 1628 and 1632, they might "give a law to all foreign kings and peo- "ple, intereſted in any of the parts of "*America*, and a protection to all the "*Engliſh* plantations upon that conti- "nent. Whereby great ſecurity, com- "fort and profit would ariſe to the nation "and people of it: whereas on the con- "trary, if the *French*, *Spaniſh* or *Dutch* "ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the ſaid "plantation, they would not only de- "prive this nation of all the advantages "aforeſaid, but would alſo derive to "themſelves ſo great a power to prejudice "all the plantations upon the coaſt of "*America*, belonging to this nation, "that the inconveniencies thereof are "ſcarce to be imagin'd or expreſs'd." *Ogilvy's America p. 310.*

But this is a matter too high for our TRAVELLER, and therefore I ſhall leave it to the conſideration of the government, *when they come to make* TRADE *and* NAVIGATION *the object of their thoughts.*

The ſecond iſland of any conſideration, under the *Engliſh* government, is *Long Iſland*, which altho' it is annex'd to the province of *New York*, is ſo conſiderable a place as to deſerve to be particularly taken notice of, being 150 miles in length, and 12 in breadth. Whilſt it was in the hands of the *Dutch*, it was call'd *L. Long Iſland.*

call'd *Naſſau*, and they made as good earthen ware in it, as at *Delph*. It has ſeveral fruitful vallies, and produces corn, fruits, herbs, roots, flax, and hemp in great plenty. There is alſo ſtore of black cattle, horſes, hogs, &c. And the ſea about it abounds in whales, grampus's, ſeals, &c. whoſe oil yields good profit to the inhabitants.

This iſland is divided into three counties, *viz. Queen*'s, *Suffolk* and *Richmond*. *Queen*'s county has a fine breed of horſes, and their militia are horſe. It has two churches in it. *Suffolk* county has two ſmall towns inhabited, for the moſt part by independants and quakers. *Richmond* county has one church. This iſland lies from eaſt to weſt under the 41 deg. and a half n. lat.

III. Bermudas *iſles.*

The next iſlands which come under our conſideration are thoſe of the *Bermudas* or *Summers* iſlands. The firſt name they are ſaid to have taken from a *Spaniard Juan Bermudes*, who firſt diſcover'd them; or elſe from certain black hogs, which went aſhore upon thoſe iſlands, (out of a ſhip, caſt away upon that coaſt) and multiply'd there. The other name thoſe iſlands got from Sir *Geo. Summers*, one of the worthy deputy governors of *Virginia*, under the lord *De la Ware*, whoſe landing on thoſe iſland when the ſhip was ready to ſink, and afterwards his death in the ſame iſlands, we mention'd before. *

* Univ. Trav. p. 237.

The firſt who undertook to make a ſettlement here, was *Hernand Camelo* a *Spaniard*, in the reign of *Charles* V. and it ſeem'd to be of conſequence to *Spain* to have a colony there, as being a good place of refreſhment, in their way home from all their plantations in *North America*, eſpecially from *Havana*, and the *Bahama* iſlands. But thoſe who were concern'd in planting the *Bermudas*, being very ſlow and remiſs, and the emperor being engag'd in wars at home, which engroſs'd all his thoughts, at that time, the deſign came to nothing. About 60 years after, the *French* attempted the planting of them, but likewiſe miſcarry'd. And after them the *Engliſh*, ſuch as, *Goſnol*, *Smith*, *Weſt*, *Gates*, *Argol*, and *Wyat*, but without ſucceſs, having been only efforts of private perſons, or chance undertakings. But

In 1612, king *James* I. granted letters patents to a company of *London* merchants to plant the iſlands of *Bermudas*. They ſent, therefore, Mr. *Richard Moore*, who liv'd there three years; in which time, he had been very diligent with the 60 men which he had with him, in building a fort, and fortifying it after a proper manner; but he was much hinder'd in his undertaking by an odd incident, which, had it not been remov'd, would have made a colony there for ever impracticable. The thing was this. A number of rats making their way out of a ſhip caſt away upon the *Bermudas*, (but whether during Mr. *Moore*'s reſidence there, or before, I cannot ſay) multiply'd ſo exceedingly there, that in the laſt year of his being upon the iſland, they devour'd not only all the plants in the field, but ate up the grain as it was ſow'd, ſo that there was no appearance of a crop; and they alſo ate up all the proviſions in the houſes, They us'd all ways they could think of to deſtroy them, but to no purpoſe. This was a great diſcouragement to the colony, but after they had been plagu'd with them for ſome time, providence ſent a diſeaſe among them, which rid the iſland of them like a charm. *A plague of rats.*

Mr. *Moore* being call'd home, Mr. *Tuckard* ſucceed him, and the colony being recruited from time to time, was in a flouriſhing condition in ſeven years, having about 1000 inhabitants men and women. Mr. *Butler* ſucceeded *Tuckard* in 1619, and now they ſet about building a church, and court of juſtice, and the *Engliſh* increas'd 500 in the three laſt years, what by recruits from *England*, and multiplying in the iſland, and they poſſeſt 20 leagues of land in length. This plantation has thriven ſo well, that of late years they were computed to be about 10,000 *Engliſh*. Eng. Atlas *p.* 244.

Theſe iſlands lye in a cluſter together, and are reckon'd above 400 of one ſort or other. They lye in 32 deg. n. lat. near 500 miles eaſtward of the coaſt of *Carolina*. They were reckon'd, for about 80 years after they were diſcover'd, the moſt healthful plantation in *America*, ſo that ſick people went from the ſugar countries to recover their health in *Bermudas*, but in later years, they have in a great meaſure loſt that character. The hurricanes have alter'd the nature of the air, altho' 'tis ſtill temperate and clear. But they are often viſited with dreadful thunder and lightning; and the north and north weſt winds turn ſummer into winter. In one of theſe iſlands, call'd S. *George*'s iſland, the town of the ſame name is built, which lies at the bottom of a bay towards the north weſt, and is defended by ſeveral forts, on which there are 70 pieces of cannon mounted, and ſo diſpos'd that they all bear upon the entry of the harbour. The town conſiſts of 1000 good houſes, with a handſome town houſe for the reſidence of the governor, and for holding the council and aſſembly. There is likewiſe a fine church and a good library.

Theſe iſlands lye in the form of a half moon, encompaſs'd with one long iſland of 20 miles, which is divided into tribes, *viz.*

viz. Southampton, *Warwick*, *Paget*, *Pimbroke*, *Devonſhire*, *Smith*'s and *Hamilton* tribes. All theſe ly in the long iſland on the eaſt ſide, and run from the ſouth weſt to the north eaſt, as this iſland lies. There are two clergymen in this iſland, beſides S. *George*'s town, who have 40*l.* a year each, and a glebe.

Dr. Geo. Berkley *dean of* Derry.

In theſe iſlands, a very ingenious publick ſpirited clergyman * propos'd, ſome years ago, to ſettle a college for the propagation of learning, and the advancement of the chriſtian religion among the people of *America*, and made a voyage to the *Weſt-Indies* with that view. But theſe not being times for encouraging ſo good an undertaking, he was forc'd to drop it, and return home, after he had been at conſiderable charge in the expedition. We ſhall leave the farther account of theſe iſlands to the chapter in which we propoſe to give the natural hiſtory of *America*.

IV. Bahama *iſlands.*

The next iſlands in which the *Engliſh* have any intereſt, are the *Bahama* or *Lucaye* iſlands. They ly ſouth eaſt of the point of *Florida*, and along the north eaſt ſide of *Cuba*. *Bahama*, which gives one common name to all the reſt, altho' not the largeſt, is the neareſt to the continent northward, and gives the name likewiſe to that ſtreight between thoſe iſlands and *Florida*, and has long been the way by which the *Spaniſh* fleet has return'd home from the bay of *Mexico*. This iſland lies between 26 and 27 deg. n. lat. ſo that it is about 60 miles in length but narrow. The current is ſo ſtrong between *Bahama* and the continent, that, unleſs at a certain ſeaſon, there is no paſſing that way againſt the current, let the wind be ever ſo favourable.

The *Spaniards* were acquainted with this paſſage in *Cortez*'s time, as we obſerv'd in the ſailing of his deputies ſent to *Spain*. But all the uſe they made of theſe iſlands, as far as I can find, was to take the inhabitants to ſerve as ſlaves in their other plantations, or to trade with others of them for *Guiacum*, *ſarſaparilla*, *ſaxafras*, *red wood*, and *ambergreaſe*. The *Engliſh* do not appear to have had any intereſt in the iſlands before the reſtoration. And then capt. *Sayle* having been driven thither, by ſtorm, in his paſſage to *Carolina* of which he was governor, gave ſuch an account of thoſe iſlands to the proprietors of *Carolina* that they procur'd a grant of them from king *Charles* II. in 1662, and ſent colonies to *Bahama* and *Providence*, thoſe two, being moſt commodious for ſhipping. They kept poſſeſſion till 1700, and then were diſpoſſeſt by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who took the fort in the iſle of *Providence*, plunder'd and deſtroy'd the plantations, and carry'd off great numbers of the blacks: thoſe who eſcap'd them, retiring into the woods, got afterwards over to *Carolina*. But ſince that time, thoſe iſlands have been, for the moſt part a neſt of pirates. The harbour at *Providence* was capable of holding the royal navy, but the bar was ſuch, that no ſhip above 500 ton could get over it. There is great plenty of fiſh here; and whales have been found dead upon the ſhore worth 100's of pounds a piece, having had their bodies all cover'd with *ſperma cete*. But the greateſt advantage from thoſe iſlands, is that in time of war, a few men of war might ly there very conveniently, for the plate fleet as they come from *Havana*.

Beſides the iſlands of *Bahama* and *Providence*, there are many others call'd by the common name of the *Bahama* or *Lucaye* iſlands. One of which was the firſt land ſeen by *Columbus*, in the latitude of 25 deg. as we obſerv'd before * (where by a miſtake of the preſs it is call'd 15) and was nam'd by him S. *Salvador*; but the true name was *Guanabani*. Alſo there is that, call'd the *Little Iſland*, famous, by tradition, for handſome women; and *Los Martyres*, ſo call'd by the *Spaniards*, becauſe the rocks, near the iſland, look like men bound to ſtakes or impal'd. Theſe are excellent ſea marks, becauſe when you have thoſe rocks to the ſouth eaſt, you are ſure you have enter'd the ſtreights of *Bahama* which lead to the gulf of *Mexico*. The other iſlands hereabouts are of leſs conſideration, and therefore being not poſſeſt by the *Engliſh*, we ſhall not mention them.

* Univ. Tr. *p.* 17.

V. Jamaica.

The next in courſe, tho' of much greater conſequence, is *Jamaica* which as we obſerv'd before, was firſt diſcover'd by *Columbus* in his ſecond voyage to *America*, and as good as conquer'd by him but no ſettlement was made there, till his ſon (who by much ſtruggle, and going to law, had procur'd the grant made to his father of admiral of the *Weſt-Indies*, to be continu'd to him) ſent *Eſquibel* to plant a colony there. But, upon their firſt ſetling, they exercis'd ſuch cruelties towards the natives, that *De las Caſas*, formerly mention'd, (by his repreſentation of the *Spaniards* barbarity, to the emperor *Charles* V. in the new regulations, which had like to have overturn'd the conqueſt of *Peru*,) gives an account, that, in a very ſhort time they reduc'd the *Indians*, (in thoſe places where the new colonies were ſettled) from 5000, to 300. And the ſlaughter they made of thoſe poor people was attended with ſuch circumſtances of inhumanity, that it is ſhocking to mention them.

Ogilvy's Amer. Jamaica.

Hackluyt Vol. III. *p.* 606.

The only disturbance the *Spaniards* met with from *Europeans*, in this island, was from the *English*. For in 1596, Sir *Anthony Shirley* with six ships and 400 men, designing to sail for S. *Thomas*, an island under the line, near the *African* coast, subject to the king of *Portugal*; was detain'd by sickness, and other accidents, so long, that instead of prosecuting his voyage at first propos'd, he changed his course and made over to the *West-Indies*. In this voyage, he took *Praia*, a pretty town in S. *Jago*, one of the *Cape Verd* islands. And afterwards possest himself of the city of S. *Jago*, with a bravery, more commendable, upon the account of the difficulty they had brought themselves into, than from the prudence of the attempt. For, after Sir *Anthony* had, contrary to all appearance taken the town, and kept possession of it two days, having had 80 of his men kill'd or wounded, and 3000 *Portugueses* in arms against him, he was forced to leave it in the night, and having secretly sent orders to his fleet to send all their boats ashore, against such an hour, and, at the same time, to fire upon the fort, to make the *Portugueſe* governor believe he intended to attack it from the town, which he knew to be impracticable, he withdrew his forces as soon as the fire began from the sea, and in good order retreated to his boats, and so aboard the fleet; and meeting with a *Portugueſe* ship laden with wine and cloth, with which he seasonably refresh'd his men, he proceeded towards the *Caribee* islands, and put ashore at *Dominica*, where he staid above a month to recover his men, who found themselves much refresh'd by some hot baths in that island. From thence he touch'd at *Margarita* near the continent of *Terra Firma*, and so coasting along towards the west, he attack'd and took S. *Martha*, in the *Darien* bay, where he kept his *Christmas*, the *Spaniards* being the civilist people in the world, altho' they had 700 men in arms, within a league of the town.

Sir Ant. Skerley's *expedition.*

He takes S. Jago.

And then S. Martha.

Upon new years day, he left the town, not having men enough to leave a garrison in it, and set sail for *Jamaica*, but missing his course, he went round the island, and landed about six miles from their chief town, S. *Jago de la Vega*, now *Spanish Town*; which he likewise made himself master of with little opposition, having march'd those six miles from the bay of *Port Royal*. After which the whole island submitted, and from all places near the town, they brought him provisons of wheat and beeves. The *Spanish* governor came often to Sir *Anthony*, and left him to dispose of every thing as he pleas'd. But he, having his head full of more important discoveries, slighted this island, and being join'd by captain *Parker* of *Plymouth*, they set sail, by concert, for the bay of *Honduras*.

He likewise takes Jamaica.

What happen'd to Sir *Anthony* afterwards is not very material to our present purpose. We shall only add, that having taken port *Cavalos*, a poor place in that bay, and attempted, in vain, to find a passage to the south sea, by the way of *Rio Dolce*; he deserted that coast, and sail'd for *Newfoundland*, to get recruits of men and provisions, intending to make his way to the *East-Indies* thro' the *Magellan* streights. But all his other ships having left him, and his own ship having spent their last allowance just as they came up with the fishers off *Newfoundland*, he was forced to recruit his provisions, and, to his great mortification to return to *England*.

He returns to England.

There was no new attempt made upon *Jamaica* till the year 1654. And then *Oliver Cromwell* sent a fleet under *Venables*, with orders to attack *Hispaniola*: but being disappointed there, and finding the *Spaniards* better prepar'd for them, than they had imagin'd, they were forced, after having attempted it with loss, to take up with smaller game, and therefore landed in *Jamaica*, upon the 10th of *May*, and marching to S. *Jago*, the *Spaniards* deserted it, and fled to the mountains. So that the *English* took possession of the town without opposition. The *Spaniards*, under pretence of a treaty, privately convey'd away their women and goods; but whilst they pretended to treat, they slew the straggling *English* where ever they found them, or else kept them prisoners. But finding the *English* too many for them at open war, they became weary of that clandestine way of living, and therefore they made their way to *Cuba* in such vessels as they had, where the most considerable men among them were permited to stay; but the vice roy of *Cuba* commanded the bulk of them to return to *Jamaica*, promising to send them such supplies as were sufficient to chase the *English* out of the island. This protracted the war there; but the *Spanish* succors coming by halves, they were quite weary of the war, especially having to do with people who were accustom'd to fight *right or wrong:* so that the utmost the governor could bring them to was to march towards the north side of the island, and there to fortify themselves, at a place they call'd *Chereas*. But the *English* pursuing them, kill'd a great number of them, and made many prisoners. This happening before the bulk of their recruits came, made their arrival, at last, to little purpose, for altho' about 30 companies landed from *Cuba* and *Hispaniola* to reinforce the garrison; the forces of the island

Venables *attacks* Jamaica.

And beat the Spaniards in several encounters.

iſland, having been ſo often defeated before, could make them no aſſiſtance; and the negroes having ſeen the *Spaniards* ſo often put to the rout by the *Engliſh*, deſerted their old maſters, and ſet up for themſelves, and chuſing a head out of their own number, they offer'd to ſubmit to the *Engliſh*. The war laſted ſome time in the iſland; but at laſt the *Spaniards* being hard preſt, offer'd to capitulate, but *Venables* would hear of no terms unleſs they would deliver up all thoſe who had kill'd any of the *Engliſh* either during the truce or in time of war after quarters given. *What brave fellows were the* USURPERS *of thoſe days! and what regard had they for* OLD ENGLAND!

The blacks deſert them.

The *Spaniards* being forced to ſubmit to the conquerors, abandon'd the iſland; and whatever efforts they made to recover it again, the *Engliſh* have kept poſſeſſion of it ever ſince. *Venables* ſtaid there about three months after he had taken it, and, upon his leaving it, gave the government of it to *Forteſcue*, one of the principal officers under himſelf. That ſame year, the ſoldiers elected *Doyly* for their preſident, but the uſurpers at home ſent colonel *Brain* over as governor of *Jamaica*, who, ſoon after, gave it back again to *Doyly*, who continu'd in that poſt till the *reſtoration*, and had the honour to have a commiſſion from king *Charles* II. and become *lawful* governor of the iſland under his *rightful* ſovereign.

This iſland lies between the lat. of 17 deg. and a half to 18 deg. 40 min. which makes it above 60 miles in breadth from ſouth to north: and is above 115 miles long from eaſt to weſt. It is of an oval figure, and is reckon'd about 450 *Engliſh* miles in circuit. It lies about 40 miles ſouth of *Cuba*, and 60 miles weſt of *Hiſpaniola*. It is well water'd with rivers and ſprings, and is full of hills and mountains, eſpecially towards the weſt; and it is likewiſe well ſtor'd with wood, and every where abounds with good paſtures. The climate is temperate, conſidering the ſituation, the air being cool'd by breezes, frequent rains, and nightly dews. The eaſtern breezes begin about nine in the morning, and encreaſe as the ſun grows higher, ſo that people may work all the day in the fields. A thing impracticable in *Europe*, much farther remov'd from the ſun. But in the broadeſt part of the iſland, at leaſt at a good diſtance from the two ends, it is the wholeſomeſt, becauſe there, the forreſts are cut down, which they are not at the eaſt and weſt ends, and therefore theſe are more ſubject to ſtorms of wind and rain than the ſouth and north parts are. The ſun being ſo near them all the year, they have little difference of day and night at one time more than another, and all the diſtinction they perceive between winter and ſummer is occaſion'd by violent rains and thunder.

The ſituation of Jamaica.

Eng. Atlas *p.* 244.

The iſland is divided by the *Engliſh* into pariſhes, of which they reckon 16, which, beginning from the weſt, are, 1. S. *Elizabeth*'s pariſh, which takes in the whole weſtern part of the iſland, and abounds with plantations. In this diſtrict there were ſeveral *Spaniſh* towns, now demoliſh'd; and upon the weſt end of the iſland, northward of *Negril* point, there is a commodious bay, with a ſafe harbour, where a fleet may ly to watch the *Havana* flota in time of war. 2. S. *James*'s pariſh, lies on the north weſt part of the iſland, but is not well inhabited. 3. S. *Anne*'s lies eaſt from S. *James*'s on the north ſide of the iſland; it is mountanous, and thinly inhabited. Eaſt of that is, 4. S. *Mary*'s about the broadeſt part of the iſland. On the north coaſt, within this diſtrict, the *Spaniards* from *Cuba* endeavour'd to fortify themſelves againſt *Venables*, upon the *Rio Nuevo*, or *New River*. 5. S. *George*'s pariſh is ſtill farther eaſt on the north ſide of the iſland, but being full of mountains is of little value. 6. S. *Thomas*'s pariſh is on the eaſtmoſt part of the iſland, likewiſe full of mountains: But it has, in it, one of the beſt harbours of the iſland, formerly call'd S. *Antonio*, but now S. *George*'s port. It lies on the north ſide of the iſland. 7. S. *David*'s lies on the ſouth ſide of *Jamaica*, and is ſeparated from S. *Thomas*'s, by the blue mountains. It is well planted, and has a little town at the mouth of the river *Morant*, now call'd S. *Thomas*'s river; as alſo a fort, and and ſalt-work. 8. S. *Andrew*'s lies weſt of the former, and north of *Port Royal*. 9. *Port Royal* pariſh, the chief of the whole iſland, as being the capital city. It lies in a bay that runs a good way north into the country. The city of *Port Royal* before the year 1692 was one of the moſt beautiful in all *America*, well fortify'd, and magnificently built; but having been in a great meaſure deſtroy'd by an earthquake, that year, and afterwards in 1703 by fire, the great trade of the place as alſo the courts of ſtate and juſtice were remov'd to *King*'s *Town*, on the other ſide the bay. 10. S. *Catharine*'s lies weſt from *Port Royal*, along the ſouth coaſt. In this diſtrict is a little town of about 200 houſes with a fort call'd *Paſſage* fort, which commands the river, and is five miles north weſt of *Port Royal*. 11. *Spaniſh Town* (the capital of *Jamaica*, during the *Spaniſh* government, and call'd S. *Jago de la Vega*) is ſtill the ſeat of the governor, ſince *Port Royal* was deſtroy'd, and lies pleaſantly

The diviſion of Jamaica *into pariſhes.*

on

on a large river. It conſiſts of about 5 or 600 houſes. The people here live in pomp and magnificence, and retire in the evenings to a pleaſant *ſavannah*, or meadows which ſerve for a ring to the inhabitants. 12. S. *John*'s pariſh lies north of *Spaniſh Town*, and is one of the pleaſanteſt, moſt fruitful and beſt inhabited diſtrict in the whole iſland. 13. S. *Dorothy*'s pariſh is weſt from S. *Catharine*'s, and has a large bay with ſeveral big iſlands in it, which running up into the country, make what is call'd the *Old Harbour*, capable of containing 500 ſhips, and lies convenient for *Spaniſh Town* and *Port Royal*, being not above ten miles from the firſt, and much the ſame diſtance from the weſt ſide of *Port Royal* bay. 14. *Vere* pariſh lies weſt from S. *Dorothy*, and has in it a village call'd *Carlile* upon the coaſt. 15. *Clarendon* pariſh, is weſt of that. But I do not know the name of the 16th pariſh, it being neither mark'd in the maps nor nam'd in the explanation: only we may believe it lies on the ſouth ſide between *Clarendon* and S. *Elizabeth*. Each of thoſe pariſhes ſend two repreſentatives to the aſſembly, and *Port Royal*, *Spaniſh Town* and S. *Catherine*'s ſend each of them three. This ſhall ſuffice, at preſent, for the iſland of *Jamica*.

VI. Caribee *iſlands.*

The next iſlands belonging to the *Engliſh*, are ſome of the *Caribee* iſlands, which are a ſtring or ridge of iſlands, in the figure of a bow, reaching from the coaſt of *Paria* as far as *Porto Ricco*. They are likewiſe call'd the *Leſſer Antilles*, and run from 10 deg. n. lat. to near 19. They are reckon'd 28 in nnmber, whereof ſeven are in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, without any partnerſhip; and two others in partnerſhip with the *French* or *Dutch*.

1. Anguilla.

The firſt of the *Engliſh Caribee* iſles is *Anguilla* in 18 deg. 20 min. lat. about 10 leagues long. It is level and woody, and produces good tobacco, and abounds with tame cattle; but is a place of no great conſequence.

2. St. Chriſtophers.

The next in courſe, ſubject to *England* as having been given up by the *French* at the treaty of *Utrecht*, is S. *Chriſtophers*; ſo call'd from the great *Columbus*, the firſt diſcoverer. It lies in 17 deg. 25 min. and is about 25 miles in length, and ſeven broad, in the broadeſt part of it. This iſland was firſt planted by the *Engliſh* and *French* together. For, in the year 1625, capt. *Warner*, and monſieur *Deſnambuc* landing upon this iſland, and finding the Caribeans up in arms, they join'd their forces together, beat the natives, and kept poſſeſſion of it for ſome time: and thoſe two commanders going home to their ſeveral countries, by conſent, repreſented the place in ſuch a light to their maſters, that the king's of *England* and *France* ſent ſupplies of men to keep the poſſeſſion they had got; and to prevent all quarrels between the nations in that new conqueſt, they divided the iſland between them, making boundaries to their different plantations: only they agreed that harbours, fiſhing, hunting, timber for building, and all mines which ſhould be diſcover'd, were to remain in common; and each nation was to aſſiſt the other.

Poſſeſs'd by Engliſh and French.

Ogilvy's America *ch.* 28.

The *Engliſh* plantation encreas'd a pace, by the conſtant ſupplies ſent them by the company at *London*, and when both were in a flouriſhing way, the *French* were attack'd by a *Spaniſh* fleet, under the command of *Toledo*; and forced to quit their new plantation after a ſtout reſiſtance. *Deſnambuc*, finding that he was not able to maſter the *Spaniards*, ſet ſail from S. *Chriſtophers*; but the *Engliſh*, thinking that the peace between *England* and *Spain* was ſufficient ſecurity for them did not ſtir, nor make any reſiſtance; but ſent to *Toledo* to put him in mind of the peace between their maſters, who ſent them word that, by the pope's bull, that iſland belong'd to *Spain*, and therefore he order'd them to remove, allowing them ſix *Engliſh* ſhips, out of nine which he had taken at *Nevis*, to carry them home. However, the *Spaniards* thinking they had done enough, in making themſelves maſters of the *French* fort did not enter farther into the iſland, but *Toledo* having ſent about 2000 *Engliſh* aboard the ſix ſhips, and put 600 aboard his own fleet, he left the reſt upon the iſland, and ſail for the *Havana*.

They are attack'd by the Spaniards.

This fleet was no ſooner out of ſight, but the *Engliſh* who were left, ſet about reparing their ruin'd works, tilling the ground; and *Deſnambuc*, who had cruis'd among the other *Caribee* iſles, to find a convenient place to ſettle in, being inform'd, by a ſhip, that the *Spaniards* were gone towards *Cuba*, return'd back to S. *Chriſtophers*, and having been recruited with cloaths and proviſions by ſome *Dutch* veſſels which ſtop'd there; both the *Engliſh* and *French* in a ſhort time brought their colonies to bear, and made a good hand of their tobacco, ſugar, ginger and indigo.

But continue their ſettlement.

In that manner, the two nations liv'd in the iſland, till the *Dutch* war; and then the *French*, taking the advantage of that juncture, endeavour'd to deſtroy the *Engliſh* plantation, and to make themſelves maſters of the whole iſland: but Sir *Charles Wheeler* being ſent thither by king *Charles* II. about the year 1670, matters were adjuſted again. After the revolution, during the two late wars with *France*, the *Engliſh* there ſuffer'd great hardſhips from the *French*, who had got poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the iſland; but it was entirely given up to us by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

3 Nevis. South eaſt of S. *Chriſtophers* lies the iſland of *Nevis* or *Mavis*, which was planted by the *Engliſh* from S. *Chriſtophers*, about, or ſoon after the year 1628. It is about ſix leagues only in circuit, and maintains 4000 men in the ſugar trade. It ſuffer'd much in 1667 by an earthquake, and in 1689 by a great mortality, and afterwards by a hurricane in 1707, beſides a great many hardſhips from the *French* during the late wars. There is a mountain, in the middle of this iſland, to which the plantations on all ſides riſe gradually from the ſea near the top of the mountain, which is cover'd with tall trees; and the fields are water-ed with ſprings flowing from the moun-tain.

Eng. Atlas p. 245.

This iſland is very ſubject to violent rains and ſtorms of wind at a certain ſea-ſon of the year: but, for all that, it is very fruitful, and ſo much ſugar was made in it as was ſufficient to lade 50 or 60 ſhips every year. There are hot baths in *Nevis* of the ſame nature with thoſe in *Somerſetſhire* and *Bourbon*; and the firſt planters being oblig'd to cut down the woods to make way for their other plant-ing, and being tormented with a ſcalding dew from the trees, were cur'd by bath-ing in ſome of their waters. Of their fiſh and fowl and other animals we ſhall have occaſion to treat hereafter.

4 Barbu-da. We have little to ſay of *Barbuda*, but that it lies towards the eaſt of *Mevis*, and is about 30 miles long and 15 broad, and probably was planted by the *Engliſh* from ſome other colony near it; but which of the iſlands it was planted from is not very material. It produces indigo, tobac-co, citrons, pomegranates, raiſins, co-coa-nuts, *&c.* and is the property of Mr. *Codrington*.

5 Antego. The next *Caribee* iſland in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* is *Antego*, which lies 12 miles ſouth weſt of *Barbuda*. It is about 17 miles long, and 12 broad. It was grant-ed by patent to lord *Francis Willoughby* in 1663, but ſince that is fallen to the crown. It is difficult of acceſs by reaſon of the rocks that ly near it, and was long neg-lected becauſe it wanted ſprings, and now they are obliged to ſupply that de-fect by preſerving the rain water in ciſt-erns. It is divided into five pariſhes, of which S. *John*'s, *Falmouth*, and *Bridge Town* are the chief. Its product is much the ſame with that of the other iſlands.

6 Monſerrat. Almoſt in the ſame latitude with *Antego* is *Monſerrat*, which lies to the weſt-ward of it, a ſmall iſland of nine miles long and near as broad. It was firſt diſ-cover'd by *Columbus*, and had its name from the reſemblance the *Spaniards* fanci-ed it had to *Monſerrat* near *Barcelona*.

The firſt planting of it by *Europeans*, was in 1632, when Sir *Thomas Warner*, the firſt governor of it, carry'd a colony from *England*, of which the greater num-ber were *Iriſh*. After that it was under the governor of S. *Chriſtophers*. The growth of the iſland is much the ſame with the adjacent iſlands, only that this abounds more with cedars than the others. The ſugar made here is better than that of *Antego*, but inferiour to that at *Barbadoes*.

There was a fine church built there, lin'd with cedar, about the end of king *Charles* I's reign, and there were of *Scotch*, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* above 4000, but they encreas'd much afterwards, and another church was built. In the reigns of king *Charles* II. and king *James* II. ſeveral *Iriſh* adventurers traded to this iſland, and made themſelves fortunes. In the year 1667 it had an *Iriſh* governor, and be-ing attack'd by the *French*, commanded by monſieur *De la Barre*, who made himſelf maſter of it by the treachery of the natives. Having made above 300 *Engliſh* priſoners, he left the *Iriſh* there with their families, having oblig'd them to ſwear obedience to the conqueror: but it was afterwards reſtor'd to the *Engliſh*; and ſuffer'd much by the late wars with *France*, for which the *French* king pro-mis'd to make reparation by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

7 Barba-does. But the moſt conſiderable of all the *Engliſh* colonies in the *Caribee* iſlands, is *Barbadoes*. It lies in between 13 and 14 deg. n. lat. and is about 20 miles in length from north to ſouth, and, at the ſouth end of it, 14 miles broad; but much narrower towards the north. There being a very plain and full deſcription of this iſland, and the planting of it, in the *Engliſh Atlas*, that book being too vo-luminous to be in many hands, I ſhall, without any alteration, tranſcribe what is there ſaid of it.

Eng. Atlas p. 246.

"The firſt *Engliſh* planters were Sir "*William Curten* and Mr. *John Powel*, "who left his ſon here as governor. "*William* earl of *Pembroke* was the chief "adventurer. Firſt they ſow'd potatoes, "plantanes, *Indian* corn, and tobacco, "*&c.* but the latter would not turn to "account: and ſupplies from *England* "not coming duly, they were often driven "to extremity. The earl of *Carlile* ob-"tain'd a grant of this iſland from king "*Charles* I. and it being pleaſant ſoon "grew populous. The firſt ſettlement "was made about the bay of *Bridge* "*Town*" [which lies on the ſouth weſt part of the iſland, between *Bagnol*'s point, and *Nedham*'s, call'd *Carlile* bay,

and the town is call'd S. *Michael* or *Bridge town.*] "The colony proſper'd, "and great quantities of indigo, cotton, "wool, ginger, and tobacco were ſent "to *London*; from whence there came "more ſhips with neceſſaries: and in 1646 "it became a flouriſhing colony. The "firſt planters of note were gentle- "men from the weſt of *England*; ſome "of whom retir'd thither, during the "*civil war.** The royaliſts and parlia- "mentarians liv'd peaceably here for "many years, till the *death* † of king "*Charles* I. when the former proclaim- "ing king *Charles* II. who made lord "*Willoughby* of *Parham* governor, the "[rump] parliament ſent Sir *George Ayſ-* "*cough*, who reduc'd them, and was "join'd by the moſt leading men of the "iſland againſt lord *Willoughby*. But a "treaty was ſoon concluded on honourable "articles for that lord, who had an in- "demnity for his perſon and eſtate, and "return'd. The government was ſettled "about this time, in a governor and 10 "councellors. The iſland was divided in- "to 4 circuits and 11 pariſhes, who were "each to ſend repreſentatives to the aſ- "ſembly. Miniſters were ſettled, church- "es built, and the inhabitants drove a "great trade, and grew rich.

"They had ſugar plants from *Brazil*, "which mutiply'd ſo faſt, that they ſet "up a mill, and learn'd to work their ſugar "by direction from ſome *Dutch* or *Portu-* "*gueſe*, who had been there. Of 60,000 "or 70,000 negroes, ſuppos'd to be in "this iſland, 40,000 are natives, and very "well affected; tho' formerly they were "ſo exaſperated by the ſeverity of the "*Engliſh*, that they laid plots, eſpecially "in 1649 and 1687, when they appoint- "ed a day to cut their maſters throats; "and in 1707, when they deſign'd to burn "the *Bridge Town*, and ſeize the forts. "But they were all three timely diſcover- "ed, the conſpirators were ſecur'd, and the "chief of them put to death. King "*Charles* II. purchas'd this iſland of the "earl of *Carliſle*'s heir for 1000 *l.* a year, "and reſtor'd lord *Willoughby* to the go- "vernment. About 1685 it became a "cuſtom here to make preſents to the "governors, which, added to their ſalary "and perquiſits, made the place worth "4 or 5000 *l.* a year. But in 1703 a ſtop "was put to this, by orders from *Eng-* "*land*, for the eaſe of the country: and "to compenſate the governor, his ſalary "was encreas'd from 1200 *l.* to 2000 *l.* "a year, and there are ſome lawful per- "quiſites beſides, which make his go- "vernment worth near as much again; "and 500 *l.* a year is paid by the publick "for his houſe rent. His title is *captain* "*general, and chief governor of the* "*iſlands of* Barbadoes, *St.* Lucia, *St.* "Vincents, Dominica, *and the reſt of* "*his majeſty's iſlands, colonies and plan-* "*tations in* America, *known by the name* "*of* the Caribee iſlands, *lying and being* "*to windward of* Guardaloup. The "neareſt part of the continent to this "iſland is *Surinam*, which is but a day "and half's ſailing from it." [Here the authors of the atlas ſeem to be miſtaken; for, by their own maps, *Surinam* lies in 6 deg. and *Barbadoes* in 13; ſo that the diſtance is 420 miles, in a ſtreight courſe, whereas that part of the *Terra Firma*, which lies north weſt of *Oroonoko river*, lying in 10 deg. is not above 180 miles from it.]

"The ground [in *Barbadoes*] is, in "general, a gradual riſing, with ſome "high hills, which are always verdant. "There are ſeveral vaſt caves here, to "which the negroes often fly from their "maſters, and hide themſelves for weeks "together. The churches here in gene- "ral are handſome ſtone buildings, and the "pews and pulpits of cedar. The pri- "vate buildings are not very lofty, al- "tho' the planters are rich: for, after the "great ſtorm, which threw down ſo many "in 1676, many for fear of another, "lower'd their houſes. Yet there are "ſome of three or four ſtories high, with "lofty rooms: but the walls are too damp "for hangings. The planters houſes are "more for conveniency than ſplendor, co- "ver'd with pan-tiles, and their out-houſ- "es and negroe's hutts with ſhingles.

"'Tis computed, that every acre, "planted with ſugar, yields one year "with another, 10 *s.* a year profit to the "national ſtock of *England*; beſides "what the planter gets, and the thouſands "that are maintain'd out of it. The "trees, plants, and fields are always "green, and ſome or other of its produce "always in bloſſom and fruit. The in- "habitants are conſtantly planting or "ſowing, but eſpecially in *May* and "*Nov.* which are the ſeaſons for *Indian* "corn, potatoes, yams, *&c.* Sugar "canes formerly thriv'd here in all ſeaſons, "but the ground is ſo much worn out, "that now the only time of planting is "from *Auguſt* to the end of *Jan.* Here "is variety of trees, plants, fruits and "herbs, which we have not room to men- "tion, but the orange, lemons and citron "trees are moſt noted; and as plenty here "as lime and elm trees with us. Here's "ginger, two ſorts of red pepper, and "plenty of all ſorts of excellent "pulſe: but apples, pears, cherries, "gooſeberries, currents, and others of "our ſhurb fruits do not thrive here. "The planters never ſow any *Engliſh* "wheat, and the poor plant moſt of their "ground

* The rebellion.

† Murder.

" ground with *Indian* or *Guinea* corn;
" which they ſell, to the richer, from
" half a crown to 10 *s.* a buſhel: The
" dearneſs of which forced them to ſend
" for it to the northern colonies. Thoſe
" parts of the iſland call'd the *Champion*
" and the *Thickets* are intirely planted
" with corn; but many 1000 acres ly un-
" cultivated for want of hands. This
" iſland is ſaid to produce above 200
" ſhip loads of ſugar, indigo, cotton and
" ginger in one year.

" The heats here would be intolerable
" for eight months, were it not for freſh
" breezes from the eaſt or north eaſt, which
" riſe and fall with the ſun: yet it is ſo
" moiſt here, that iron will ſoon ruſt
" without conſtant uſe. The ſun riſes
" and ſets at ſix o'clock, all the year
" round, except in *October* when there
" is a little variation," [why this variati-
on ſhould happen in *October*, I am not
aſtronomer enough to find out.] " And
" it is dark three quarters of an hour af-
" ter ſun ſet.

" Their land and ſea animals are com-
" mon to thoſe parts, ſo that we ſhall not
" inſiſt on them, but proceed to give a
" brief account of its inhabitants, go-
" vernment, trade and revenues.

" This was the ſooneſt peopl'd of all
" our colonies, becauſe of the wealth ac-
" quir,d by the firſt planters: and more
" inhabitants of this iſland have been
" knighted, by our kings, than of all our
" other *American* plantations. In 20
" years after the firſt ſettlement, the mi-
" litia here was more numerous than that
" of *Virginia* is now, tho' the place is
" not a fifth part ſo big. There were
" then muſter'd 11,000 horſe and foot, as
" brave men as any in the world,
" and the number ſo encreas'd, that in
" 1676, when the iſland was in its beſt
" eſtate, there were 70,000 *Europeans* by
" birth and deſcent, and 80,000 negroes:
" ſo that the iſland was then reckon'd far
" more populous than *England* in propor-
" tion. But in 1691, the iſland was ſo
" depopulated by a fatal ſickneſs, that it
" had not above 7000 fighting men, and
" 25,000 *Engliſh*, nor above 70,000 ne-
" groes. But in 1708, the colony grew
" healthier, and daily encreas'd. Every
" freeholder, and white ſervant able to
" bear arms, is liſted in the militia, which
" conſiſts of 3,500 foot, and 1200 horſe.
[I ſuppoſe this computation is of ſuch as
do duty ordinarily.] " Beſides which the
" governor can ſoon arm 10,000 ſtout ne-
" groes.

" Thoſe born here of *Engliſh* parents
" are call'd *Creoleans*. The maſters,
" merchants, and planters live like petty
" ſovereigns, have variety of dainties,
" keep their coaches, pleaſure boats, &c.
" and have more attendants than any of
" our nobility in *England*; ſome of them
" having no leſs than 7 or 800 negroes
" a piece, who, with their poſterity, are
" perpetual ſlaves. Their drink is chief-
" ly water and *Madera* wine, lemonade,
" and punch. They have all other wines,
" malt liquor, and cider from *England*.
" The white men ſervants are ſold here for
" about 20 *l.* a piece, but for much more
" if they are mechanicks; and handſome
" women for 10 *l.* They are not only
" better treated than the blacks during
" their ſervice, but, when their time is
" out, are their own maſters; and, if
" *Britiſh* ſervants, have 5 *l.* if others,
" but 40 *s.* female ſervants they have
" none, beſides the natives of the country,
" and ſuch as are hir'd for houſehold ſer-
" vice. There's great care taken of the
" negroes, tho' they are perpetual ſlaves,
" becauſe, if one dies, the owner loſes 40
" or 50 *l.* whereas by the death of a
" white man, he only loſes two or three
" years wages to another. A ſlave, that
" is a good mechanick, is worth 150 or
" 200 *l.* and 400 *l.* has been bid for a
" boiler of ſugar. The ſlaves are pur-
" chas'd, by lots, out of the *Guinea* ſhips,
" are all view'd ſtark naked, and are al-
" low'd two or three wives, that they
" may encreaſe the planter's ſtock. The
" women are very conſtant to him that
" paſſes for their husband, and both ſexes,
" tho' groſs idolaters, reckon adultery the
" worſt of crimes.

" Their chief fare is boil'd or roaſted
" plantanes, and twice or thrice a week,
" they are allow'd ſalt fiſh, mackarel, or
" ſalted pork. Every family of negroes
" has a cabin built with ſticks, &c. round
" the planter's houſe, with a garden,
" where they plant potatoes, yams, caſ-
" ſovie roots, &c. and they have a ſort of
" food call'd loblolly, made of maiz.
" Both the white and negroe ſervants
" make caſſovy and potatoe bread, but
" the maſters eat white bread of *Engliſh*
" flower. The ſervants drink a water
" brew'd of potatoes and ſugar, or mo-
" loſſes, water and ginger; and another
" of caſſovy roots which the old women
" chew and ſpit into water. The negroes
" when at work, ſupport themſelves
" with rum, and a pipe of tobacco.
" They are rung up at ſix, every morning,
" and ſent into the field, return from work
" at elven, and, after dinner, are rung
" at one, and work till ſix. Both ſexes
" wear *Monmouth* caps. On ſundays
" they generally divert themſelves with
" dancing and barbarous muſick; yet ſome
" work, that day, for themſelves, by
" making ropes of the rinds of trees, which
" they exchange with other ſervants for
" neceſſaries; and the maſter allows them

" ground

" ground, in which they ſow roots and " plants, and breed goats, hogs, and " fowls for their own eating, or for ſale: " ſo that ſome of the induſtrious ones " come to be worth money, which they " are ſo cunning as to hide from their " maſters. They are ſuch lovers of car- " rion, that the planters are forced to hide " their dead cattle from them, leſt their " eating it ſhould breed an infection.

" Tho' the negroes out-number the " whites here, yet the *Engliſh* are maſters " of the forts: and the ſlaves hate one " another ſo mortally, that ſome had ra- " ther die by the hands of the *Engliſh*, " than join with their countrymen in a " mutiny. Beſides, none of them muſt " touch arms, without the maſter's com- " mand, except the *Creoleans*, who all " ſpeak *Engliſh*, and can exerciſe very " well. The *Engliſh* merchants ſend per- " petuana's, guns, powder, flint, tallow, " and ſpirits, in exchange for the negroes. " Some planters have 20,000 *l.* worth of " ſlaves: and many are undone, in time " of mortality, for want of money to " renew their ſtock, which muſt be fill'd " up every year, becauſe a fourth part die " in ſeaſoning. They recruit every 4 or " 500 acres, once a year, with 20 or 30 " negroes. Every infant negro is com- " monly valu'd at 6 *l.* Every plantation " has a chief over-ſeer, with 100 or 150 *l.* " a year for maintenance. The coun- " try being not fit for hunting and hawk- " ing, they are oblig'd to ſuch ſedenta- " ry diverſions at home, as cards, dice, " tables, *&c.* Thoſe that drink abun- " dance of *Madera* wine here, find " ſweating their beſt relief. That wine, " contrary to its nature elſewhere, will " not keep in a cool cellar here.

" The revenues are rais'd by impoſts " upon goods ſent out, and brought in, " and amount to about 39,600 *l.* a year, " of which the crown has 10,000 *l.* and " the reſt is appropriated to the defence " of the iſland, as maintaining the forts, " ſtores, *&c.*

" All church affairs are under the direc- " tion of a ſurrogate appointed by the " biſhop of *London*, who is the ordina- " ry of all the *Engliſh* colonies in *Ameri- " ca.* There are 11 pariſhes here, whoſe " miniſters have 150 or 200 *l.* a year, and " he of *Bridge Town* 6 or 700 *l.* There's " a chappel of eaſe in S. *Peter's* pariſh.

" *Barbadoes* trades with *England* for " moſt of its ſubſiſtence and cloathing: " with *New England* and *Carolina* for " proviſions: with *New York* and *Vir- " ginia*, for bread, pork, floner, *Indian* " corn, and tobacco: with *Guinea* for " negroes: with *Madera* for wine: with " *Terceras* and *Fial* for wine and brandy; " with the iſles of *May* and *Curaſaw* for " ſalt; and with *Ireland* for beef and " pork. Before the laſt war, it loaded " 400 ſail of ſhips a year for *England*, " and 250 during the war, which is more " than all the other ſugar iſlands together. " They export great quantities of ginger, " cotton ſhrubs, lignum vitæ, ſuccats, cit- " tron water, moloſſes, rum, and lime " juice for *England*. The goods which " they receive from *Great Britain* or " *Ireland* are, *Ozenbrigs* for the ſervants " or ſlaves, linnen of all ſorts for the " maſters and families; broad cloth and " kerſeys for the planters, and their over- " ſeers: ſilks and ſtuffs for the ladies, and " houſehold ſervants; red caps for the " ſlaves; ſtockings and ſhoes for both ma- " ſters and ſervants: gloves and hats, " millinary ware and periwigs: laces of " all ſorts; beef, pork and other proviſi- " ons: and ſaws and other inſtruments for " the ſugar works and agriculture; all " ſorts of braſs ware, lead ware, powder " and ſhot. All ſorts of *Indian* goods, " toys, coals, pan-tiles, hearth-ſtones, " hoops, and every thing proper for an " *Engliſh* market, will ſell here. The " voyage hither is generally five or ſix " weeks from *England*, and ſix or ſeven " homewards, but the packets commonly " make it in a month.

" Places of note are,

" 1. *Bridge Town*, the capital, for- " merly call'd S. *Michael's*, from its " church. It lies on the ſouth weſt cor- " ner of the iſland on *Carlile* bay. It has " 1200 handſome ſtone houſes. The ſtreets " are broad; and the houſes in *Cheap- " ſide* here, almoſt as high rented as " thoſe in *Cheapſide* in *London*; and the " ſtore-houſes and ſhops as well furniſh'd. " The wharfs and keys are very neat " and convenient. The bay is capable of " 500 ſhips, and the harbour ſafe againſt " all winds but the ſouth and weſt. The " winds here generally blow eaſt, which " is therefore call'd the windward, and " the weſt the leeward. The harbour is " defended by two forts oppoſite to one " another, and a plateform between them " which commands the road, and defends " the town. The coaſt of *Carlile* bay is " fortify'd by three batteries, and a line " which runs ſouth eaſt to *Nedham's* " point, about a mile and a half, and " there's a fort mounted with 20 guns. " From thence there are lines which run " along the coaſt as far as *Chriſt's Church*, " which is four miles. And on the weſt " ſide of *Bridge Town*, and all along the " weſt ſide of the iſland, as far as *Macock's* " bay, which is about 13 miles, there " are lines and forts, which defend the " iſland, where 'tis acceſſible; and the " other parts are ſo fortify'd by rocks, " that it is the ſtrongeſt iſland belonging

" to

" to *England*, and is a great defence to " our other iſlands and plantations in the " neighbourhood. Sir *Bevile Greenville* " when governor, began a cittadel call'd " S. *Ann*'s fort, about a mile and a half " ſouth eaſt from the town, which if " finiſh'd would be the ſtrongeſt in the " iſland.

" To return to the town. Here's a " large church with a fine organ, and a " good ring of bells, and a curious clock; " a fine council houſe, large taverns, and " a poſt houſe. On the eaſt of the town " is a magazine, built with ſtone, where " the powder and ſtores for the iſland are " kept, under a ſtrict guard. And about " a mile north weſt from the town there " is a ſtately houſe built for the gover- " nor.

" 2. The *Hole* or *James*'s *Town*, in S. " *James*'s pariſh, about ſix miles north " from *Bridge Town*, has 100 houſes. It " is a pretty town, with ſeveral ſtreets : " and in S. *Thomas*'s pariſh, which lies " a little north from it, there's a good " port defended by a fort with 28 guns, " ſeveral breaſt works, and a battery of " eight guns at *Church* point. Here's a " handſome church, and the monthly " ſeſſions, for S. *James*'s precinct, is held " in this town. From hence a line and a " parapet are carry'd on to *Macock*'s bay, " about ſix miles along the weſt coaſt; in " which diſtance there are five forts, " which together are mounted with 48 " guns.

" 3. *Speight*'s *Town* lies on the weſt " coaſt, four miles north of *James*'s town, " and conſiſts of four ſtreets and 300 " houſes. It is much frequented by " *Briſtol* merchants, and upon that ac- " count call'd *Little Briſtol*. The plan- " ters in *Scotland* precinct us'd to ſhip " off their goods here for *England*, " which occaſion'd the building of ſtore " houſes, and made the town flouriſh: " but the trade has been ſince remov'd " to *Bridge town*. Here's a handſome " church, which has a fine chappel " of eaſe at *All Saints*, two miles and " a half up the country to the north " eaſt. The town is the place of the " quarterly ſeſſions for S. *Peter*'s pre- " cinct; and is defended by two forts " with 39 guns, (beſides that to the ſouth, " on *Heathcoat*'s bay;) one of which " ſtands in the middle of the town, and " is mounted with 11 guns, and the other " at the north end with 28.

" 4. *Chriſt*'s *Church* at *Oſtin*'s town " and bay, otherwiſe call'd *Charles Town*, " about five miles eaſt from *Bridge Town*. " The bay is flank'd by a good fort on " the ſea ſide, and another on the land " ſide, which have a communication by a " platform. They are a ſtrong defence to " the town, which has one long ſtreet, a " lane in the middle; and has a monthly " ſeſſions for the precinct, a good weekly " market, and ſtorehouſes."

Other English Caribee iſlands of little conſequence.

The other iſlands of the *Caribees* in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, either alone or in conjunction with *French* or *Dutch*, ſuch as *Dominica*, S. *Vincent* and *Tobago*, are not of great conſequence, nor well planted, and therefore we ſhall not inſiſt upon them.

Having thus treated of all the diſcoveries made by *Engliſh* men, and the dominions, belonging to the crown of *England*, in *America*, whether upon the continent, or in the iſlands, we ſhall now, according to promiſe, range them in the order they lye in, as they are in the map. To begin then from the north we have

1. *Baffin*'s bay, the fartheſt north of which, as yet diſcov'd, is Sir *Thomas Smith*'s bay in latitude 79. 2. *Davis*'s ſtreights, in the ſouth part of *Baffin*'s bay in lat. 67. 3. *Hudſon*'s bay, from lat. 66 to 52. 4. *Hudſon*'s ſtreights from 65 to 60 deg. 5. *Terra de Labrador* between 63 and 50. 6. *Newfoundland* from 52 to 45. 7. *Gaſp* iſland in 47 deg. 8. *Nova Scotia* from 50 to 44. 9. *New England* from 46 to 41. 10. *New York* from 44 to 41. 11. *Long Iſland* in 41. 12. *The Jerſeys* from 42 to 38. 13. *Penſilvania* from 44 to 40. 14. *Mary Land* from 40 to 83. 15. *Virginia* from 40 to 36 and a half. 16. *Corolina* from 36 and a half to 31. 17. The *Bermudas* iſlands in 32 deg. 18. The *Bahama* in lat. 26. 19. *Jamaica* from 19 to 17 and a half. And 20. The *Caribee* iſlands from 18 to 10 deg. n. lat. Theſe are properly ſpeaking all the *Engliſh* intereſt in *America*. Had they purſu'd the title which Sir *Francis Drake* had to *California*, or ſuffer'd the *Scotch*, in later days, to have ſettled at *Darien*, they might have had better footing in the ſouth ſea, than they are likely to have in our days.

CHAP. VII.

FRENCH *and* DUTCH *Diſcoveries and Plantations in* AMERICA.

The only remaining parts of *America*, known to *Europeans*, not as yet taken notice of in this work, are ſuch as were diſcover'd or planted by the *French* or *Dutch*; which we chuſe to put into one chapter, becauſe the places poſſeſt by the *Dutch* are but ſmall in compariſon with the plantations of the *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, *Portugueſes* and *French*, and ſo not worth a diſtinct chapter. We ſhall begin with

SECT. I.

The FRENCH *Diſcoveries.*

THE firſt account of any *French* diſcoveries in *North America*, are thoſe ſaid to have been made by *Verazzano* a *Florentine*, in the ſervice of the queen regent, during the minority of *Francis* I. her ſon, in 1524, who having diſcover'd, as thoſe of the *French* nation pretend, from lat. 28 to 50, call'd all the country between the point of *Florida* and the river of *Canada*, by the name of *New France*, and therefore they claim all that part of the continent within thoſe degrees, from the north to the ſouth ſeas, as the dominion of *France*. But leaving them to make good their title to it, when they can; we ſhall now give an account how and when they took poſſeſſion of what they now have.

Monſieur Cartier's *expedition to* Canada.

In the year 1534 *Melleray* vice-admiral of *France*, by orders from the court, fitted out two ſhips of 60 tons a piece, under the command of *Jaques Cartier*, on board each of thoſe ſhips were 60 men, and all things neceſſary for ſuch an expedition. They ſet ſail in *April*, from S. *Malos*, that year, and made *Newfoundland* by the 10th of *May*; and coaſting along the eaſt ſide of the iſland came up with *Buona viſta* in 48 deg. and a half, where by reaſon of the ice, they return'd ſouthward about five leagues to S. *Katherine*'s harbour, with an intention to wait for fair weather. From thence they ſail'd northward to *Penguin* iſland, formerly mention'd, in our account of *Newfoundland*. Here they obſerv'd that the white bears ſwim over from *Newfoundland*, to this iſland, which our author ſays is 14 leagues off, to feed upon thoſe fowls; and that the *French* kill'd one of them in paſſing thither; this bear was as big as a cow, and white as a ſwan, and they found the fleſh of it as good as an heifer of two years old. Beyond this they mention ſeveral capes and iſlands, not mark'd in our maps; and indeed the progreſs of this voyage, is ſo confounded with names common to both ſides of *Newfoundland*, that it is not an eaſy matter to know whether they were on the eaſt of that iſland, or in the gulf of S. *Laurence* on the weſt coaſt of it.

Hackluyt America, *p.* 202.

But as there is little material in their touching at ſeveral unknown iſlands, and paſſing capes, to which they gave names, now loſt; we ſhall not trace them wandering about *Newfoundland*, but take them up again in S. *Laurence*'s bay, where we find them towards the end of *June*, at cape *Royal*, which is in the entry to that bay, lat. 41 and a half; from whence they ſail'd to the *Iſland of Birds*, and from thence to S. *John*'s iſland, to the northward of *New Acadia*. From thence they ſail'd towards the weſt, and ſo northwards along the *Acadie* coaſt, and gave names to all the capes they found; of all which none is mention'd in our maps, till we come to the *Cape of Good Hope*, upon the ſouth ſide of the bay *de Chaleur*, or *of heat*, falſely call'd *Chalenor* bay in our maps. Here they ſaw about forty canoes full of natives, with ſome of whom, ſoon after, they began to trade, and found them a tractable good natur'd people; eſpecially in *Chaleur* bay, where a few of the *French* truſted themſelves to go aſhore with 300 of the natives who came about their ſhips in their canoes, and gave them ſome trifles, and receiv'd others from them.

Having diſcover'd that this bay went into the continent but a certain diſtance from the ocean, which may perhaps be about 40 leagues, they ſail'd back again, trading with the *Indians*, and being furniſh'd

with good mackerel by them. Thoſe poor people had no other habitation than their boats, and only ſtaid there to fiſh. When they were out of *Chaleur* bay, they coaſted along till they found a ſtrong tide running weſtward, but they had ſcarce doubled the northmoſt cape of that part of the continent, when the tide turning, they found themſelves driven much more forceably towards the eaſt, ſo that neither wind nor oars were ſufficient to drive them towards the weſt. Having therefore gone aſhore in their boats, they ſaw the great river of *Canada*, and call'd that place S. *Peter*'s ſtreights, becauſe they enter'd them upon S. *Peter*'s day. Here they ſtaid ſome time, and having enter'd the river in their boats, as the tide drove in, and found it a pleaſant country, they came back to their ſhips, and return'd towards *Newfoundland*, and ſo home, bringing two *Indian* boys with them, by conſent of the captain of the fiſhers, whoſe children they were.

Cartier's 2d expedition.

The year following, *viz.* 1525, the ſame *Cartier* ſet out with three ſhips from S. *Malos*, making the iſland of *Newfoundland* in 49 days, having met with a ſtorm which ſeparated them. They had ſight of the iſland the 7th of *July*, and ſo ſail'd into S. *Laurence*'s bay, where they ſtop'd at the iſland call'd *Des Oyſeaux* or the bird iſland, not far from the *Ramea* iſland formerly mention'd, lat. 47 and a half, where *Cartier* waited till the other two ſhips came up, this being the place appointed for a rendevouz in caſe of being parted. Having ſolemniz'd their meeting with mutual joy, they kept on their courſe towards *Canada* river, which they had enter'd the year before; and now diſcover'd *Natiſcoſtic* iſland, call'd (in the Atlas) *Anticoſti*. To this river they gave the name of S. *Laurent*; and were told by their two *Indians*, who, in the year that they had been with them, had learn'd to ſpeak tolerable good *French*, that this river led to their country, which was call'd *Canada*, and that from that iſland, in the north ſide was the kingdom of *Saguenay*. *Cartier* gave *Natiscoſtic* iſland the name of *the Aſſumption*.

Canada or S. Laurence river.

Having by the advice of their young *Indians*, watch'd the tide, the wind being fair, they got thro' the ſtreights, and found the river a vaſt breadth, after they had left the iſland to the eaſtward of them. They ſail'd as far ſouth weſt, in this great river, as where the river *Saguenay* or *Tadaſcu* runs into *Canada* river, above 300 miles. in which courſe they met with a multitude of iſlands; and a ſort of fiſh call'd *Adhothuis*, which is found only in that river, about the bigneſs of a porpoiſe, but well proportion'd in the body, and the head like that of a grey hound, and as white as ſnow. Beyond the river *Saguenay* they ſail'd a conſiderable way up the *Canada* and gave names to ſeveral iſlands ſuch as *Des Lievres* or *of Hares* to one; that of *Orleans* to another; *De Coudriers* or *Haſles* to a third. Here the country of proper *Canada* begins. Upon the iſland of *Orleans* (which is very near the place where *Quebec* now ſtands) the *French* landed, taking their two *Indians* with them. As ſoon as they went aſhore, the natives fled, but the *Indians* calling after them, in their own language, that they were *Tagnoagny*, and *Domogaia*, they ſtop'd, and the two youths having made themſelves known to their countrymen, they danced for joy, and came without fear to the *French*, bringing them proviſions ſuch as they had, and were regal'd by them with ſmall trifles.

The lord of Canada *comes to viſit the* French *commodore.*

The next day the lord, or *Agouhanna* of *Canada*, came to their ſhips with 12 canoes, and ſending away 10 of them, approach'd with the other two, having 16 men in them; and having made a ſpeech of welcome, and heard, from the young men, the grandeur of *France*, and the civil uſage they had met with there, he deſir'd the commodore's hand to kiſs; and having been well entertain'd by *Cartier*, he went aſhore. This lord's name was *Donnacona*. As ſoon as he was gone, *Cartier* proceeded farther up the river, and, about 10 leagues higher, found a moſt convenient harbour for his ſhips near the town where *Donnocona*, kept his court: the town is call'd *Stadacona*. Hither they brought their ſhips, and call'd the place S. *Croix* or *Holy Croſs*.

The French *bring their ſhips to harbour at* S. Croix.

As ſoon as they brought their ſhips to this harbour, *Donnocona*, with about 25 canoes full of the natives, came to the ſhips ſhewing all the marks of joy. But *Cartier* obſerv'd a change in the behaviour of *Tagnoagny* and *Domogaia*, who, at their own deſire, had been allow'd to ſtay with their countrymen, whilſt the *French* were cruiſing for a convenient harbour. This gave ſome umbrage to the commodore. He ask'd them whether they would go with him to *Hochelaga*, a place they themſelves had often ſpoken of, whilſt they were aboard the ſhips. They anſwer'd they deſign'd it; but when they were deſir'd to come aboard, they excus'd themſelves, and went off with *Donnacona*. The next day they appear'd upon the ſhore, of which *Cartier* having notice, he landed, upon the point where they were, having taken a party of men with him. As ſoon as the uſual civilities had paſt between them, *Tagnoagny* told the captain, that *Donnocona* and his people were concern'd to ſee the *French* always in arms, when his people were not. *Cartier* reply'd, that it was his buſineſs to make

make them eaſy as to that point, ſince he knew it was the cuſtom in *France*, and that he could not diſarm his men without affronting them. But this ſpeech of *Tagnoagny* was a contrivance of his own; for *Donnacona* had taken no umbrage at their arms, but confirm'd his former profeſſions of friendſhip, and made a ſtrict league with the commodore.

Tagnoagny, *one of the interpreters proves falſe to the* French.

Having brought their ſhips aſhore, they kept the pinnace in the road, the captain intending to ſail, in it, to *Hachelaga*. One day that *Donnacona* and the two interpreters were aboard, and made much of; *Tagnoagny* told the captain, that the lord was griev'd at his intended expedition, and had forbidden either of them to go with him; and therefore he deſir'd to be excus'd for not keeping his word to him, ſince he could not diſobey his lord. *Cartier* ſaid he was ſorry he ſhould be worſe than his promiſe; but if he would not go with him, that ſhould not hinder him from proſecuting the voyage. Soon after, *Donnacona* brought a preſent of a young girl of 10 years old, and a boy younger, to the captain, which he accepted, and gave him thanks; but *Tagnoagny* told him, that the deſign of his lord's making him that preſent of his own brother and neice, was to divert him from the *Hochelaga* expedition. But the captain anſwer'd, that if it was ſo, he might take his preſent back again, becauſe he had his king's orders to diſcover as far in that country as he could, and he was reſolv'd to obey that command at any risk. *Domogaia* interpoſing, aſſur'd *Cartier*, that the other impos'd upon him, for that *Donnacona* was ſo far from being averſe to the *Hochelaga* voyage, that he deſign'd to accompany him in it. This bred a difference between the two interpreters, but *Cartier* was, from that time, upon his guard with *Tagnoagny*.

A trick to divert Cartier *from going to* Hochelaga.

This man contriv'd a trick to perſuade *Donnacona* to oppoſe the voyage to *Hochelaga*. He dreſt up three of the natives like devils, with black faces, and horns upon their heads, and putting them in a canoe, made them ſhew themſelves before the ſhips, and then ſuddenly going a ſhore, they enter'd a wood hard by, and were follow'd by *Donnacona*, *Tagnoagny* and *Domogaia*, with a great number of others; where having ſtaid a while, the two interpreters came running towards the ſhips, with all the ſigns of fear in their faces and behaviour. *Cartier* hearing them calling out JESU! *Maria!* ask'd what was the matter? they anſwer'd, that their GOD *Cudruaigny* had ſent the three meſſengers whom they had ſeen, to tell them, that the way to *Hochelaga* was all ice, and that if any of them attempted to go thither, they ſhould never return. The captain told them *Cudruaigny* was a noddy, and did not know what he ſaid: That their JESUS was the only GOD, who was above that impoſter, or his lying meſſengers, and if they would venture along with them, they ſhould ſee the contrary of what the pretended meſſengers had ſaid. But finding that they could not prevail with them to go; the captain man'd his pinnace, and two of his boats, and having taken all things neceſſary, and left a ſufficient guard for the ſhips, he ſet out for *Hachelaga* on the 19th of *Sept.*

As they ſail'd up the river from S. *Croix* they ſaw a fine country on both ſides of them, with houſes all along, the inhabitants of which came very familarly out to them, and preſented them with fiſh and ſuch other proviſions as they had, and receiv'd trinkets for them, to their great ſatisfaction. About 25 leagues above S. *Croix*, the river began to be narrow, and the current ſtrong. Here one of the lords of the country came aboard, and preſented the captain with two of his own children; he took the daughter, who was about eight years of age, but gave back the ſon as being too young, for he was not quite four. Going ſtill upwards, with ſome difficulty againſt the ſtream, they came to a lake call'd in our map, S. *Peter's* lake; but by our author, lake *Angoleſme*; which was about five or ſix leagues broad, and 12 in length; but having left the pinnace at anchor, and ſail'd round the lake in their boats, they found all the outlets from it ſhallow and the currents rapid; ſo that finding their pinnace could not ſafely paſs, the captain took out of it all that they found neceſſary for himſelf and four or five gentlemen, and 28 private men, and kept the great river, ſouth of the lake, for 45 leagues, and upon the 2d of *October* arriv'd near *Hochelaga*, having during the whole voyage, traded with the natives, who, as well as they could be underſtood by ſigns, had directed them in their paſſage.

S. Peter's *lake.*

Hochelaga was ſix miles from the river; ſo that leaving eight of his people to guard the boats, *Cartier* with the gentlemen of his following, dreſſing themſelves in their richeſt clothes, and taking 20 men along with them, march'd towards the town under the conduct of ſome of the natives, who had ſent a meſſenger to acquaint their lord of the arrival of the ſtrangers. The road as they march'd ſhew'd all along a fine country, full of trees, and fruitful ground, the high way beaten and well frequented. Within little more than a mile of the town, they were met by one of the nobles, accompany'd with a great number of other people, who ſtop'd them ſome time with a congratula-

tory

tory ſpeech, and preſents, which the captain repaid, and ſo went on to the town.

They go to Hochelaga.

This town was cloſe by a great mountain, which the *French* call'd *Mont Royal*, and on the other ſide had a large plain; it conſiſted of about 50 houſes, in length 50 paces, and 15 in breadth, the walls of them of wood, and cover'd, a top, with barks of trees artfully join'd together. They have different apartments in every houſe, and a large court in the middle, where they made a fire, which ſerves all that live in the houſe, who live moſt of the time together, when they are within doors in the day time, and then retire to ſleep in their different chambers. They have garrets for their corn, which they beat into powder with mallets of wood, in troughs of the ſame, and ſo make it into paſte, which they lay upon a hot ſtone, and cover it with another, and ſo bake it into cakes. This corn is maiz, very common in moſt parts of *America*, before the *Europeans* went thither. They had likewiſe peaſe and beans, and ſeveral ſorts of fruit, and great plenty of melons and cucumbers, &c. They have a ſort of tuns hollow'd out for keeping their fiſh, after they are dry'd in the ſun: This they preſerv'd for their winter proviſions. They never made uſe of ſalt.

When the *French* were arriv'd at the city, they were conducted into the middle of it, where there was a large area, where the women ſpread ſquare mats for them to ſit down upon; and in a ſhort time the *Agouhanna* or king was brought in upon mens ſhoulders, and ſet down upon a ſtag's skin, his habit was the ſame with that of the others, which was the skins of beaſts; only he had upon his head a ſort of wreath, by way of a crown, made of the skin of a hedge-hog. He was about 50, but afflicted with the palſy to a great degree. He ſeem'd pleas'd with the coming of the ſtrangers, and, as they believed by his geſtures, welcom'd the captain to his dominions. After he had made a ſpeech, of which the *French* underſtood nothing, he made ſigns to *Cartier* to touch his legs and hands, of which he had not the uſe, his diſtemper was come to ſuch a heighth. The captain ſtrok'd them all over, and rub'd and chaf'd them with his hands. By and by, they brought in many diſeas'd people, and laid them down before him to be touch'd; which the captain did, reciting, over them, the beginning of the goſpel of S. *John*, and praying that GOD would have compaſſion upon thoſe poor people, and heal their infirmities, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth. *But ſuch is the modeſty of the author from whom theſe memoirs were taken, that there is no account of any miracle wrought; altho, for what appears,* Cartier *was as fit to be an apoſtle, as ſome of the* Spaniſh *conquerors of* Mexico *and* Peru.

After they had been as well entertain'd at *Hochelaga*, as the manner of thoſe people would allow, they gave them ſuch triffles as they had brought with them, and took their leave of the king with great ſigns of friendſhip on both ſides. The women convey'd them out of the town, and ſeem'd very ſorry for their ſo ſudden departure; and pointing to the mountain, which the *French* call'd *Mont Royal*, they conducted them to the top of it, and both men and women ſhew'd all the marks of kindneſs and good nature that could be. When they were upon the top of the hill, they ſaw a fine country round them, and hills at a diſtance towards the north; and the river ſouth weſt of them as far as their ſight could reach. But I wonder they take no notice of the river to the north weſt, which in our maps, ſeems larger than S. *Laurence* river is at that place, and runs in at *Mont Royal*. For when the people of the country told them of a river weſtward, they ſeem'd not to have ſeen it, but took it for the river *Saguenay*, which is 130 leagues farther north eaſt than the mount. Nor do they ſay any thing of the three branches of the river of S. *Laurence*, at the place where they left their boats; if the *Mont Royal* in the Atlas be the *Mont Royal* mention'd by the *French*.

Having taken a view of the country all round from that hill, they went to their boats, and going down the river, with much more eaſe than they had come up, they arriv'd at the place where they had left their pinnace, and ſo ſetting ſail, in a few days more return'd to S. *Croix*, upon the 11th of *October*; where they found their men had not been idle, for they had made a ſort of a ſconce, round their ſhips to the land ſide, of timber nail'd to piles driven into the ground, and had planted ſome of their guns there for a defence in caſe of any attack from the natives.

They return to S. Croix.

As ſoon as they were arriv'd, they were viſited by *Donnacona* and the two interpreters: and altho' *Cartier* was angry that they had not gone with him in his late expedition, (as indeed it was a great loſs, for he could not underſtand the natives of *Hochelaga*) yet he had no mind to break with them without farther provocation, and therefore entertain'd them civilly. In a ſhort time, by familiar converſation with them, they brought them to have a bad opinion of their idol *Cudruaigny*, the captain having repreſented to them how he had deceiv'd them about the *Hochelaga* oracle, and ſeveral

other matters, as he had it from themſelves, they began to reliſh the belief of the true GOD; and ſoon after deſir'd baptiſm. But *Cartier* who judg'd right of the converting and baptiſing of infidels, refus'd to let that people partake of that ſacrament, till they ſhould be thoroughly inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, and that there were lawful miniſters of baptiſm to receive them into the church; but he promis'd to provide himſelf with prieſts for both thoſe purpoſes, which ſatisfy'd the *Indians* for that time. And in this I cannot but applaud the conduct of this *French* captain, who would not take upon him to exerciſe the office of a clergyman *without ordination*, nor make a falſe merit of making people pretended chriſtians, before they knew what the principles of chriſtianity were. A practice too common among the *Spaniards* in *America*, who either out of a miſtaken zeal, or too often for oſtentation, receiv'd multitudes to baptiſm, without any previous qualification; nay forc'd them to deſire it, that they might be hang'd inſtead of being burnt. What reward ſuch apoſtles might expect in this world I ſhall not enquire into, but I dare be bold to affirm it will not be any merit in the next.

Cartier refuſes to baptiſe the natives, for a good reaſon.

The *French* ſtaid the whole winter at S. *Croix*, but the natives being ſeiz'd with an odd ſort of a diſtemper, which made their legs ſwell, and their ſinews ſhrink, ſo that they could not ſtand, their gums ſwell'd, and rotted away, ſo that their teeth fell out, with other odd ſymptoms, which carry'd off numbers of them, the *French*, altho' they took all the care they could to keep them at a diſtance, yet in the month of *February*, they were infected with the ſame diſeaſe, of which 25 of them dy'd. But, by good providence, *Domogaia* having found a remedy for himſelf, diſcover'd it to *Cartier*, by which he cur'd all his people in a week's time. It was a decoction of the leaves and bark of a certain tree, which they call'd *Ameda* (and which our author ſays, was thought to be *Saxafras*) which the patient was to drink. This they try'd, and by the bleſſing of GOD it had the deſir'd effect.

An infectious diſtemper at S. Croix.

During the winter, many of the natives who eſcap'd the diſtemper, brought to the *French*, deer, ſtags, fiſh and other proviſions; but *Donnacona* went away with *Tagnoagny* and others of his people, under pretence of hunting; and ſtaying away two months, at laſt return'd with a number of ſtrangers. On the 21ſt of *April*, *Domogaia* came to the ſhips, and told them of *Donnacona*'s return, and of his having brought a new ſet of people with him, which put the captain upon his guard. *Donnacona* having been many days at home, without coming or ſending any meſſage to the captain, *Cartier* ſent one *Poulet*, who was in great favour with the *Indians*, to enquire about him, and withal, to bring him a true account of the ſtate of affairs about *Stadacona*, the place of the king's reſidence, about a league from their ſhips. Upon intelligence of his arrival, *Donnacona* went to bed, pretending to be ſick, ſo that *Poulet* did not ſee him, but he found the town ſo full of ſtrange faces, that there did not ſeem to be room to contain them all. Being diſappointed of ſeeing the king he went to *Tagnoagny*'s houſe. He receiv'd him civilly, but would not ſuffer him to go into any other houſe in the town, but entertain'd him with diſcourſe till he brought him half way to the ſhips; and then, at parting, deſir'd he would ſpeak to the captain, to ſeize a certain lord of the country whoſe name was *Agonna*, who had diſoblig'd him, and that he would carry him to *France*. *Poulet* promis'd to do it, and to ſend him the captain's anſwer next day.

Donnacona *brings a number of ſtrangers to* Stadacona.

At *Poulet*'s return, he gave an account of all that he had obſerv'd, and likewiſe of *Tagnoagney*'s requeſt. The captain order'd his people to keep ſtrict watch and not to ſtir out of their barricade without orders; and the next day, he ſent a ſervant to deſire *Tagnoagny* to come to him, that he might concert meaſures concerning the execution of what he deſir'd him to do; who ſaid he would be with him the day following together with *Donnacona*, and *Agonna*; but for two days after, no body appear'd from *Stadacona*, which gave great umbrage to *Cartier*. At laſt *Donnacona* appear'd on the ſide of a ſmall river which was between *Stadacona* and S. *Croix*, with a great multitude of people, but would not paſs to the *French* ſide. At laſt *Tagnoagny* paſt in a skiff, and went into their wooden fort. *Cartier* diſembling his ſuſpicion, told him, that he was forbidden, by the king of *France*, to carry any of the natives of *Canada* home with him, but that to do him a pleaſure, he would ſeize *Agonna*, and leave him upon ſome iſland near *Newfoundland*. *Tagnoagny* was extremely pleas'd with this anſwer, which at once, eas'd him of the fear of being himſelf carry'd back to *France*, and ſoothed him with thoughts of being reveng'd upon his enemy; he therefore return'd to the other ſide, and having no pretence of getting *Agonna* to go over, unleſs *Donnacona* went likewiſe, he prevail'd with him to go the next day, which was the 3d of *May*.

Cartier *counterplots* Tagnoagny.

In honour of the invention of the croſs, and upon the account of the name they had given to their fort, the captain caus'd a large

a large croſs to be made of 35 foot high, which he erected that morning before their fort, with a ſhield upon it, with the arms of *France*, and over the arms, theſe words in roman letters, *Franciſcus D. G. Francorum rex regnat.* About noon, the people flock'd out of *Stadacona* to ſee the croſs, and two hours after, *Donnacona* appear'd with the two interpreters, and a great company. The captain having given private orders to his people to ſeize the king, and the interpreters, with two more whom he deſcrib'd to them, when he ſhould give the ſignal, went out of the fort to receive *Donnacona*; but he, having been warn'd by *Tagnoagny* not to enter the barricade, a fire was made in the open field before it; and they ſate down there. The captain having been inform'd by *Damogoa* of the caution given by the other, was reſolv'd to execute his deſign in the place where they were: ſo that making the ſignal, all his men came with their piſtols in their hands, and having ſeiz'd the perſons appointed, they carry'd them into the fort, without any reſiſtance, the *Canadans* all running away upon their lord's being taken.

They ſeize the king.

Having thus gotten the king in their power, they ſet all hands at work to fit out two of their ſhips, (having determin'd to leave the third, upon the death of their men formerly mention'd) and by the 6th of *May*, they were ready. During the time they ſtaid, the people came howling about their fort, and calling out *Agouhanna! Agouhanna!* the captain let them ſee him, and bade *Damogoa* tell them that he was well us'd, and ſhould return in 10 or 11 months, after he had ſeen the king of *France*. Then ſome women came with ſeveral canoes of proviſions for the *Agouhanna* during the voyage, and preſents for the captain to perſuade him to uſe him well.

Upon the 6th of *May*, they weigh'd anchor from S. *Croix*, and ſail'd down the river to the iſland of *Orleans*; and ſtoping at ſeveral iſlands in the river, as the wind and weather oblig'd them, they at laſt doubled the cape over-againſt the aſſumption, going out the ſame way they got in; and thinking to go the neareſt way northward of the *Iſland of Birds*, they were blown by ſtorm ſouthward to S. *John's* or *Brion's* iſland, about the 26th of *May*, whereabouts they cruis'd till the firſt of *June*; and then ſailing north eaſt they paſt about the north capes of the *Gaſp* iſland, and made over to the iſlands, on the ſouth eaſt of *Placentia* bay, in *Newfoundland*, and ſailing along the ſouth coaſt of that great iſland, they water'd near cape *Race*, and from thence to S. *Malo's*, where they arriv'd the ſixth of *July* 1536.

And arrive at S. Malo's.

Monſ. *Cartier* was kept in *France* till 1540, during which time *Donnacona*, and all the other *Indians* he had brought with him dy'd, after having been converted to chriſtianity, and baptis'd. This *Agouhanna* had given ſuch an account of the gold and ſilver of *Saguenay* to the *French* court, that the king order'd *Cartier* to ſail to *Canada*, as admiral; and appointed the chevalier *la Roche* lord of *Roberval*, lord lieut. of *Canada*, but *la Roche* not getting ready for above a year after the orders came to *Cartier* to ſail, he deſir'd the admiral to purſue the voyage, and gave him authority to act as deputy governor till he ſhould arrive. Upon the 23d of *May* 1540, *Cartier* ſet ſail with five ſhips, and meeting with croſs winds and ſtormy weather, and having ſtaid ſome time about *Newfoundland*, to get his fleet together which had been diſpers'd in the ſtorm, he did not arrive at S. *Croix* till the 23d of *Auguſt*; where they found *Agonna* (the ſame whom *Tagnoagny* would have had him carry to *France*, four years before) governor of *Canada*, in the abſence of the king: but whether he was ſo by the command of *Donnacona* before his departure, or by proximity of blood, or by the election of the people I ſhall not pretend to determine.

Cartier's third voyage.

Soon after *Cartier's* arrival at his old winter quarters, *Agonna* came to pay him a viſit, and enquire what was become of the *Agouhanna*, the admiral told him he was dead; but that the others, whom he had carry'd to *France*, lik'd that country ſo well, that they would not leave it (for he was unwilling to tell him they were all dead, leſt the jealouſy of their having been murder'd, ſhould have put him upon revenge.) *Agonna* was not diſpleas'd at the death of *Donnacona*, becauſe by that he was in peaceable poſſeſſion of a very large dominion; which he reſolv'd (as it appear'd afterwards) it ſhould not be in *Cartier's* power to take from him. At preſent he ſhew'd all the marks of friendſhip to him that could be expected: for he took his enſign of royalty from his own head, and put it upon the admiral's; who return it to him with great civility. He afterwards made him preſents, and received trifles from him, according to cuſtom, and ſo return'd to *Stadacona*.

He arrives at S. Croix.

After *Cartier* had ſtaid ſome days at S. *Croix*, he went in his boats up the river about four leagues, where he had obſerved there was a pleaſant river more commodious for his ſhips than S. *Croix*. Having view'd it now this ſecond time, he brought all his ſhips to that new harbour; and having taken the ammunition and proviſions neceſſary for his garriſon out of the ſhips, he ſent two of them back to *France*, with letters to the king, ſignifying

He changes his harbour.

ſignifying his change of the place for a colony, and *La Roche*'s not being arriv'd. He then ſet about building a fort upon this river, where he had all the conveniencies for a plantation that could be deſir'd. The river itſelf was about 50 paces broad, where ſhips drawing three fathoms water, might enter at high water, and when the tide was out, they were almoſt dry at the ſides of the river, and lay upon good ground. The country, on both ſides, was very pleaſant, abounding with all ſorts of trees, as oaks, cedars, &c. but the moſt valu'd tree they ſaw there was the *Ameda* or *Hanneda* formerly mentioned, for its medicinal vertue. It grew there in great plenty, and ſome of the trees of that kind were three fathoms about. This river was on the north ſide of the great river, and the ground about it where the trees did not cover it, was very fit for tillage; ſo that having ſet 20 men at work, they ſoon prepared an acre of ground for receiving ſeed, and having ſow'd it with turnip ſeed, and ſome other garden ſeeds which they had brought from *France*, the turnips appear'd above ground in eight days.

And builds a fort call'd Charlesburg *or* Charleville.

Near the mouth of the river, where he built his fort, they found a fine fountain of freſh water, running out of a cliff, and not far from it, ſtones, which they believ'd to be diamonds. On the other ſide of that cliff, towards the great river, there was a mine of iron ore, which reached to their fort, and was exceeding good; and on the ſides of the ſmall river they gather'd ſome leaves of gold as thick as one's nail, all behind which was meadow and vines, and here and there moſt excellent hemp growing wild, which, upon trial, was found to be as ſtrong as any in *Europe*, and near the meadow, there was a riſing ground of black ſlate with ſtreakes thro' it like gold and ſilver.

And called it Charles's Bay.

Having begun his fort with all theſe advantages of the place, he took ſome gentlemen along with him, in two of his boats, well man'd, and leaving the viſcount *Beauprè* to take care of the building of the fort, he ſet out for *Hochelaga* on the 7th of *Sept.* He ſaw his old friend, by the way, whoſe daughter had been made a preſent of to him, in his laſt expedition to *Hochelaga*. He receiv'd him with a great deal of joy, and preſents paſt between them. Sailing farther up the river than he had done before, he was obliged to leave his boats, and travel by land to the falls of the water, which the natives who were friendly to him, ſhew'd him by ſigns, were three in number. He ſaw two of them, but being weary of the journey, and willing to return to his new fort, he came back to his boats, and ſo down the river. But in his return, he miſs'd the Lord, whoſe daughter he had carried to *France*; and ſoon after his arrival at *Charlsburg*, he found that the Lord had been with *Agonna*, to concert matters for the deſtruction of the *French*. And that they came to hoſtilities afterwards, is very evident (altho' we have no further account of the parriculars of *Cartier*'s expedition) from the reaſon he gave for leaving *Canada*, at his return to *France* in 1542; which was, that he was not able, with ſuch a ſmall force, to ſupport himſelf againſt the natives, who had riſen againſt him.

He goes to the falls of the river.

But the Indians *riſing againſt him, he returns to* France.

De la Roche had been hinder'd by ſome affair, not mention'd, ſo that he did not leave *France* till 1542. And as he was ready to ſail with three ſhips, *Cartier* return'd, giving him the account juſt now mention'd of his coming home. *La Roche* order'd him to get ready to ſail back again with his fleet, but the admiral ſtole away in the night, and *La Roche* ſet ſail for *Canada*. It is probable that this general ſail'd along the eaſt coaſt of *Newfoundland*, and enter'd St. *Laurence*'s bay on the north part of that iſland, by the ſtreights of *Belles Iſles*; becauſe his chief pilot gives a particular deſcription of that paſſage which lies in 52 deg. lat. altho' he does not ſay that they went that way. However this be, that general arriv'd at the iſland of *Orleans* in the river of *Canada* towards the end of *July* 1542. But all the farther account we have of this expedition is, that he built a fort near that iſland, on the north ſide of the great river, and is probably what was ſince call'd *Quebeck*, and having winter'd there, ſet out to diſcover farther up towards the falls; but many of his people leaving him, there was little done, ſo that he return'd to *Fraace* in 1543. And indeed the *French* ſeem to have had little or no footing in *Canada* properly ſo call'd, during that century; for the expedition of *Ribault* and *Laudonniers* formerly mention'd * was upon the eaſt coaſt, a great way ſouth of St. *Laurence*'s bay, and ſo is not to be reckon'd in *Canada*. It is true, the *French* call'd all the continent, between *Belles Iſles* ſtreights and the point of *Florida*, to the ſouth ſea inclusive (except *New Spain*) by the name of *New France*, and claim'd all that country as their own; and had they been as careful to preſerve it as they ought to have been, I don't ſee but their title was as good to that, as the king of *Spain*'s to *Mexico* and *Peru*, or any other nations to any part of that new world; but ſince they ſeem'd to neglect it, or rather, by graſping at too much, loſt all for a conſiderable time; they have no reaſon to blame others for taking poſſeſſion of a country aboandon'd by them, ſuch as the coaſt

De la Roche's expedition to Canada.

* Univ. Tr. ch. vi. Sect. VII.

coaſt of *America* generally was about the time that it was planted by the *Engliſh* in many places with the conſent of the natives, which was the only thing that could give them a juſt title to poſſeſſion; for I look upon the pretence of *Cabot*'s taking poſſeſſion in the name of *Henry* VII. to be of no more force than if a *French* privateer ſhould land in *England*, and, not being underſtood by the people, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, in the name of *Louis* XV.

Harris's Bibl. *Vol.* I. B. V. *ch.* 32.

Champlain's *expedition to* Canada.

The next *French* expedition taken notice of by our collectors of voyages, is that written by *Champlain*, and perform'd in the year 1603. When the *French* arriv'd at *Tadouſac* or *Saguenay* river, which runs into that of *Canada*, not far to the north eaſt of the *Iſland of Hares*, formerly mention'd, they were kindly receiv'd by the king of the place, having been recommended to him by two *Canada Indians*, whom they had aboard, and who had been kindly treated in *France*. They ſtaid at the town of *Tadouſac* ſome time, and from thence, ſome of them went up *Saguenay* river about 12 leagues, but finding the country, that way not ſo pleaſant, by reaſon of the mountains and rocks, as that upon the *Canada* river was repreſented to be, they gave over the farther diſcovery of *Saguenay*, and coming back to *Tadouſac*, purſu'd their voyage as far as *Quebec*: and from thence ſtricking over to the ſouth ſide of the river, becauſe the north coaſt is rocky, they continu'd their voyage in the pinnace, leaving their ſhip either at *Quebec*, or ſome other harbour thereabouts, they arriv'd at S. *Peter's Lake*, formerly mention'd, at the ſouth weſt end of which, is the river of the *Iroqueze*, which runs thro' a great part of *New England*, and a part of *New York*: but the current of that river was ſo ſtrong, that it was impracticable to ſail up, ſo that they went on towards the fall of the great river, of which they give a very imperfect account, having depended, for the moſt part, upon what the natives told them: only they ſay that the firſt fall of the river is in 45 deg. which in the Atlas falls in the lake *Ontario*, which they do not ſo much as mention; altho' they had that lake to ſail thro' (and a conſiderable one it is,) before they came to the fall. However it would ſeem that they had gone farther than any of their nation had done before. But finding the river in many places ſo ſhallow, and full of rocks, that no boats, much leſs the pinnace, could paſs, they return'd to *Tadouſac*; from whence they ſail'd to the bay of S. *Laurence*, and ſo along the coaſt of *Nova Scotia*, and then return'd to *France*.

He returns to France.

The year following, *Champlain* went over with Monſ. *Mont* to *Acadie*; but having *Canada* more at heart, ſome time after he went to *Quebec*, and to engratiate himſelf with the *Canadans*, he went two expeditions with them againſt the *Iroqueze*, where the *Indians* about *Quebec*, being aſſiſted by the *French* with their fire arms, routed their old enemies, and return'd in triumph. After which *Champlian* went as far as the lake *Ontario*, which he found 100 miles long. On the ſide of this lake he found a fine country; but the people ſuch bold fighters, that he was much put to it to defend himſelf with all the guns they had. Their villages well peopled, and their houſes barricaded with pales, and both women and men fought to defend them. *Champlain* intended to find a paſſage to the ſouth ſea by the rivers in that country; but, like others who engag'd in the ſame deſign, he fail'd in his aim.

He goes again to Canada.

Sails to the lake Ontario.

After this, the *French* were chas'd from all their plantations upon the eaſtern coaſt of *America*, and the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion of *Nova Scotia*, (call'd *Acadie* by the *French*) *New England*, *New York*, *Penſilvania*, *Mary Land*, *Virginia* and *Carolina*; ſome of which they had before, and others they took from the *French*, as we have already obſerv'd, in treating of thoſe places. But *Canada* continued ſtill in their hands, and their colonies there were very numerous, inſomuch that about the year 1680, the baron *La Hontan* ſaid they amounted to 180,000 ſouls.

About the year 1676 father *Louis Hennipin*, a franciſcan fryar, being ſent a miſſionary for *Canada*, arriv'd at *Quebec*, and from thence was ſent to *Fort Frontinac*, 100 leagues up the river of *Canada* on the north ſide of the lake *Ontario*. There he ſtaid two years, and learn'd the language of the *Iroqueze*, who were the moſt troubleſome neighbours the *French* had; and during his ſtay there, he and his companion, father *Luke Buiſſet*, tranſlated the creed, the lord's prayer and litany into the language of the country. Having ſtaid there, the time appointed them by their ſuperior, they return'd to *Quebec*. In *November* 1678 *Hennipin* was ſent back again, to *Frontinac* in a ſmall canoe, where he embark'd, on board a brigantine (which had been built there) with the *Sieur de la Motte* for diſcoveries farther weſt. They ſail'd to the ſouth weſt end of the lake and on the 6th of *January* enter'd the river *Niagara*, which is the great fall of the *Canada* river, ſaid in the Atlas to be 600 foot high.* Here they built a fort, but, not to irritate the *Iroqueze*, they pretended it was

Harris's Bibl. *Vol.* II. B. IV. *ch.* 14.

De la Motte *goes to* Niagara.

* *See* Miſſiſippi *map.*

only *a ſtore houſe to keep goods to traffick with them.* And to remove all ſuſpicion from them, *La Motte* went with ſeven of his men to one of their towns; and in five days he arriv'd at the place, and being carry'd to the cabin of the chief man of the place, he made one of his people tell him, "That they were come "to pay him a viſit, and to ſmoak out of "his pipe. That they deſign'd to build a "great canoe (meaning a ſhip) above the "fall of *Niagara* to bring *European* "commodities by a more convenient paſ-"ſage than by S. *Laurence*'s river, by "which he and his people might be ſerv-"ed cheaper than by the *Engliſh* at *Boſ-"ton*, or the *Dutch* at *New York*. And "farther, that they would furniſh his "people with a black-ſmith, and gun-"ſmith to put their arms in order, and to "make axes, *&c.*"

This offer of goods at a cheaper rate was a plauſible pretence to make them break with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and the allowing them arms and gun-ſmiths to keep them in order, was a good way to enable them to cut off the rivals of the *French* in the countries lying towards the ſea to which they pretended a right; and to make their propoſals go down the better, they made preſents to the lord, of axes, knives, a collar of white and blue porcelain, and ſome gowns. They ſeem'd to reliſh the propoſals, but *La Motte* finding by their behaviour that they lik'd the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* better than the *French*, and being diſguſted at ſome inſtances of their cruelty towards their priſoners, took his leave of them, and went back to *Niagara*, and ſoon after to *Canada*, leaving moſt of his men at work in building the fort.

And builds a fort there.

In *January* 1679 Monſ. *De la Salle* arriv'd at *Niagara*, from fort *Frontinac*, of which he was governor, with a great bark full of proviſions for the garriſon of *Niagara*, and tackling and other neceſſaries for the brigantine which they were to build on the ſouth ſide of the fall of the river, at the mouth of the lake *Erie*. But that bark being caſt away after he came aſhore, he was forced to go back a foot to his garriſon, leaving one *Tonti* an *Italian* his lieutenant at *Niagara*.

De la Salle *ſupplies the garriſon of* Niagara.

It happen'd luckily for the *French*, that the greateſt part of the *Iroqueze* were abroad, having been engag'd, (whilſt the *French* were building their fort and brigantine) in a war with ſome of the nations on the other ſide of the lake *Erie*. The *French*, taking occaſion of their abſence, made what haſte they could, with the few hands they had to get their ſhip finiſh'd, leſt thoſe *Iroqueze* ſhould return, or that they who were left at home, might burn their ſhip before they could get her lauch'd, to prevent which they launch'd her before ſhe was quite finiſh'd, and mounted five ſmall guns upon her, and gave her the name of the *Griffin*.

In the mean time, father *Hennipin*, with two other fryers from *Frontinac*, went to view the great caſcade at *Niagara*. That river is navigable from *Frontinac* by large barks, till within two leagues of the fall, and then they were oblig'd to land, and carry their goods two leagues below the caſcade ſouthward, before they could attempt putting them aboard: for, towards the rock which cauſes the fall of water, the river is divided into two branches, by an iſland; on each ſide of which, it runs with ſuch rapidity, that if any beaſt enters it, to paſs to the iſland, the ſtream hurries it down to the caſcade, where the two falls of water, one on each ſide of the iſland, are reckon'd 600 foot high; the water tumbling down with ſuch a noiſe that it is more dreadful than thunder, and boils up at the bottom, or bed into which it falls in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner, as any one may ſuppoſe a great river falling from a rock 600 foot high muſt do: and being thus united at the bottom into one river, it runs with ſuch a torrent for two leagues from the fall, that it dazzles one's eyes to look upon it from the bank on either ſide the river, from whence the highth is enough to turn an ordinary head, that will venture to look down ſuch a terrible precipice.

The caſcade of Niagara.

All things being now ready for their intended expedition, Monſ. *De la Salle*, who would conduct it in perſon, arriv'd at the fort; and going aboard the *Griffin*, (which was between 40 and 50 tuns) with 33 men, of which number were the three friars, they ſet ſail the 7th of *Auguſt*, and paſt thro' the lake *Erie*, at the weſt end of which they enter'd a ſtreight, which, in a north eaſt courſe, brought them to the lake S. *Clare*, which they ſail'd thro', and were carry'd by another river, ſtill northward, to the lake of *Huron*, which they enter'd the 23d of the ſame month: and met with ſuch a ſtorm, the 26th that they gave themſelves up for loſt, and all, except the pilot, went to prayers, whilſt he ſpent his time in curſing the governor for having brought him to be drown'd in a ſtinking lake, after having acquir'd ſuch honour by his skill in ſailing upon the ocean. But the wind abating, they arriv'd at *Miſſilimakinak* in the north weſt end of the lake in 45 degrees. From thence having croſs'd the lake *Michigan*, they landed upon an iſland at the mouth of the bay of *Puans*, where being well receiv'd by the natives, he traded with them for furrs and skins, with which he loaded the ſhip, and ſent her under the direction

Monſ. de la Salle *ſets out upon new diſcoveries, from* Niagara.

direction of the pilot back to *Niagara*, with orders to return with all expedition. They ſail'd the 18th of *September*, but were never heard of more.

Their ſhip is caſt away.

Having ſtaid ſome time in this iſland, *De la Salle* went aboard four canoes, with his 14 men, and coaſted *Michigan* lake upon the weſt ſide, where having row'd 11 days, a ſtorm blowing, they were oblig'd to make towards the ſhoar, and there being ſhallow water and a ſtrong eaſterly wind, they were oblig'd to wade out and carry their canoes with them for fear of their being daſh'd in pieces by the waves. But not knowing what ſort of people the inhabitants of that country were, they ſtood upon their guard at their landing, and poſſeſt themſelves of the riſing ground near a village at ſome ſmall diſtance from the lake, and ſent three of their number, with the *Calumet of peace*, (which they had gotten from the natives of the iſland from whence they came laſt) to the village to buy proviſions.

The Calumet of peace.

This *Calumet* of peace, is a tobacco pipe of marble, white, red or black, finely poliſh'd: the ſtalk of it is made of a ſtrong reed about two foot and a half long, adorn'd with feathers of different colours, according to the birds or fowls of the ſeveral places where the pipe comes from. This *Calumet* is a ſafe conduct thro' all the nations in alliance with thoſe who gave it; and in all embaſſies the pipe ſo adorn'd is carry'd as a ſymbol of peace; and is religiouſly regarded by the ſavages, becauſe they believe that ſome misfortune would happen to him who ſhould violate the publick faith of the *Calumet*. When they have concluded any treaty, or other great affair with any other nation, they fill the *Calumet* with their beſt tobacco, and the contracting parties ſmoke out of it by turns.

The ſight of the *Calumet* made the ſavages dance for joy, and they furniſh'd the *French* with proviſions, and took axes and knives in return. When the ſtorm abated, they put their canoes in the water again, and with difficulty, and often with hungry bellies, they coaſted along the weſt and ſouth coaſts of the lake, till they came to the river of *Miamis* on the ſouth of the lake in the latitude of 43 deg. and a half, where they ſpent the whole month of *November* in building a fort, of 40 foot by 80, made of ſquare pieces of timber. When they had finiſh'd the fort they ſail'd up the river *Miamis*, with a deſign to croſs over the country to the *Ilinois* river, which they were told run into that of *Miſſiſippi*. They had ſome of the natives of the country along with them to ſhew them the way, where having only a league and a half to carry their canoes from the *Miamis* to the *Ilinois*, they ſail'd down this laſt, moſt part of the month of *December*; and towards the end of the year came to a village about 130 leagues from fort *Miamis*: but finding no inhabitants they were forced to take of the corn, which they found laid up for ſeed, *De la Salle* intending to pay the value of it when he found any people to receive it.

Having gone down the *Ilinois* to the lat. of 43 (call'd, by miſtake in our author, 33.) They fell in among the natives, who were encamp'd on both ſides the river. The *Indians* ſhew'd their *Calumet*, and the *French* produced theirs, and in a ſhort time a peace was concluded between them. After ſome days, their lord being abſent, his brother *Nikanape* invited *De la Salle* to an entertainment, at which he ſo repreſented the danger of going to ſea by the river *Miſſiſippi*, that ſome of the *French* being frighten'd at the very thoughts of it, ſix of them deſerted that very night; by which they expos'd themſelves to greater hazard than that which they ſought to avoid. However the governor with the few he had left, proceeded, and about the latitude of 40, built a fort which he call'd *Crevecœur* or *Breakheart*, becauſe of the deſertion of his men, and other difficulties they labour'd under. This fort was near finiſh'd by the firſt of *March*.

Fort Crevecœur built.

Monſ. *De la Salle* finding that the *Griffin* did not come back, as he had given direction, concluded it was loſt, and therefore having occaſion for ſeveral things from fort *Frontinac*, he undertook the journey by land, taking only three men along with him, and leaving the reſt with *Tonti* to command the fort. But before he went away, he ſent father *Hennipin* towards *Miſſiſippi* with only two men to guide the canoe: whoſe diſcoveries we ſhall purſue for ſome time, and then return to Monſ. *De la Salle*.

Father *Hennipin* ſet out with his two companions, from the new fort, upon the 29th of *Feb.* and rowing down the river, which runs ſouth weſt, at laſt came to that of *Miſſiſippi*, which the fryer reckons between 35 and 36 deg. of lat. but our Atlas make the joining of thoſe rivers in 38 deg. The *Miſſiſippi*, at this place is a league and a half broad, and, at the narroweſt, a league all the way to the ſea. Here they were ſtop'd ſome days by ice, which came down the river; but afterwards they ſet out with the courſe of the ſtream, which runs ſouthwards, and in ſome days, meeting with ſome of the natives, they could not underſtand one word of their language, but having exchang'd *Calumets*, they went aſhore with them, and got a recruit of proviſions, and proceeded

Hennipin goes down Miſſiſippi river with two companions.

proceeded in their canoe down the river, and were kindly receiv'd by the people of *Taensa*, *Coroa* and *Quiniquissa*; and finding the great river divide into three branches, they took the middle, as being the deepest, and by that course came to the sea, in the gulf of *Mexico*, in 28 deg. n. lat.

They arrive at the gulf of Mexico.

Along the course of this river, they saw trees of different sorts in great plenty, cedars, cotton trees, of 100 foot long, of which the natives make their canoes and piragua's, having hollowed them with fire; and another tree, which our author gives no name to, but says the gum that came out of it, was the finest perfume he had ever smelt, and the corn which was but just springing, as they went down the river, was almost fit to be cut down as they return'd; and they were told that they had four crops of it every year.

Having staid upon the coast some days, and slept under their canoe, which they set upon props with its bottom up, the fryar's companions, being afraid of meeting with some *Spaniards* upon that coast, desir'd him to go up the river, which he consented to; and so put the canoe in the water again, which not drawing above three inches water, they went along the side of the river to be free of the current, as the tide went out. Their provisions when they saw no houses, nor natives, (which happen some times for several days together,) were fish or fowls which they caught or shot. But one day, as they were ashore, making broth of a buzzard they had shot, about 50 canoes came down the river with all the speed possible for them to make. The *French* left their broth, and getting aboard as fast as they could, went towards them, calling out in the *Iroqueze* language, *we are men of wooden canoes*; which is the term the *Indians* have for those who sail in ships. But the savages not understanding them, let fly their arrows at them, till one of them observ'd the *Calumet* which the friar held out to them, made them give over hostilities, and come towards them. They all went ashore together, and the friar, finding they were in search of some *Miamis* and *Ilinois* who were their enemies, made signs to them that their enemies had past the river. But those savages being disappointed of their revenge upon the *Miamis*, resolv'd to take it of the friar and his two companions. The first bad sign they gave of their ill intentions, was, their refusing to smoak out of their *Calumet* of peace; and their next was that three or four of the eldest of them laid their hands upon the friar's head, and began to howl, and weep bitterly, and 100 of the chief people coming up to the poor *Frenchmen*, made signs to them that they must die. *Hennipin* made haste to take out some of the best tobacco he had, and about 15 knives which he presented to those who were next him, and pointing to the canoe where a bundel of hatchets lay ty'd up, gave them amongst them, and, bending his head, signify'd to them that he submitted to their mercy; which soften'd the minds of some of the principal men amongst them, that they gave them some beaver's flesh to eat, blowing upon the three first bits, and then putting them into the mouths of the three prisoners, and setting the rest in a wooden platter before them, that they might eat after their own manner.

They return up the river.

Are in danger from a company of natives.

In this uncertain state they continu'd all night at land, the two who row'd the friar's canoe being resolv'd to sell their lives as dear as they could. But the next morning one of the principal men of the savages took the *Calumet* from the friar, and filling it with tobacco, made his companions smoake out of it, to the great joy of the *French*, who, by that, were assur'd of their lives. However, they made signs that they must go with them, and so getting aboard their canoes, they made the best of their way up the river, the *French* men rowing along with them 19 days successively; and passing by the *Ilinois* river, held the course of the *Missisippi*. During that voyage, they went often ashore, and kill'd game of several kinds, which they fed upon, and danced after they had eaten plentifully.

Who take them along with them above 200 leagues up the great river.

By this time they were got up almost to the fall of the river, which the *French* afterwards call'd *the fall of* S. *Anthony*; which is in 45 deg. having seen a great number of rivers falling into the great one, all the way as they past. Here they held a consultation what to do with the *French*, and at last, they gave them to three of their chiefs who had lost, each of them a son in the war. So that having hid their canoes among some trees by the river side, they took their journey by land, and march'd about 60 leagues to the great fatigue of the *French*, who were not us'd to make such long marches, for they commonly travell'd from break of day, till ten at night, swiming all the rivers that came in their way, and never ate but once in 24 hours.

At last they arriv'd at their habitations, which were among morasses inaccessible to their enemies. Here *Aquipaguetin*, the chief man among them, adopted *Hennipin* for his son, and presented him as such to six or seven of his wives, who were to give him the title and shew him the civility due to it. The other two were adopted by others of the chief captains, but it was a great mortification to them

them to be ſeparated; but they thought *it was well it was no worſe.* All the months of *May* and *June*, the friar was ſet to dig in an iſland, whither he was ſent with the wives and children of his new father, who was much pleas'd with the produce of ſome *European* ſeeds which the friar had ſow'd.

In the month of *July*, the *Sieur de Luth* arriv'd in the camp of thoſe ſavages, (for they live in a ſort of tents) having come from *Canada* to manage ſome negotiation with the *Iſſati*, who live towards the ſource of *Miſſiſippi*, and were near neighbours to the friar's ſavages. *De Luth* got leave for *Hennipin* and his two canoe men to go with him under pretence of their underſtanding the language. They ſpent the month of *Auguſt* in that expedition, and having done their buſineſs they return'd to the ſavage camp, and *De Luth* repreſenting to their chiefs, that it was much for their intereſt that the three adopted ſons ſhould go to *Canada* to manage a trade for iron and other commodities of which they had need; and that a certain time ſhould be fix'd, and a central place agreed upon, where the *Indians* ſhould bring their furs, and the *French* their *European* goods, to be exchang'd. *Aquepaguetin* conſulted this propoſal, and the other chiefs agreeing to it, the three adopted ſons, with great joy gave up their new kindred, and getting into two canoes with *De Luth* and his attendants, being in all eight perſons, they fell down the river S. *Francis* to the *Miſſiſippi*, and down the *Miſſiſippi* as far as *Ouiſconſin* river, into which they turn'd, by directions taken upon paper from the chief of the ſavages where the friar was priſoner. This river brought them 100 leagues eaſt from *Miſſiſippi*, and carrying their canoes half a league over land, they came to *Renard*'s river, which brought them to the bay of *Puans*, where they found many *Canadans* come thither for trade. From thence they went to *Miſſilimakinak* where they winter'd, and ſetting out in eaſter week 1681, going the ſame way that they had come the year before, they arriv'd at *Frontinac*, and ſo to *Quebec*.

They are ſet at liberty.

And arrive at Quebec.

Whilſt father *Hennipin* was making diſcoveries up and down the river *Miſſiſippi*, Monſ. *De la Salle* went to *Frontinac*, as we obſerv'd before, and having ſet all affairs in order there return'd again to *Crevecœur* and ſo proceeded to make diſcoveries about the great lakes, and to build forts at convenient places, and then went to *Miſſiſippi*, whoſe courſe he follow'd to the ſea; having built a fort by the ſide of the river towards the eaſt, in 36 degrees, which he call'd *Prudehomme*. And at the mouth of the *Miſſiſippi*, which he call'd S. *Louis*, he ſet up a croſs with the arms of *France*, cut in wood and fix'd to it. In thus viewing the country, treating with the different nations, and going to and from fort *Frontinac*, *De la Salle* ſpent the years 1679, 1680, 1681 and 1682, and the year following went to *France*, where he was well receiv'd by the king, and had all proper encouragement to proſecute his diſcoveries.

De la Salle's diſcoveries.

In the year 1684 *Auguſt* the 5th *De la Salle* ſet out for the bay of *Mexico* with four ſhips, one of which was a man of war of 56 guns, on board this fleet were 150 land men who were under *la Salle*'s direction, and to ſtay in *New France* with him. One of their ſmall ſhips being ſeparated from the reſt in a ſtorm, fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. The other three arriv'd in the bay of *Mexico*, and coming to the bay now call'd the bay of S. *Louis* which he miſtook at firſt for *Miſſiſippi*, being in the ſame latitude with it, but ſeven deg. farther weſt; Monſ. *De la Salle* ſounded the entry, which he found deep but narrow, and therefore he gave orders that none of the ſhips ſhould attempt to land, without having on board the pilot of the frigate, who had ſounded the entry to the bay, and had carry'd him aſhore in the pinnace. But the capt. of the fly-boat, not regarding thoſe orders, nor minding the poles which *De la Salle* had ſtuck into the ſand all along for a direction, run his ſhip againſt a ſand bank where ſhe ſtuck, but the men were all ſav'd, as alſo the goods, which, they took out by degrees before the ſhip was beaten to pieces by the waves.

The fly-boat loſt.

Soon after the whole 150 were landed, the ſavages to the number of 120 came to attack them, but the noiſe of the drums, and the appearance of the men frighten'd them, ſo that they made off; but *De la Salle* following them, preſented his *Calumet* of peace, which they accepted, and came back with him to his camp, and they continued friends till the indiſcretion of a *Subaltern* officer put them out of humour, by threatning to kill ſome of them if they did not reſtore a pack of blankets, which having fallen into the ſea, as they were unlading the fly-boat, had been driven aſhore, and taken up as lawful prize by the ſavages. This affront ſtuck in their minds, and they were reſolved to take the firſt opportunity to revenge it.

Monſ. *Beaujeau*, the captain of the man of war, ſeeing all things go on proſperouſly, and a new fort begun, which they call'd fort *Louis*, took leave of Monſ. *De la Salle* and return'd to *France*, leaving the frigate for the uſe of the colony. But that happen'd to be of little ſervice to them; for, by the negligence of thoſe aboard, the frigate ran aground, and was daſh'd to pieces, and all the crew drown'd

De la Salle builds fort Louis.

The frigate loſt.

drown'd, except one gentleman, the the captain and four ſeamen; and what was an irreparable loſs at that juncture, the linnen and cloth for the uſe of the colony, and moſt of their *French* proviſions, and their tools and inſtruments were loſt with the ſhip.

This diſaſter, altho' it vex'd the governor, did not diſcourage him, but he went on vigorouſly in building his fort, in a very commodious place, and planted 12 pieces of cannon upon it; and took up his winter quarters there. But in the month of *March* 1685, the natives getting together in the night, and the centinel being careleſs, they attack'd the garriſon at a place not, at that time, finiſh'd, and with their arrows kill'd four gentlemen voluntiers, and wounded Mr. *Moranger*, the governor's nephew. But the allarm being given, the garriſon got to their arms, and at the firſt fire the ſavages fled, altho' none of them was hurt. After that three of the *French* going a ſhooting, the ſavages getting together upon the noiſe of their guns, came in a great multitude upon the three men; but one of them levelling his piece, luckily ſhot their leader, at whoſe fall, they all took to their heels, notwithſtanding the inequality of their numbers.

The governor finding that they were not to be brought to any laſting amity by fair means, took a party of 60 men, and march'd into their country, where he found them encamp'd, and having provided his men with wooden breaſt-plates againſt the *Indian* arrows, he fell upon them, and made a conſiderable ſlaughter among them in ſeveral encounters, and return'd to the fort with a great number of priſoners. But his men not being ſo obedient to his order as they ought, threw away their own lives very fooliſhly upon ſeveral occaſions; for going out, contrary to his orders, in ſmall parties, being charm'd with the pleaſantneſs of the country, ſix of his beſt men with an officer ſuffer'd themſelves to be overtaken with ſleep in a meadow, and were all murder'd by the ſavages.

Monſ. *De la Salle* having ſtaid another winter at fort *Louis*, and endeavour'd to reduce the nations about him to a friendly correſpondence, found himſelf under a neceſſity of a communication with *Canada*, becauſe, after the loſs of his two ſhips, he could ſend no advices to *France*, nor to any of the *French* colonies in the *Caribees*; he therefore reſolv'd upon an expedition to *Canada* by the *Ilinois* river. *The governor attempts a journey to* Canada. He took 20 men with him, in *April* 1686 and ſet out, a foot, towards the north, thro' the fineſt country in the world. In this march, they ſaw many of the natives a horſe back, with boots and ſpurs, ſaddles and bridles; from which they concluded that they were not far from the *Spaniſh* colonies. They likewiſe met with droves of wild oxen, ſome of which they kill'd, and broil'd the fleſh for their ſubſiſtance upon the road.

Having march'd for many days, without any other inconvenience than the fatigue of walking, they came to the country of the *Cenis*, where they ſaw villages and hamlets ſo near one another, that, for 20 leagues together, it ſeem'd one continu'd town. *Is well receiv'd at* Cenis. The inhabitants preſented *La Salle* with their *Calumet* of peace, and with great ceremony ſmoak'd out of his. They had ſeveral *European* utenſils in their houſes, ſuch as ſilver ſpoons, &c. as alſo laced cloths, and horſes; and, by them, the governor was inform'd, that they were within eight days march of the *Spaniſh* dominions. This country of the *Cenis* was in 33 deg. n. lat. Here they ſtaid many days, and from thence mov'd eaſtward, in order to get to the *Miſſiſippi*, to eaſe them of the labour of walking too much. They had not march'd far, when *De la Salle* and *Moranger* his nephew were ſeiz'd with a violent fever which detain'd them among the people of *Naſſonis* for ſeveral weeks: for after the fever was over, they continu'd ſo weak, that it was too whole months before they could undertake a journey. This was the begining of his misfortunes; for ſome of his men deſerted, others began to grumble and mutiny; and their powder was almoſt ſpent. For theſe reaſons he thought it convenient to return to fort *Louis*, which was done without any remarkable accident, except one man's being ſwallow'd by a crocodile in paſſing a river. *Returns to fort* Louis.

As ſoon as he came back, and was receiv'd with great joy, he ſet about entrenching a large encloſure for the uſe of the colony, that they might have all that belong'd to them under the cannon of the fort, and took all the pains imaginable to put every thing in good condition. But being ſtill under the ſame neceſſity as before, of going to *Canada*, he ſet out a ſecond time with 20 men about the beginning of the year 1687, his brother and two nephews being of the number. *Sets out a ſecond time.* Having croſs'd the *Sablonniere* river, which runs into S. *Louis*'s bay, and ſome other rivers farther eaſt, they came into a country not far from that of *Cenis*, where he let his men divert themſelves with hunting for ſome days, and ſent his nephew *Moranger* with eight men to a place where an *Indian* call'd *Nica* (who had been long with the governor, and was moſt faithful to him) had laid up a ſtore of wild beaſts fleſh which he had kill'd in hunting. *Moranger* and his eight men, were to ſmoke and dry this fleſh for carriage. But he little knew that he had ſent his nephew

to

to be murder'd by thoſe villains, whom he had ſent with him. But ſo it was, that they now executed a plot they had laid before; and having *Moranger* now in their power, they took their opportunity and ſtruck him on the head with a hatchet, of which he dy'd in two hours; they likewiſe ſlew poor *Nica* for his fidelity to his maſter, and another ſervant belonging to *La Salle*.

Theſe wretches having thus murder'd the nephew, reſolv'd to make ſure of the uncle too, leſt he ſhould (as was very juſt) revenge the baſe villany. *De la Salle* was about two leagues off, and wondering that he heard nothing from *Moranger* in three or four days; being afraid of his having been ſurpriz'd by the ſavages, went himſelf accompany'd by father *Anaſtaſius*, and two *Indians*, to enquire about him. When he came near the place, he ſaw the murderers on the river ſide, and going up to them, ask'd where his nephew was. They pointing to a place hard by, *la Salle* went thither, where two of the rogues lay conceal'd; and at his coming up to them, they both ſnap'd their pieces at him, the one miſſed fire, but the other lodg'd a bullet in his head, of which he dy'd in a hour. As ſoon as he fell, the friar run to him, and took him up in his arms, and wept bitterly; but *la Salle*, having his ſenſes about him made a ſhort confeſſion, and like a good man deſir'd abſolution, which he receiv'd and dy'd immediately after.

De la Salle, and Monſ. Moranger murder'd by their own people.

Thus was this worthy gentleman baſely murder'd in the vigour of his age, by his own people; who had he liv'd would have done great ſervice to his country; for he was a man of great courage, good judgment, and indefatigable induſtry; and had been long acquainted with the manner of the *Indians*. He was kill'd upon the 19th of *March* 1687, and was bury'd by the friar, who put a croſs up in the place. After which he went to look for father *Cavalier*, the brother of *la Salle*, to whom he told the melancholy ſtory; and in the mean time, the villains coming into the cabin where they were, the poor old father, and a nephew of his, who was but a youth, believing that they came with a deſign to murder them for their relation to the governor, began to prepare themſelves for death. But they were ſo confounded at the ſight of the venerable old man, and ſo ſtruck with the horror of their own guilt, that they continu'd along time irreſolute; and at laſt were prevail'd with to ſpare them. They choſe the murderer of *la Salle* for their captain, and determin'd to go and ſettle among the *Cenis*, and began their march, making the two *Cavaliers*, the uncle and nephew, ſerve them as lacqueys upon the road.

But as all the company had not been engag'd in this conſpiracy, they fell out, during the march, and one part of them adhering to *Hans* a *German* by birth, he taking his opportunity, ſhot the murderer thro' the heart, with a piſtol bullet; and which was very remarkable, another of *Hans*'s party firing his piſtol at him who had kill'd *Moranger*, there being no ball in the piſtol, the powder ſet his hair on fire, which in a moment catch'd his ſhirt and clothes with ſuch violence that in ſpite of all he could do, he was burnt to death.

The murderers cut off by the reſt of la Salle's *people.*

The death of the governor being thus, in ſome meaſure, reveng'd, *Hans* became the captain of this wretched crew; who purſuing their route to *Cenis*, found thoſe people ready to take the field againſt ſome of their neighbour nations. *Hans* and as many as he could perſuade to ſtand by him, offer'd their ſervice to the *Cenis* people, and were accepted; but the two *Cavaliers*, father *Anaſtaſius*, the ſieur *Joutel* and ſome few more, having bought horſes (which they purchas'd for a hatchet a piece) and procur'd guides from the natives, and proviſions for their journey, ſet out from the *Cenis*, and having made a long march thro' a fine country, at laſt they enter the *Miſſiſippi* about the lat. of 33 deg. and a half; and ſo providing themſelves of canoes inſtead of their horſes, they arriv'd at the mouth of the *Ilinois* river on the 5th of *September*; and purſuing their courſe up that river, arriv'd at *Crevecœur* the 14th; and being well receiv'd there, by Monſ. *Belle Fontaine* the governor, they ſtaid there all winter, and in ſpring 1688 ſet out for *Frontinac* and ſo to *Quebec*, where they arriv'd the 27th of *July*; and the month after ſail'd for *France*.

Father *Hennipin*, from whom this relation is taken, gives an odd account of their ſuperſtitious notion of their original, believ'd by the ſavages of *New France*. They ſay, "That a woman came down "from heaven, and hover'd in the air for "ſome time, becauſe there was no land to "reſt her foot upon. That the fiſh of "the ſea taking compaſſion of her, con"ſulted which of them ſhould receive her, "and it fell to the lot of the tortoiſe, which "accordingly preſented its back, upon "which ſhe fixt herſelf; and, in proceſs "of time, the ſlime and filth of the ſea "gathering about the back of the tortoiſe "(which had never ſtir'd after the woman "had reſted upon it) by degrees came to "form that vaſt extent of land call'd "*America*. But the woman being un"eaſy for living ſolitary, a ſpirit deſcended "when ſhe was aſleep, and, unperceiv'd "by her, made her the mother of two "ſons, who came out of her ſide; but

The Indians *notion of the creation.*

"when

" when they grew up, they were conſtant-
" ly at variance with one another. One
" of them was a better hunter than the
" other; but their animoſity grew to that
" heighth, that the beſt of them being no
" longer able to bear with the other's rude
" behaviour, flew up to heaven; from
" whence to ſhew his reſentment, he rat-
" tles his thunder from time to time over
" the heads of his brother's poſterity.
" That after the brother was gone to
" heaven, the ſpirit deſcended a ſecond
" time, and left the woman with child of
" a daughter, who, by her brother, peo-
" pled all *America*."

This, the author thinks, has a good deal of truth mix'd with the fable. He makes the woman's ſleep and the birth of the two ſons, to be *Adam*'s ſleep, and the woman's being form'd out of his ſide. The diſagreement of the children, he ſays, alludes to *Cain* and *Abel*; and the retreat of the one ſon is the death of *Abel*, and the thunder, ſignifies the curſe pronounced againſt *Cain*. I leave this to the reader without any remarks, for I would not ſeem to oppoſe univerſal tradition for truth, altho' it may be clouded with fable.

This ſame year 1687 the marquis *Denonville*, then governor of *Canada*, march'd with a party of his own militia from *Quebec* and *Frontinac*, as alſo a conſiderable number of the natives of the country both about *Canada* and the great lakes, to chaſtiſe the *Iroqueze* who liv'd to the eaſtward of the lakes *Ontario* and *Erie*; and the *French* marching too ſecurely were attack'd by ſome of thoſe ſavages who lay in ambuſcade for them, and loſt 100 of their men and 10 *Indians*; but their allies, the *Ilinois*, *Oumamies*, *Hurons*, and *Outaovas* falling upon the *Iroqueze*, they ſoon diſpers'd them, and brought the heads of 80 of them to *Denonville*, preſſing him to purſue the victory; but finding him not ſo forward as they wiſh'd, they retir'd to their ſeveral countries not very well ſatisfy'd with the conduct of that governor.

The following year the baron *la Hontan* made diſcoveries farther up the *Miſſiſippi* than the *French* had gone before, and was civilly entertain'd by the *Eſſanapes*, and ſome other nations higher up the river, but that expedition being of little conſequence, we ſhall not inſiſt upon it.

But the revolution happening in *England*, and war breaking out between *England* and *France*, put the plantation of *Canada* in ſome danger. For Monſ. *De Frontenac* ſucceeding *Denonville* in 1689, in the government of *New France*, had intelligence in the month of *October*, that 34 ſail of *Engliſh* had been ſeen off *Tadouſac*. *De Frontenac* had this account at *Montreal*, where he then was, and immediately ſet out to fortify and defend *Quebec*: and upon his arrival, put all things in order, whilſt the *Engliſh* fleet lay within two leagues of that city *catching of flies*, as our author expreſſes it. At laſt the admiral ſent a ſloop to *Quebec*, which, having a *French* flag, made towards the town; but was met by another from the governor. As ſoon as they came up ſides with one another, the *French* officer ask'd, *what they wanted?* to which an *Engliſh* major anſwer'd, *That he had a letter to the governor, which he deſir'd he might deliver to him out of his own hand.* Upon this, the *French* officer took him on board his ſloop, and, having hoodwink'd him, brought him before *Frontenac*, to whom the major, having his face uncover'd, deliver'd his letter, of which the ſubſtance was this:

Harris's Bibl. *Vol.* II. *p.* 921.

The Engliſh *fleet arrives before* Quebec.

I *Sir* Will. Phipps, *general of the forces of* New England, *by ſea and land, to count* Frontenac *governor general of* Quebec, *by order from, and in the name of* William *and* Mary *the third, king and queen of* England, *am come to make myſelf maſter of this country. But in regard that I have nothing ſo much at heart, as the preventing effuſion of blood, I require you to ſurrender at diſcretion, your cities, caſtles, forts, and towns, as your perſons: aſſuring you, at the ſame time, that you ſhall meet with all manner of good uſage, civility and humanity. If you do not accept of this propoſal, without any reſtriction, I will endeavour, by the aſſiſtance of heaven, on which I rely, and the force of my arms, to make a conqueſt of them. I expect a poſitive anſwer in writing, in the ſpace of an hour; and in the mean time, give you notice, that after the commencement of hoſtilities, I ſhall not entertain any thoughts of accommodation.*

The admiral's letter to the governor.

Sign'd

William Phipps.

This letter having been tranſlated to the governor, he immediately gave orders to have a gibbet ſet up before the fort, to hang the major, who was like to ſwoon away at the orders; and he had certainly been ſtrung up, but for the interceſſion of the biſhop and the intendant who were preſent. Monſ. *De Frontinac* pretended that the fleet was a neſt of pirates, or perſons without commiſſion, for that the king of *England* was then in *France*; *for he knew no king of* England *but* JAMES II. *and that his rebellious ſubjects were pirates, and he neither dreaded their force, nor regarded their threats:* Having ſaid thus, he threw *Phipps*'s letter in

His anſwer.

in the major's face, and turn'd away; and when the major (taking a little courage) desir'd an answer in writing, the governor told him, with a great deal of contempt, *That his admiral deserv'd no other answer but what flew from the mouth of cannons.* Thus the major being again blind-folded, was carry'd to his sloop.

The English *land.* The next day, about 3000 men landed out of the fleet, and march'd in good order towards the town, which was about 4 miles from the place where they landed. But upon their first manning their boats, the governor had sent to some of the *Indians* who were in arms for him, to take their station in a copse of brambles, near which the *English* must pass, and to disperse themselves thro' the whole copse, above a mile broad; where letting the *English* enter sufficiently, they attack'd them from several places at once, both with arrows and fire-locks, which unexpected assault so allarm'd them, that *La Hontan* says they fled crying out *Indians! Indians!* 300 were slain upon the spot; the *French* losing only 10 forrest rangers and four officers. The next day the *English* landed four pieces of brass cannon, but being again engag'd, altho' they behav'd with great courage, were a second time repuls'd, the same copse being the field of battle, where the *French* and *Indians* had the advantage of the ground; and our author says, that the admiral behav'd as if he had been hir'd by the *French* to stand *with his hands in his pocket.* About the same number fell that day as the former, and the *French* pursu'd them to their camp, intending to beat up their quarters as soon as day appear'd; but the *English* sav'd them the labour, for they embark'd at midnight, but in such a hurry and confusion, that they did not so much as secure their retreat, so that the *French* kill'd above 50 of them as they were getting into their boats.

But are repuls'd.

The next morning they brought the *English* tents and brass cannon to *Quebec*, and the savages strip'd the dead in the copse, and at the water side. And our author, who makes himself very merry with Sir *William Phipps*'s military skill, says, that he weigh'd anchors, and came within musket shot of the lower part of the city, where the *French* had only one battery of six or eight pounders. There he cannonaded so handsomely, that the fire of the great guns equall'd that of the small arms, and the damage they did to the roofs of the houses amounted to five or six pistoles. But having, by chance, got Mons. *Joliet*, with his wife, his mother, and some seamen into his hands, as they were coming by water to *Quebec*, he sent to the governor to exchange them for some of the *English*, which being granted, and the prisoners on both sides releas'd, the *English* fleet weigh'd anchor, and departed. The baron *De Hontan*, who gave the account of this attempt upon *Quebec*, was dispatch'd to *France* with the news.

They sail homewards.

As this relation is entirely *French*, there may be some doubt of the truth of it, as to particulars. But however Sir *William Phipps* behav'd, the *French* found, to their cost, that there were other *English* knights, with the character of admirals, who knew so well how to attack both ships and towns, that a great number of Louis-d'or's did not pay the damage. But so far is certainly true, that the attempt upon *Quebec* prov'd abortive.

During the two last wars with *France* there were several attempts made by the *English* upon the *French* plantations here and in other places of *America*, but as we do not design the history of that country, we shall pursue that subject no farther.

This country of *New France* is of vast extent, lying all along the river of S. *Laurence* or *Canada* from north east to south west for above 2000 miles to the *Mississippi* river, so that the *French* surround all our plantations upon the continent; and had the *French* king come into the baron *De Hontan*'s measures, and built forts at the entry into all the lakes in *New France*, he might have disturb'd the *English* plantations on the east side of the river of *Canada*, or made their commerce with the several nations of the *Indians* impracticable; and had the *English* done the same, they had undone the *French*.

The whole country as, at present, possest by the *French*, is divided into two parts, *Canada*, and *Louisiana*, or east and west *Canada*.

Canada, as distinguish'd from *Louisiana*, begins at the mouth of S. *Laurence*'s river, and reaches as far as the lakes of *Huron*, and *Erie*, otherwise call'd *Isle du Chat*, or the *Cat Island*. The *French* pretend a right to both sides of the river, but we reckon only the north side of it to be comprehended in *Canada*. The chief settlements belonging to the *French* in this country are

Engl. Atlas *p.* 248.

Settlements in Canada.

I. *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*, about 300 miles from the mouth of the river. This town is divided into the upper and lower towns. In the upper, there is a strong citadel, where is the residence of the governor, and of the intendant, and there likewise all the courts are kept. Near the governor's house in the citadel, is the magazine for ammunition and provisions: and in this upper town is the chap-

1 Quebec.

ter-houſe, a noble building, where 12 prebendaries are conveniently lodg'd: There is likewiſe a fine church belonging to the jeſuits, joining to which is their convent, and a college for 50 ſcholars, with convenient apartments and large gardens. Beſides the jeſuits church, there are ſix others in the upper town: the aſcent from the lower town to the upper is pretty broad but ſteep. The merchants live, for the moſt part in the lower town, for the ſake of the harbour, and have good ſtone houſes, three ſtories high: And there are two villages near the town inhabited by 500 *Indian* converts.

II. *Iſland of* Orleans.

II. The iſland of *Orleans*, in the river, about four miles north eaſt from *Quebec*, is ſeven leagues long, and three broad; it produces corn of all ſorts, and pays 1000 crowns a year rent. The canal, on the ſouth ſide of it, is navigable for ſhips, but that on the north only for boats.

III. Trois Rivieres.

III. *Trois Rivieres*, or the three rivers, is a ſmall city 30 leagues ſouth weſt from *Quebec*, at the mouth of the lake of S. *Peter*. This colony is rich, and the town abounds in ſtately houſes; and has its own governor. Their trade, is for beavers with the neighbouring *Indians*. The river here is full of ſhelves, and the great quantity of eels taken here is of great uſe to them.

IV. *St. Peter's Lake.*

IV. S. *Peter's* lake, ſouth weſt from *Trois Rivieres*, is not properly one plantation, but a collection of ſeveral colonies which conſiſt of many houſes built at the mouths of ſeveral rivers, which loſe themſelves in the lake. The lake itſelf is of a conſiderable compaſs, and by our maps ſeems to be of an oval ſhape; but it is either very ill repreſented in the map, or elſe it is not the fifth part ſo big as they call it. The rivers, which run into it, are well ſtor'd with ſeveral kinds of fiſh.

V. Sorell.

V. *Sorell*, on the weſt end of this lake, is the only colony, of the *French* upon the ſouth ſide of the great river, (except *Chambli*, of which hereafter.) It is a canton four leagues in front, and the country about it, eſpecially along the river, well peopled.

VI. Montreal.

VI. *Montreal* or *Mont Royal*, on an iſland of the ſame name, 120 miles ſouth-weſt from *Quebec*, is the ſeat of a governor accountable to the governor of *Quebec*, who has 1000 crowns a year ſalary, which he improves by trading, with the *Indians* about the great lakes, for furs, which they exchange for arms, axes, knives, cattle of *European* breed, &c. by which traffic the *French* commonly clear 200 *per cent*. The merchants of *Montreal* are generally factors to thoſe of *Quebec*; this ſort of trading is free to every one, ſo that this is a good place to get an eſtate in. The governor general goes thither once a year, to ſhare the perquiſites with the governor of *Montreal*, and to get preſents from the *Indians* thereabouts. There are a ſort of pedlars who frequent this iſland, and are known by the name of *Coureurs de Bois*, who trade in canoes amoug the natives round the lakes, or upon the rivers, and ſtay abroad ſometimes a year and a half upon one voyage, and ſo return well fraught with furrs, of which they make 150 *per cent*. which (like our ſeamen, when a man of war is paid off) they ſpend upon their miſtreſs and the bottle, and then aboard the canoe again. Thoſe pedlars have the management of two licenc'd canoes belonging to the merchants of *Montreal*, on each of which they load goods to the value of 1000 crowns, which bring home a ſurprizing profit. This is the fartheſt that the river of S. *Laurence* is navigable, which is occaſion'd by cataracts, and a ſort of falls, of which there are three or four between this iſland and *Frontinac*; but theſe are not ſo high, but the pedlars can drag their empty canoes againſt the ſtream, and having carried their cargo's, by land, paſt the catatacts, load their canoes on the other ſide, and ſo proceed to the lake *Ontario*.

VII. Cham bli.

VII. *Chambli* lies upon the ſame river, which runs into that of S. *Laurence* at *Sorell*, being about half way between fort *Sorell*, and *Champlain Lake*, from which there is a river, that takes its riſe within two leagues of *Hudſon's* river: ſo that by carrying canoes over that carrying place, one may paſs down *Hudſon's* river to *New York*. This fort made good *La Hontan's* ſcheme to *Louis* XIV. for, after it was built, the natives left that part of the country, and retir'd towards the *Engliſh* plantations, and probably would have done the ſame about the other lakes, had forts been built, as the baron propos'd.

Upon the entry to *Champlain Lake*, fort *De la Motte* is mark'd in our maps, but probably it is now demoliſh'd, or neglected, becauſe it is not taken notice of as a *French* colony.

VIII. Fronti nac.

VIII. Fort *Frontinac* lies on the north ſide of the lake *Ontario*, the communication to which is by S. *Laurence* river, and is about 150 miles ſouth weſt from *Montreal*. This fort is very commodious for the *French*, becauſe of the conveniency of tranſporting goods to their colonies both in *Canada* and *Louiſiana*, by water carriage, which one would think, ſhould make them give the natives better prices than the *Engliſh* of *New York*; and yet it appears, that the *Indians* chuſe to carry their furrs to *New York*, moſtly by land, and find their account in doing ſo, rather than let the *French* have them nearer home.

This

This fort lies too near the formidable cantons of the *Iroqueze*, who were dangerous enemies to the *French*, as having been long in amity with the *Engliſh*. Thoſe people inhabit the ſouth part of *Ontario* lake, and are divided into five cantons within 30 leagues of one another; each canton reckon'd to conſiſt of 14,000 people, of which 1500 bore arms. It was to thoſe that father *Hennipin* was ſent, as we obſerv'd before, but they could not be prevail'd upon to deſert the *Engliſh* intereſt, which was the chief deſign of the miſſion. Their country is fruitful and pleaſant, and their chief buſineſs is hunting of beavers, and fiſhing in the lakes and rivers. Theſe eight colonies mention'd are the moſt conſiderable which the *French* have in *Canada*.

Louiſiana. *Louiſiana* or *Weſt Canada*, is that part of *New France*, which, by the *Spaniards* was known by the common name of *Florida*. The diſcovery of this country by the *Spaniards*, and their ill ſucceſs, we have treated elſe where; * and of the later diſcoveries by Monſ. *De la Salle* and father *Hennipin*, we have ſpoken in this chapter: ſo that we ſhall only add, that in 1712 *Louis* XIV. gave a grant of it to Monſ. *Crozat*, under the name of *Louiſiana*, and chang'd the name of *Miſſiſippi* river to that of S. *Louis*. But ſince the death of that monarch, it is the property of the united eaſt and weſt *India* companies: and under the old name of *Miſſiſippi*, during the regency of the late duke of *Orleans* in 1719 made ſuch a noiſe in *Europe* as will not be ſoon forgot, and can be equall'd by nothing, but our own *South Sea*, the year after; in both which, ſo many families were ruin'd, whilſt others made eſtates, upon an imaginary fund, which vaniſh'd as ſoon as *ſome people had made their beſt of it*; and ſome few others, not privy to the cheat, had luckily, rather than wiſely, drawn out their ſtock with unaccountable profit.

* Univ. Tr. *ch.* v.

The extent of *Louiſiana* is very uncertain, moſt part of what the *French* claim as their property, being as yet in the hands of the *Indians*, who own no obedience to them. It is reckon'd to begin from the great lakes of *Huron* and *Erie*, and takes in the whole length of *Miſſiſippi* river on both ſides; ſo that it is bounded by the *Engliſh* plantations of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, &c. on the eaſt; by the gulf of *Mexico* on the ſouth; by the *Spaniſh* conqueſts, or rather by the ſavage *Indians* on the weſt; and by countries not as yet diſcover'd on the north.

The chief ſettlements of the *French* in this vaſt country are but very inconſiderable; ſuch as, 1. *Fort Louis* in the bay of that name, which we mention'd to have been erected by *De la Salle* in 1685. 2. Another *Fort Louis*, to the eaſt of *Miſſiſippi* river, in the *Bay of Mobile*, lat. 31 deg. 3. *Penſacola*, about 20 leagues eaſtward of the bay of *Mobile*, which they took from the *Spaniards* in 1719. Other forts near the lakes in the north parts of *Louiſiana* are either mention'd before, or ſo inconſiderable as not to deſerve any notice.

American iſlands ſubject to the French.

What other dominions the *French* have in *America*, are in the iſlands. We do not mention *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, becauſe the whole iſland was given up to us, by the treaty of *Utrecht*. The *French* iſlands are,

I. *Part of* Hiſpaniola.

I. The weſtern part of *Hiſpaniola*, but indeed the places ſubject to the *French*, ſuch as the greater and leſſer *Guavus* are, for the moſt part inhabited by buccaniers, and free booters, who are generally *French*.

II. Tortuga.

II. *Tortuga*, over-againſt the north weſt end of *Hiſpaniola*; it is about 60 leagues in compaſs, full of tall trees; it produces yellow ſaunders, guiacum, gum, elemi, *China*-roots, alloes, and moſt other roots and fruits that grow in the neighbouring iſlands. There are likewiſe, in this iſland, palm trees, wild boars, and wild pidgeons in great plenty; it alſo produces ſome tobacco. There is in it but one harbour capable of large ſhips, with a little town and fort.

III. *St.* Croix.

III. S. *Croix* or *Santa Cruz* ſouth eaſt from *Porto Ricco*, lat. 18 deg. It is about 10 leagues long, and two broad. The product of it much the ſame with the other adjacent iſlands. There they find good timber for building, and dyers wood, and a peculiar ſort of tree, call'd *Mamoa*, becauſe of the ſhape of the fruit, reſembling a woman's breaſt, which this tree produces once a month, and is very pleaſant to the taſte. Here is a good harbour on the north ſide of the iſland, and a little town, with a handſome houſe for the governor.

IV. *St.* Bartholomy.

IV. S. *Bartholomy*, ſouth eaſt from S. *Croix*, little different in latitude. It is five leagues in compaſs, ſurrounded with rocks, and is well wooded; it produces tobacco and caſſovie, and a particular tree call'd *Canopia* which yields a pleaſant fruit. There is likewiſe ſtore of good gum, us'd as an opening medicine in phyſick. This iſland abounds in wild hogs, it has a good harbour, and well fortify'd.

V. *St.* Martin.

V. S. *Martin*'s lies north weſt of the former; it is ſeven leagues long, and five broad, and has famous ſalt mines. It has a town with a ſtrong fort and a good caſtle, where the governor has a fine palace; and there are ſeveral good churches and convents. The *Dutch* have ſome footing in this iſland.

VI. *Guadaloup*,

VI. Guadaloup. VI. *Guadaloup*, ſouth from *Antego* and ſouth eaſt from *Montſerrat*, latitude eighteen, about 60 leagues in compaſs, and divided in two by a narrow channel. It abounds with rice, maiz, mandioca, potatoes, pine apples, ſugar canes, and plantanes. The *French* here make excellent ſugar, indigo, and tobacco. There is a ſort of yellow plumb which fattens hogs. In this iſland, there are ſeveral towns, and forts; the chief of which is in the low country, and is a well built town, has many ſtore houſes, and a caſtle with four bulwarks, beſides a fort with a garriſon on a neighbouring mountain. And here is a bath ſo hot as to boil meat.

VII. Deſſeada. VII. *La Deſſeada* 15 miles eaſt from *Guadaloup*, is a ſmall iſland but fruitful, well cultivated, and abounds with fowls.

VIII. Marigalante. VIII. *Marigalante*, ſouth from *Guadaloup*, produces abundance of tobacco, and cinamon trees which are always green. It is about five leagues and a half long, and four broad; has many large and deep grotto's, ſome of which have ſprings, and in one of them is a ſmall river. The rocks abound with tropic birds.

IX. Martinico. IX. *Martinico*, the chief of all the *French* plantations in the *Caribees*, and the reſidence of the governor, is in 17 deg. of lat. It abounds with ſugar, tobacco, mandioca, caſſia, *Indian* figs, &c. The *French* here are reckon'd 15,000 beſides negroes and natives. The iſland is 45 leagues in circuit, has one handſome town with an hoſpital, as alſo a ſtrong fort and caſtle.

X. S. Lucia. X. S. *Lucia*, ſouth from *Martinico*, conſiſts of two mountains with pleaſant valleys, abounding with large trees; and well water'd; the air healthful, and the ſoil fruitful.

XI. Granada. XI. *Granada* in 12 deg. lat. is 24 leagues in compaſs, produces excellent tobacco, and is capable of producing all neceſſaries for life. The eaſt coaſt is ſafe, and navigable cloſe to the ſhore. The harbour lies in the middle of a great bay, and is defended by a ſtrong fort.

Theſe are the *French* plantations of any conſideration; ſome of which they conquer'd from the natives, others from *Spaniards*, and ſome from the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, but at different times.

SECT. II.

The DUTCH *Diſcoveries and Plantaions in* AMERICA.

The expeditions of Mahu. THERE being little or nothing new in the voyages of *Mahu*, or *Oliver van Noord*, who only ſtop'd at ſome places of *Brazile* or *La Plata*, in their way to the ſouth ſea, and their little skirmiſhes with the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, we ſhall not detain the reader, but only to ſay, that *Mahu* dying, about the the iſlands of *Cape Verd*, *Benninghen* aſſum'd his poſt of commodore over the five ſhips, with which *Mahu* had left *Rotterdam* in the year 1598. Sailing from *Cape Verd* to *Guinea*, and from thence to the coaſt of *La Plata*, they attempted the *Magellan* ſtreights, and having been almoſt ſtarv'd with cold and hunger, and juſt had it to ſay, that they enter'd the ſouth ſea; being diſpers'd, they ſought their way home again, having only 36 men left of 105. *Van Noord* taking much the ſame courſe, paſt from the ſtraits of *Magellan* thro' the ſouth ſea, and ſo to the *Eaſt Indies*, having perform'd the circumnavigation of the globe in three years. *Of* Van Noord.

Nor is there much of entertainment in the expedition of *Spilbergen* in 1614, only that, in the ſouth ſea, he burn'd ſome *Spaniſh* villages near S. *Maria* in *Chili*, afterwards, he fought a *Spaniſh* fleet commanded by *Mendoza*, and puting them to flight, ſunk moſt of them; and ſailing round by the *Philippin* iſlands return'd home, richly laden in the year 1617. *And* Spilbergen,

But *Corneliſzon Schouten* of *Hoorn* and *Jacob le Maire* having taken a new route to the ſouth ſea, we ſhall be more particular in it. Schouten *and* le Maire's *voyage*.

The ſtates-general having prohibited all others to paſs the cape of *Good Hope* eaſtward, or the *Magellan* ſtreights weſtward, except ſuch as were ſent by the *Eaſt-India* company; ſome merchants in *Amſterdam* thought to bite the company by finding a new way to the *Molucca* iſlands; and therefore fitted out two ſhips, under the direction of *Corneliſzon Schouten* of *Hoorn* and *Jacob le Maire*, who ſet ſail for *La Plata* in 1615. Hatris's Bibl. *Vol.* I. B. 1. *ch.* 8.

Having paſt the line, in the open ſea, about 4 deg. ſ. lat. they were ſurpriz'd with a ſudden ſhock given *Schouten*'s ſhip in the under part, and whilſt they were wondering what it could proceed from, there being no rock in their way; the ſea about them began to turn red, which was as ſurpriſing as the ſtroke: nor did they know the cauſe of either, till they came aſhore at *Port Deſſeado*, where having turn'd up the under part of the ſhip, they found a large horn, like an elephant's tooth, ſticking faſt in the bottom of her, of a ſolid ſubſtance quite throughout. It had pierced thro' three ſtout planks, and was above half a foot deep in timber, and as much appear'd on the outſide, where it was broken ſhort off; ſo that they perceiv'd ſome ſea monſter had puſh'd againſt the ſhip with that horn, and not being able

able to draw it out again, it had broken off, and occaſion'd the effuſion of blood that had colour'd the water. As they came along the coaſt of *Magellan land*, they had like to have loſt both their ſhips, near *Penguin* iſland, but by providence the next tide brought them off the rocks, upon which they had ſtuck for ſome hours; but ſoon after, the *Catch*, one of the two, taking fire upon being new tallow'd, was burn'd to aſhes; ſo that both the captains were aboard one ſhip; in which they ſet ſail from *Port Deſſeado* on the coaſt of *Magellanic Land*, and concealing their deſign, paſt the mouth of the ſtraits, and found themſelves in lat. 54, where they ſaw ſuch vaſt numbers of whales, that they were fain to trip to and again to keep clear of them. Seeing ſeveral iſlands thereabouts, they gave them new names, having no knowledge of the old ones. Thus they call'd a large iſland to the eaſtward of the ſouth eaſt cape of *Terra del Fuogo*, the *States Iſland*, another farther weſt, *Maurice of Naſſau*; and a cluſter of iſles thereabouts, the *Barneveld's Iſles*, and the ſouthmoſt point of the *Terra del Fuogo* they nam'd cape *Hoorn*.

Le Maire's Streights.

They ſail'd between the main land and the *States Iſland*, and that paſſage has been call'd ever ſince *Le Maire*'s ſtreights, and ſailing round the cape *Hoorn*, they found themſelves in the ſouth ſea in 59 deg. which is ſeven deg. difference from the entry to it at the ſtreights of *Magellan*. They gave names likewiſe to the iſlands about cape *Hoorn*, calling one the *Iſland of Dogs*, becauſe there were many ſuch upon it, but they never bark'd; to another they gave the name of the *Bottomleſs Iſland*, becauſe they could find no anchoring ground there; other two iſlands they call'd *Water Iſland* and *Flies Iſland*, for the abundance of water in the one, and ſwarms of flies in the other.

Upon one of theſe iſlands, *Le Maire* and one *Claeſzoon* went aſhore, and were receiv'd by the king, with all the abject ſubmiſſion imaginable, proſtrating himſelf before them, and putting the *Dutchmen*'s feet upon his neck, and giving them his crown curiouſly wrought of different colour'd feathers.

The entertainment in this iſland was ſomewhat odd. The women were not ſo modeſt as they ſhould have been, and the drink made after ſuch a manner, that if it were not for the honour of drinking with a king, I ſhould chuſe to drink water by myſelf rather than to taſte of his cup. The way of making the liquor was this; a great number of natives come into the king's preſence, having a green herb call'd *Cava*, ty'd about their middle; which (having made their honours to his majeſty) they all begin at once to chew, throwing the herb, after they have chew'd it, into a wooden trough; and putting water to it, they work it with their hands, and ſo bring it to the king upon their heads, preſenting it to him upon the knee.

Sailing from theſe iſlands, they purſu'd their voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, where for a recompence of having found an eaſier paſſage to the ſouth ſea, than that thro' the *Magellan* ſtreights, their ſhip was confiſcated by their own countrymen belonging to the *Eaſt India* company, and themſelves ſent home aboard other ſhips.

They loſe their ſhip & cargo, being confiſcated by their own countrymen.

L'Heremite *and* Scapenham *ſent by the* Dutch *to take* Spaniſh *ſhips.*

Jacque L'Heremite and *Scapenham* were ſent out by the *Dutch* in 1623 to cruize upon the ſouth ſea, and make prize of all the *Spaniſh* ſhips that came in their way. Theſe two, with 10 ſhips and 1600 men, held that ſame courſe, their countrymen had done of late, and took ſeveral ſhips before they arriv'd in the ſouth ſea. After they had doubled cape *Hoorn*, they coaſted along *Chili*, and *Peru*, taking and burning many rich ſhips belonging to *Spain*. But thoſe two admirals dying one after the other, the fleet made the tour of the globe, and ſo return'd.

Brewer's *expedition.*

The laſt *Dutch* expedition we ſhall take notice of to *South America* is that of capt. *Henry Brewer* in 1643, who having paſt *Le Maire*'s ſtreights, came to a fair bay on the ſouth coaſt of *Chili*, not far from *Caſtro*, where they landed, and gave the name of *Brewer*'s *Haven* to that bay. The night following, two great guns were fir'd from a hill near them; lieutenant *Ter-Bergen* being ſent to the top of the hill, with a party, found a village behind it, where the inhabitants had taken the allarm; ſo that as he approach'd, they fir'd upon him, and attack'd him with horſe and foot; but he behav'd ſo well, that he ſoon put them to flight, after they had loſt ſeveral men and horſes. *Ter-Bergen* purſu'd them to the woods, and had the good luck to ſhoot the *Spaniſh* commander *Iſſavera*, which ſo diſcourag'd the *Spaniards*, that they made little reſiſtance. He got a conſiderable treaſure hidden in the wood, the inhabitants having, upon the firſt ſight of the *Dutch* ſhips, carry'd their moſt portable riches thither; and having kill'd all the horſes he met with, and burn'd the village, he retir'd to his companions below the hill.

Setting ſail from *Brewer*'s *Haven*, they landed at *Caſtro* in lat. 44 and burnt the town, which was ſituated on a mountain ſurrounded with flowry meadows and pleaſant orchards. But making no ſtay there,

there, he coaſted along towards *Baldivia*; near *Oſorno* he took a *Spaniſh* ſhip, and was inform'd by the crew, that there was much gold in thoſe two places. But having taken ſome *Indian* priſoners, he found by them, that they mortally hated the *Spaniards* for the cruelties they had exercis'd towards them. *Brewer* entertained all the native *Chileſes*, whom he could perſuade to come to him, and they ſoon came to have a great liking for the *Dutch*. But *Brewer* dying before any thing could be made of this alliance, *Herkman* ſucceeded to his command, and made ſo much of the *Chileſes*, that they told him that they had, ſome time before that, demoliſh'd the colony at *Baldivia*, which conſiſted of 550 houſes well built, with fine churches and large ſtreets: that they had put the garriſon to the ſword, and had pour'd melted gold down the governor's throat, and had made a drinking cup of his skull, and trumpets of his ſhin bones.

Herkman making advantage of this account, made the greateſt invectives againſt the *Spaniards*, and told the *Chileſes*, that his countrymen had ſerv'd them after the ſame manner for their cruelty, and had thrown off their government; and that he and all his people were ready to join with them againſt the *Spaniards*; but withal he ſaid, it was neceſſary to build a ſtrong fort in *Baldivia* to enable them to withſtand the *Spaniards*, who might come from the other *Spaniſh* colonies in *Chili*, as alſo to make ſtore-houſes, and to fill them with proviſions of all kinds, in caſe of a ſiege. To all theſe the natives agreed, and immediately ſent great plenty of proviſions to their ſhips, and told them they might come aſhore when they would and they would conduct them to *Baldivia*, and aſſiſt them in every thing they wanted. But *Herkman* unluckily inquiring about gold, the natives ſeem'd thunder ſtruck, and from that moment alter'd their behaviour, and by degrees withdrew their favours, and at laſt would not come near the *Dutch*, nor give them any proviſions; ſo that *Herkman* not being able to reconcile them to him, nor in a condition to force them to obedience, left the coaſt of *Chili*, and in a ſhort time return'd home.

Whether the *Dutch* plantations, in *America*, are of ſo little conſideration (being only in the ſmall iſlands call'd the *Antilles*) that writers have not thought it worth their while, to give any particular hiſtory of their getting poſſeſſion of them, I cannot ſay; but I have not met with any who gives an account of their conqueſts or planting thoſe iſlands, unleſs any thing comes in occaſionally in ſome other voyages, and that very ſeldom; I ſhall therefore only touch upon their colonies, and give the ſituation of them as they lie in the map, with ſuch an account of the product of them, as I can find authority for. They are theſe following. Dutch colonies.

I. *Saba*, a ſmall iſland lying between *Porto Ricco* and S. *Chriſtopher's* in 18 deg. n. lat. at firſt planted by the *Dutch*, but for ſome time poſſeſt by the *Danes*, but afterwards recover'd by the firſt planters. It is like a rock in the ſea at a diſtance, but is fruitful and pleaſant. The ſea is ſo clear near this iſland, that one can ſee a ſtone at the bottom of it; and it abounds with the fiſh call'd *Bonito*. I. Saba. Ogilvy's America. Caribee Iſlands.

II. S. *Euſtace*, lies ſoutheaſt from *Saba*, in 17 deg. and a half. It is not above five leagues in compaſs, and yet has a colony of 1600 *Dutch*. Altho' it is naturally ſo ſtrong that a few people may be able to defend it againſt a great number, yet the *Dutch* built a ſtrong fort which commands the harbour. This colony makes great advantage of their tobacco, fowls, hogs and goats, which they ſell to neighbouring iſlands. In the middle of the iſland there is a mountain which is ſeen a good way at ſea, on the top of which the trees grow to a point like a piramid. It has a pleaſant vale all round it, but they are in great want of freſh water, ſo that they are forced to uſe rain water, which they preſerve in ciſterns. The air of this iſland is wholeſome, and the ſoil fruitful; but it is very ſubject to earthquakes, and terrible hurricanes, which are more frequent now than formerly. Theſe daſh ſhips to pieces in the road and harbour, throw down houſes, tear up trees by the roots, rend mountains, plunge great pieces of rocks into the ſea. But they have, generally, warning of them before they happen; for the ſea is for the moſt part calmer than ordinary before they come, the birds fly from the mountains in flocks, and ly flat upon the ground in the valleys; and there falls a rain of ſalt and bitter water. This iſland was ſeveral times taken, ſometimes by the *French* and ſometimes by the *Engliſh*, but it was reſtor'd to the *Dutch* by the peace of *Reſwick*. II. St. Euſtace.

III. S. *Vincent*, weſt from *Barbadoes*, is eight leagues long and ſix broad. It got this name from the *Spaniards* for having diſcover'd it upon the anniverſary of that ſaint. This iſland was well peopled by the *Caribeans* before the *Spaniards* poſſeſt it. It is a fruitful ſoil, and abounds with ſugar canes, &c. There are *Engliſh* in the iſland, but the greateſt part of it is poſſeſs'd by the *Dutch*. The *Momen* here is much eſteem'd, it grows like an apple tree, and the fruit is like a green cucumber, but of a delicate taſte. III. St. Vincent.

IV.

IV. Bon-air.

IV. The next iſland in the *Dutch* poſſeſſion is *Bon-air* iſland, eaſtward of cape *Roman*, in the great bay of *Terra Firma*, lat. 12 deg. About the middle of this iſland, on the ſouth ſide, is a good harbour; and the *Dutch* have a good garriſon in the iſland, and there are ſeveral villages, where the natives live very peaceably. Here is abundance of cotton trees, guiacum, maiz, and guinea corn, and a good ſalt pond. The iſland is about 17 leagues in compaſs.

V. Curaſſaw.

V. Weſt of *Bon-air* is *Curaſſaw*, the chief place of trade of all the *Dutch* colonies in *America*. It is about 13 leagues round, a good ſoil, and the country plain. Here they have large black cattle, and make good cheeſe for their own uſe, and to export. There are many plantations of ſugar; a hanſome town, with a citadel, and good harbour. The merchants are rich, and the *Dutch* allowing liberty of conſcience, the town is made up of all nations, and all religions, who drive a vaſt trade all over the *Weſt Indies*, particularly with *Terra Firma* for negroes and *Dutch* manufactures, which they ſell for pearls, jewels, indigo, cocoa, cochenile and tobacco. This is the ſeat of their governor, and court of juſtice.

VI. Aruba.

VI. The laſt iſland ſubject to the *Dutch* is *Aruba* or *Oruba* juſt before cape *Roman*, and weſt of *Curaſſaw* about 20 miles. The product of this iſland is ſheep, goats, and ſome ſugar.

These are all the *Dutch* plantations in *America*, and indeed it is ſtrange that ſuch a trading country as *Holland*, have not got more footing in the *Weſt Indies*, but I ſuppoſe, it was very much owing to their having been intent upon worming the *Engliſh*, and *Portugueſe* out of a good part of the trade, in the *Eaſt Indies*, which hinder'd them from minding that of the *Weſt*: but of that we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere.

Thus we have gone thro' all the parts of *America* both ſouth and north, as far as they have been as yet diſcover'd by *Europeans*, with any certainty; and as far as we could have authors of credit for vouchers, have given an account of their firſt diſcoveries, and of the difficulty the ſeveral *Europeans* found in planting them. If we have ſeem'd to have dwelt too long upon ſome conqueſts, and to curtail'd others, it was becauſe thoſe adventures in which we have inſiſted longeſt, ſuch as *Mexico* and *Peru*, were not only the firſt atchievements of the *Spaniards* who were the firſt diſcoverers of *America*; but they were likewiſe of the greateſt importance, as being the conqueſt of two vaſt monarchies; whereas the others, were but the ſubduing of petty provinces in reſpect of them. Beſides, that after having related all that was neceſſary to be ſaid in the conqueſt of thoſe great empires, a great deal of what we found in other wars with the *Indians*, was but a kind of repetition of adventures very like thoſe related before. And therefore, as we made it our ſtudy, according to the beſt of our skill, and materials and time allow'd us, to make this work both diverting and uſeful to the reader, we judg'd it proper to cut off a great many ſuperfluities, which have ſwell'd other books upon this ſubject, altho' we hope there is nothing worthy of being inſerted, that is left out, as far as it came to our knowledge.

All that now remains with regard to *America* is to give the *Natural* and *Moral* hiſtory of it; which we have reſerv'd to a diſtinct chapter, both to avoid repetions, and to give our readers a clearer idea of what is moſt worthy to be taken notice of, in the vaſt country hitherto deſcrib'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The NATURAL *and* MORAL Hiſtory *of* AMERICA.

In treating this ſubject, we ſhall chiefly follow *Acoſta* as being the author of greateſt credit, as having liv'd a long time in different parts of *America*, and one who writes with good judgment and modeſty, and therefore with him we ſhall divide this chapter into two diſtinct parts, *viz.* I. The *Natural* Hiſtory, and II. The *Moral*: but inſtead of the breaks he makes, by books and chapters, we ſhall content ourſelves with putting the different heads upon the margin.

SECT. I.

The Natural Hiſtory of AMERICA.

THE ancients, conſidering that the nearer the ſun approach'd to the different countries where they reſided, the greater the heat was in thoſe countries; and, on the contrary, that as the ſun remov'd farther ſouth, the cold weather increas'd; and finding, that in ſome parts of the world which they knew, (ſuch as *Greece*, *Italy* and *Spain*, and on the other ſide of the *Mediterranean*, *Barbary* and *Egypt*; or farther eaſt, in all that part of *Aſia* which lies northward of the tropic of *Cancer*) the heats were very exceſſive during the ſummer months, and the colds proportionable in the winter: This experience made them conclude, that, in thoſe parts of the globe, to which the ſun is, for the moſt part, perpendicular, there could be no living for fear of being burnt up; whereas, on the other hand, in the places near the poles, they thought it impracticable for any creatures to ſubſiſt for cold. For both reaſon and experience taught them, that the more direct or perpendicular the ſun-beams are to any place, they heat it the more; therefore if the weather was ſo hot during the ſummer in *Greece*, *Italy* or *Spain*, which are 17 deg. from the tropic of *Cancer*, the *ne plus ultra* of the ſun northward, what could they imagine muſt happen in thoſe countries lying between that tropic, and the line, and as far ſouth on the other ſide of the line? therefore *Ariſtole*, as quoted by *Acoſta*, * was of opinion that the torrid zone was not inhabited. To this *Ovid* alludes †

The torrid zone believ'd uninhabitable by the ancients.

* Nat. Hiſt. *of the* Indians *p.* 28. Eng. Ed. 1604.

† Met. lib 1.

Quarum quæ media eſt, non eſt habitabilis æſtu;
Nix tegit alta duas.——

The middle Zone thro' heat unpeopl'd lies;
Two more are hid in ſnow.——

And *Virgil* was of the ſame opinion ‖.

‖ Geo. l. 1.

Quinque tenent cœlum Zonæ: quarum una coruſco
Semper ſole rubens, & torrida ſemper ab igni:
Quam circum extremæ, dextra levaque, trahuntur,
Cerulea glacie concretæ, atque imbribus atris.
Has inter, mediamque, duæ mortalibus ægris
Munere conceſſæ Divum.

——Five Zones divide
The Heavens: of which one red with ſolar fire,
For ever burns: two, (one on either hand,
And on the globe's extremes,) round this are drawn,
Stiff with green ice, and black with low'ring clouds.
'Twixt thoſe and that which fills the middle ſpace,
Two, by th' indulgence of the Gods, were given
To weary mortals.——

Dr. TRAPP.

But the ground of this error in the ancients was a miſtake in fact. For they were of opinion that drought and heat were the neceſſary conſequences of the ſun's being near a country, (and indeed, for the moſt part it is ſo without the tropicks) yet experience ſhews the contrary in the torrid Zone, that is, 23 degrees from the equinoctial line both ſouth and north; for the countries north of the line, within the tropic of *Cancer*, have the cleareſt

The ground of this error.

cleareſt and faireſt weather, when the ſun is fartheſt ſouth, and ſo remov'd at the greateſt diſtance from them; and, on the contrary, they have the greateſt rain, ſnow and miſts, when the ſun is directly over their heads. Thus in *New Spain*, and in the iſlands of *Cuba*, &c. between the line and the tropic of *Cancer*, when the ſun moves towards the oppoſite tropic, the air is clear and calm, they have neither rain nor ſnow, the rivers fall, and ſome of them are quite dry; but as the ſun comes back again, and paſſes the line towards them, the rain and ſnow fall, the rivers ſwell and overflow their banks. The very ſame thing is known in *Peru*, which lies in the oppoſite part of the *torrid zone* towards the tropic of *Capricorn*; their faireſt weather is in the months of *June* and *July*, when the ſun is at the greateſt diſtance from them, being near the tropic of *Cancer*; and in *November* and *December*, when they have the ſun vertical to them, their rains and ſnows fall, and their lakes and rivers ſwell.

In the torrid zone it is faireſt weather in winter.

This is found by experience, in all the continent and iſles of *America* between the two tropicks, to be the common rule of heats and dry weather. But there are other parts of the earth where there are exceptions to this rule, particularly in *Africa*; the reaſon of which may be, either from the nature of the ſoil, or from accidental winds which drive the clouds to other places; but this we ſhall take notice of in its proper place.

But the caſe is quite different without the tropicks, both in *Europe* and *America:* cold and moiſture go together, as alſo heat and drought generally ſpeaking, in the places without the tropic of *Cancer*. Our rain and ſnow are in winter, and our dry weather in ſummer. The very ſame happens without the tropic of *Capricorn*, as in *Chili* and *Magellanic Land*, always remembring that our ſummer is their winter.

And indeed the difference is ſo viſible between *Chili* and *Peru* as to the rains, that our author ſays, * the *Spaniards* in *Peru* reckon the three ſummer months of *Nov. Dec.* and *Jan.* their winter, becauſe, altho' the ſun is directly over their heads, ſo that they have no ſhadow at noon, yet then is their ſeaſon for rain, and the overflowing of the rivers. Nor is there any country in the world, without the tropicks, that has more plenty of water, in lakes, rivers, and marſhes, than thoſe parts of *America* which ly within the *torrid zone*; which makes travelling in ſummer very difficult, and the rivers overflow their banks ſo frequently, about that time of the year, that thoſe who live near the river of *Plate*, forſeeing its overflowing, abandon their houſes, and taking proviſions for three months, live in canoes, or retire to places not overflow'd, till the river ſubſides. Altho' this river falls into the ſea beyond the tropic of *Capricorn*, near *Buenos Ayres* in 36 deg. ſ. lat.; yet it takes its riſe (as well as that of the *Amazons*, otherwiſe call'd *Maranon*, and the river *Magdalena*, or *Rio Grande*) between the equinoctial line, and the ſouth tropic: and every one of theſe rivers is greater than any that were ever known in *Europe*, *Aſia* or *Africa:* that of *la Plata* being larger than the *Nile*, *Ganges* and *Euphrates* put together; and one branch of it takes its riſe in *Peru*. The river of *Amazons*, or *Maranon*, likewiſe flows from *Peru*, and is, like the other, ſo encreas'd by a number of ſmall rivers falling into it, that one may ſail in the middle of it without ſeeing land on either ſide. It croſſes the whole large country of the *Amazons*, and falls into the ocean at the line. The *Rio Grande* falls into the ocean in the north part of *Terra Firma*, and enters it with ſuch force, that for 10 leagues together, it does not mix with the water of the ſea.

* Acoſta l. II. *ch.* 5.

Beſides theſe and other conſiderable rivers, between the tropics, there are ſeveral lakes in the *torrid zone*, ſuch as, *Parime*, under the line, *Caſipa* in 5 deg. n. lat. beſides many others; particularly one very remarkable in *Peru*, call'd *Titicaca*, in the province of *Callao*, 5. lat. 15 deg. which is 35 leagues long, and 15 broad, and is ſupply'd by ten large rivers falling into it. The water of this lake is neither ſalt nor brackiſh, but yet is not fit to be drank. They have ſeveral floating villages or iſlands, upon this lake artificially made, of a ſort of reeds which the *Indians* call *Tortora*, which ſerve them for abundance of uſes. There are a ſort of brutiſh people call'd *Uros*, who making boats of this *Tortora*, tie them together, and ſo faſtening them to ſome rock in the lake, a parcel of them live together in thoſe floating habitations, and, at their pleaſure, ſhift places, and remove their iſland to a more convenient corner. This lake is well ſtor'd with fiſh and fowl, the great ſubſiſtance of thoſe wild people who inhabit the lake, and of thoſe more civilized, who live near it.

Lake Titicaca.

Altho' *Titicaca* is ſupply'd with ſo many rivers, it has but one ſmall vent out, which runs with great force for about 50 leagues, and then forms another lake. The depth of the water in this outlet, and the violence of the current, will not allow a bridge to be made over it; ſo that the *Indians* not only paſs themſelves but carry over goods, and men, who are not ſo expert at ſwiming as they are, in two or three different manners; ſometimes they

put the perſon or quantity of goods in a basket, to which they tie a rope, and ſwiming over firſt themſelves, draw the basket after them to the other bank. At other times, they make a wadd of ſtraw, or ſome light ſtuff, and getting a ſtride upon it, take the party, who wants to paſs, behind them, and then paddle themſelves over with a ſhort board. Or elſe they make a kind of float of gourds or pumpions ty'd together, upon which they place a number of perſons, or a quantity of goods, and, a parcel of them getting hold of ſome ropes, and ſwiming croſs, tow the float after them, whilſt others ſwim behind, and puſh it forward.

Many lakes, and great rivers in the torrid zone.

There are many other rivers and lakes in *America* between the two tropicks, as may be ſeen in our maps, on both ſides of the line, that is, thro' all *Peru*, the *Amazon* country, and *Brazil*, on the ſouth ſide; and in *Popayan*, *New Granada*, and all the *Terra Firma* on the north; and thoſe rivers the largeſt of any in the world; which ſhows ſufficiently the error of the antients in believing that the *torrid zone* was a parch'd up deſert, without water, and conſequently uninhabited.

The reaſon of the rain falling moſt in ſummer near the line.

I don't know whether there is any other philoſophical reaſon to be aſſign'd for the frequent rains in this part of the globe, in ſummer, than that which our author has given for it, *viz.* that the perpendicular, or vertical ſun has ſo great a force, that it exhales the vapours in ſuch quantities, that the clouds are not able to hold them, but they muſt neceſſarily fall down almoſt as ſoon as exhal'd. This he proves, by one obſervation, which indeed ſeems to be of ſome weight. That the greateſt rains fall there in the afternoon, when the ſun is in its utmoſt ſtrength. And therefore he ſays, that travellers in that country, begin their journey early in the morning, and travel till an hour after mid-day, and then reſt to be free from the rains, which generally fall after that hour. And he illuſtrates this obſervation by the known experiment of a candle, which, if the wike or cotton is too large, melts the wax or tallow, ſo that it runs down the ſides of the candle without being evapourated by the heat; whereas, if the cotton be in a juſt proportion, the flame conſumes the wax or tallow by degrees without its running down by too ſtrong heat.

Nor is this burning *zone*, as the ancients call'd it, ſo exceeding hot as they imagin'd it muſt be, from the conſtant nearneſs of the ſun. Our author ſays * that when he paſt the line, being in the month of *March*, when the ſun was directly over their heads, he was afraid, from the accounts he had read in ancient authors, that he ſhould have been roaſted: but he found himſelf agreeably diſappointed, and found it ſo cold that he went and ſate in the ſun to warm himſelf, and laugh at *Ariſtotle*.

* Acoſta B. II. *ch.* 9.

Under the line it is not exceſſively hot.

The reaſons of this temperature of the air, as he obſerves are chiefly theſe two, I. The frequent rains, formerly mention'd which cool the air; and II. The equal diviſion of day and night. For, altho' the direct rays of the ſun are undoubtedly very ſtrong in the regions between the tropicks, yet this influence laſts but a ſhort while, and then the earth has as long to cool in the night, as it had to be heated in the day. For experience ſhews that a ſmall fire long continued, heats more, than a greater which laſts but a ſhort time; thus the climate without the tropicks, on both ſides the mediterranean, for inſtance, or farther north: altho' the ſun has not ſo great force in his oblique darting of his rays, as in thoſe places to which he is vertical; yet conſidering that he warms much longer in the day time, and is a much ſhorter while abſent in the night without the tropicks than within, the length of the days, and the more quick returns of day, make up the leſs degree of heat, by the oblique falling of the ſun's rays.

Reaſons of the torrid zone's being temperate.

But this temperature is not the ſame thro' all the *torrid zone*, and it cannot be deny'd, the heats in the regions of *Africa* within the tropicks, are much more inſupportable than thoſe under the ſame parallels in *America*; and even in *America* itſelf, there is a great difference between two countries of the ſame lat. Thus there is a difference between the heat along the 10th deg. of lat. in *Africa*, and the parts of *Terra Firma* in the ſame lat. in *America*: in the *African* ſide, the heats are more intolerable, and the natives all black; whereas, in the other, it is very comfortable living, and the natives of a better colour. Thus again, there is a difference between *Brazile* and *Peru* on the ſame continent, and in the ſame lat. many parts of *Brazil* being uncomfortably hot, and thoſe in *Peru* very temperate. Conſidering then theſe, and many other exceptions, to the preceding obſervations, of the temperature of the *torrid zone*, there muſt be ſome other cauſes aſſign'd for this difference.

Exceptions from the general rule.

The reaſons given by our author for the variety mention'd, are, the neighbourhood of ſome places to the ſea; the ſituation of the places with regard to their horizontal height; and the nature and property of the different winds. I. Thoſe places near the ocean are cooller than places of the ſame latitude at a diſtance from it; becauſe the very nature of water is to cool the air; and it is obſervable that it is always colder at ſea than at land;

The reaſons of the difference.

I. The neighbourhood of the ocean.

land; ſo that thoſe places in the burning zone in *America*, being between the north and ſouth ſeas, the laſt of which is much larger than the eaſt ſea, on the other ſide of *Africa*, that may make the difference between them. But as this is not an univerſal rule, but there are exceptions to it, particularly thoſe two countries above mention'd, *Peru* and *Brazil*, our author gives a

II. *The Horizontal heighth.*

IId Reaſon for the difference of heat and cold, in diſtinct places in the ſame lat. *viz.* their horizontal heighth. It is a moſt univerſal obſervation, in all climates, that the tops of high hills are colder than the valleys and lower grounds. Thus there is ſnow upon the alpes, and other mountains in *Europe*, long after it comes to be temperate in the lower countries. And this proceeds not only from the leſs reverberation of the rays of the ſun on the mountains, as having leſs plain to reflect them; but there is this additional reaſon for it, that the region of the air is naturally colder, the greater diſtance it is from the ground; ſo that what is call'd the middle region of the air is colder than the lower region.

We ſhall not enter into a philoſophical diviſion of the air into three regions; nor enquire whether the third region is warmer than the ſecond: it is ſufficient for our purpoſe that it is allow'd by all, nor can it be contradicted, without philoſophizing away common ſenſe and experience, that the loweſt ground is the warmeſt, unleſs there be ſome other accidental cauſe which alters the caſe. So that the reaſon why ſome parts of *America* in the ſame lat. are cold, and others hot, proceeds many times from the one's being horizontally higher than the others: and altho' the high mountains ſuch as the *Cordilleras* in *Peru* and *Chili*, and the other great hills throughout this new world, are too high to make living upon them practicable; yet the riſing ground from the coaſt is ſo temperate in moſt places of the *torrid zone*, that there is very comfortable living in it, unleſs ſome accidental quality of the earth itſelf make it otherwiſe.

IIId. *The different winds.*

But the IIId reaſon aſſign'd by our author for the coldneſs of ſome parts of the globe, in this *zone*, above others is, the breezes, or the different qualities of the winds which blow in ſome places above others. Thus he obſerves that in *Brazile*, *Ethiopia* and *Paraguen* it is inſupportably hot, for want of thoſe cooling breezes, which refreſh the air, in places of the ſame latitude with thoſe, on both ſides of the line. And he affirms, that in *Peru*, the nights are not ſo hot as in *Spain*. Thus in the province of *Callao*, the leaſt ſhade defends from the heat, and you are as cool out of the ſun, as in places 20 deg. farther from the line. Nor is it only at certain times that you have ſuch cool breezes; for, as this author ſays, theſe winds reign there the whole ſummer, and hinder the groſs vapours from gathering together which, in *Europe*, occaſion thoſe heavy and troubleſome heats which laſt the whole night, and make the air as if it came from a furnace. Hence it comes, that the mornings are the only tolerable hours for refreſhment, in other places, but in *America*, where thoſe breezes predominate, it is comfortable even in the hotteſt time of the day, and all the night over.

But let people philoſophize as much as they will, I own myſelf ſo unfaſhionable, as to attribute the temperature of the air in different regions to the wiſdom and goodneſs of the ALMIGHTY CREATOR, who at the beginning provided for every climate, what he ſaw moſt convenient for ſuch as he deſign'd ſhould inhabit the different parts of the earth. And altho' GOD works by ſecond cauſes, and that many natural reaſons of things which appear very odd, have been diſcover'd by many, who, in different ages, have given into the ſearch of nature; yet I am firmly perſuaded, that PROVIDENCE muſt be the *Dernier Reſort* for many *Phænomina* not to be diſcover'd by philoſophy; and, without queſtion, they who are truly philoſophers will be of my opinion, and, with the royal pſalmiſt thankfully ſay, *O* LORD! *How manifold are thy works? in wiſdom haſt thou made them all*, &c. This our author was ſo ſenſible of, that he reſolves all into the great efficient cauſe, after he had taken ſome pains to account for the different ſorts of winds, and of the different effects they have, upon the places where they blow; and after he had ſhewed that the eaſt wind, which is commonly hot and troubleſome in *Spain*, is the wholeſomeſt and cooleſt in *Murria*; and this could not proceed from the different regions of the heavens by which they are call'd, and ſo take their qualities from thence, becauſe, as he well obſerves, a wind from the north in one part muſt blow the ſame way, in all other places north of that, if it came from that part of the heavens; which is contrary to common experience; for there are north winds in *Africa* for inſtance, at the ſame time that it blows ſouth or eaſt in ſeveral places in the ſame longitude on the *Mediterranean*, or on this ſide of it. Nor is it agreeable to fact, that the winds take their qualities (without exception) from the ſoil thro' which they blow, becauſe we find, in the ſame region, where the vapours and exhalations are of one ſort, and quality, there are winds which produce quite different and contrary effects.

Therefore

Therefore our author goes to the true fountain, to lodge the cauſe of them, which he does not know; and aſcribes the reaſon of ſuch different effects to HIM, *who brings the winds out of his treaſures*, and he owns, that *the wind bloweth where it liſteth, thou heareſt the ſound thereof, but canſt not tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth.*

In the torrid zone the eaſterly winds reign the whole year.

But there is one general obſervation made by this author, and confirm'd by the practice of all that ſail to the *Weſt-Indies*; which is, that, in the *torrid zone*, the winds are eaſterly thro' the whole year: and therefore they who go to thoſe parts of *America*, do not return home by the ſame way that they go thither, altho' it is the neareſt, and moſt ſecure, if the wind would ſerve them. So that, as he ſays, in going from *Spain* to the *Weſt-Indies*, they find it difficult to paſs the *Canaries* becauſe of the different winds that blow near thoſe iſlands, but having paſt them, they ſail, with a weſterly wind till they get beyond the tropic; and as ſoon as they enter the burning zone, they are ſure of an eaſterly wind; inſomuch that they need not touch their ſails, the whole voyage after, if they are bound for any port between the tropicks. When any fleets come to the *Caribee* iſlands, with this eaſterly wind, then they ſeparate according to the places they are bound for, to accompliſh which, the ſame wind ſerves them all, whether they ſail ſouth, weſt, or north. But when they return to *Spain*, or to any other part of *Europe*, they avoid all that ſea, which leads to the *Canaries*, and ſail to the *Havana*, where the current helps them out, beyond the tropic of *Cancer*, thro' the *Bahama* iſlands, where they meet with the weſterly winds, to carry them to the *Azores*; which makes the navigation home, longer and more uncertain. Thus in going to the *Eaſt Indies*, after they paſs the *Canaries*, they are oblig'd to ſail with an eaſterly wind, croſs the line, and ſo, in a ſouth courſe, till they come to about 27 deg. ſouth latitude; and do not attempt to make for the cape of *Good Hope* till they be without the *torrid zone*, and ſo have the benefit of weſterly winds, which they have not within it. And this makes the difference between the navigation to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. To the *Weſt Indies*, it is eaſier to go than to return, becauſe from the *Canaries*, you can eaſily reach the tropic, and then your courſe is weſterly; but you muſt coaſt along, in returning, till you get out of the *burning zone*, which is a long paſſage, and takes more time to perform it. Whereas it is juſt the reverſe in going to the *Eaſt Indies*. Your paſſage thither is tedious, being oblig'd, upon the account of the eaſterly winds, to make a right angle, inſtead of a ſtraight line, between the tropic of *Cancer*, and the cape of *Good Hope*; but in returning, the eaſterly wind carries you in a ſtraight line to *Cape Verd* from *Good Hope*, ſo that you run the diagonal of the courſe you had from the tropic of *Cancer* to that cape in the voyage to the *Indies*. The ſame advantage of the wind, they have who ſail from the *American* coaſt of the ſouth ſea to the *Eaſt Indies*; whereas in coming back to *New Spain* or *Peru* from *China*, they are oblig'd to run up as high as *Japan*, to catch the weſt wind, and ſo ſteer their couſe to *Calephornia*.

Acoſta b. III. c. 4.

But altho' the eaſt wind reigns, as our author terms it, in the *torrid zone*, it is not to be underſtood, as if no other wind was ever to be known there; or that the eaſterly winds are always due eaſt; for there are ſometimes ſouth and north winds but rarely; and thoſe they call eaſterly are ſuch as partake of the eaſt, excluſive of the weſt but may decline from preciſe eaſt to either ſouth or north. So that the wind at ſoutheaſt or northeaſt, or ſome points farther ſouth or north do not contradict the general propoſition.

The reaſon of eaſterly winds between the tropicks.

In giving the reaſon why the eaſterly wind predominates in this *zone*, his argument is this. That the diurnal motion (no matter whether of the earth, or the celeſtial bodies) is the cauſe, why the elements likewiſe move. This motion, for inſtance, of the air, is quicker near the line than it is at a greater diſtance from it; as the motion of a wheel near the center, is quicker than at or near the circumference; and thus the air moving with greater force towards the weſt near the line, than at a diſtance from it, occaſions the wind to blow from the eaſt unleſs ſome other accident give it a turn.

But whatever reputation *Acoſta* may have, we ſhall not be afraid of doing him wrong, by naming another author, and inſerting his account of the winds being eaſterly, for the moſt part between the tropicks. This author is Dr. *Varenius*, in his *Compleat Syſtem of General Geography, improv'd and illuſtrated by* Sir *Iſaac Newton* and Dr. *Jurin*, tranſlated by Mr. *Dugdale* and publiſh'd this year. He ſays, * "The principal and general cauſe "(of the wind,) is the ſun itſelf, which, "by its firery beams, rarifies and attenu- "ates the air, eſpecially that which is "juſt under it; and the air rarify'd takes "more room: and hence it is that the air "thruſts forward the air next to it; and "the ſun going round from eaſt to weſt, "the preſſure is made weſtward, as ap- "pears in moſt places of the *torrid zone*, "and every where there, on the ſea, a "continual eaſt wind blows: and the air "rarify'd

1732.

* Varen. Compl. Syſt. *Vol.* I. *p.* 474.

" rarify'd preſſes weſtward within the " tropicks. There is a preſſure indeed all " round, but the air is not admitted to " other points, the preſſure not being ſo " great as toward the weſt, becauſe the " ſun moves that way: but in our cli- " mate, 'tis ſo only, for the moſt part, be- " fore and after ſun riſing, where there are " no other winds that blow ſtronger and " overcome it. And ſome places, or other " points, are more diſpos'd to receive " this force than others, and therefore " when the air is thruſt moſt to the north, " the wind is ſaid to blow from the ſouth, " and ſo of other winds. And 'tis to be " obſerved, that when this is to any " point between the four cardinals" [*viz.* eaſt, ſouth, weſt and north] " then the " wind ſeems different to different coun- " tries. For tho' the point, in reſpect of " the place the ſun is vertical to, be but " one, yet it is different in reſpect of other " places. And thus one and the ſame " cauſe makes a wind that has different " names in different places."

The ſame author, ſpeaking of *general* and *particular* winds, ſays * " Theſe ge- " neral winds are found only between the " tropicks round the earth, except in ſome " places, where they are ſeven deg. be- " yond the tropicks; and they are ever " from the eaſt, or from collateral points, " as ſouth eaſt and north eaſt the whole " year round, yet not always with the ſame " degree of force in all thoſe places but " they are hinder'd in ſome places more, " in others leſs. They are moſt conſtant " in the *Pacific Sea*, *viz.* that part of it " which lies between the tropicks; ſo " that the ſhips which come from the " *Aquapulco*, a port in *New Spain* in " *America*, to the *Philippine Iſlands*, " that is from eaſt to weſt, often ſail " three months, without ever changing " or ſhifting their ſails; having a conſtant " eaſt or north eaſt wind: nor did any " ſhip ever yet periſh in that vaſt voy- " age of 1650 miles. And therefore the " ſailors think they may ſleep there " ſecurely. ——— And thus 'tis alſo in " ſailing from the cape of *Good Hope* to " *Brazil* in *America*; in the middle of " which voyage lies the iſle of St. *Helena* " (to which they commonly go, as they " return from *India* to *Europe*, and lies " about 350 miles from the ſaid cape:) " which is run oftentimes in 16 days, and " ſometimes in 12, as the general winds " are more or leſs ſtrong; and the ſeamen " are as ſecure when they come to the " ſame parallel of lat. with St. *Helena* " (for the cape is beyond the ſouth tro- " pic;) their chiefeſt care is to obſerve, " that they do not paſs by the iſland, as " 'tis very ſmall, for if they paſs it but " the eighth part of a mile, they can " not return to it for the eaſterly wind."

* Ibid. p. 484.

But both this author and *Acoſta* tell us that there are exceptions to this general rule, for upon the coaſt either of *Africa* or *America*, different cauſes may produce different winds; but at ſea this is the common obſervation, unleſs ſome accident make a change.

Acoſta likewiſe mentions ſtrange effects of the wind in ſeveral parts of the *Indies*, particularly at *Pariacaca* in *Peru*, which is a high mountain, one of the *Andes*, where all that aſcend are ſuddenly taken with ſuch a ſickneſs as thoſe are affected with who are ſick at ſea. And the only remedy is to ſtop their mouths, noſes, and ears, as much as poſſible till they get over a certain place from whence this air or wind flows; and our author believes it is becauſe it is too fine and ſubtil, proceeding from the heighth of the mountain. In other places of the ſame *Andes* the wind kill'd people without any violence, but by the very quality of it; and then preſerv'd their bodies without being corrupted, as happen'd to thoſe who dy'd in *Almagro*'s expedition to *Chili*.

Having thus ſaid what is neceſſary of the air or wind, with reſpect to the *torrid zone*, and ſhew'd that the places in that climate are not ſo intolerable for heat as might be imagin'd upon account of their nearneſs to the ſun; we ſhall only ſay in general of the reſt of *America*, that the air is more or leſs temperate according to the nature of the ſoil, or their horizontal heighth. Thus that part of *New Spain* or *Mexico*, which lies without the tropic, as likewiſe *New Mexico*, which is farther north, are temperate climates; only that the latter is ſometimes ſubject to hurricanes, which are occaſion'd by the cavities of the earth containing ſuch particles of matter as getting vent with ſome reſiſtance produce a ſtorm or hurricane, but if they meet with a ſtrong reſiſtance cauſe an earthquake.

Cauſes of wind in general.

But not to be too tedious on this ſubject, we ſhall from *Varenius*, give the different cauſes of winds in general, which will account for all the ſorts of them not only in *America*, but thro' the whole globe. Of theſe he reckons theſe ſeven cauſes.* I. " The ſun, " as we have already quoted him upon another account. " 2. The exhalations from ſea " and land, that are rais'd plentifully, " and with ſome force; but they do not " cauſe a wind, till they begin to rarify. " 3. The rarefaction and attenuation of " the clouds, great or ſmall, made by the " ſun and other ſtars, or by the ſulphu- " reous particles of fire enclos'd in a place. " 4. The melting of ſnow and ice, eſpeci- " ally

* *Vol.* I. *p.* 474.

"ally that which lies on high places: for "they are not all melted. 5. The riſing "and various ſituation of the moon and "ſtars. 6. The condenſation or rarefac-"tion of the air and vapours by heat and "cold. 7. The deſcending of clouds "that thereby preſs the air below."

And, as he adds, "The conſideration "of the *Æolipile*" [that is a machine of braſs or copper or other mettal in the ſhape of a bottle, with a long ſmall neck turn'd at the top like the head of a crane, with a ſmall hole in it] "is of "uſe for underſtanding the cauſes of the "wind; for, the water inclos'd in it, be-"ing heated with fire, ſends out of the "ſmall hole of it, a ſtrong ſteam of va-"pours, like a wind blowing, which con-"tinues till the water is all exhal'd. The "groſſer air that ſurrounds ſerves inſtead "of the ſmall hole [in that machine;] "and ſometimes it is ſtrengthen'd by "other vapours and little clouds behind "it, and ſometimes it is condenſed, and "ſo makes way for the air to move to "that point."

From all which it follows, that as the different parts of *America* have more or leſs ſun; more or fewer exhalations; greater or leſs rarefaction of the clouds; a greater or leſs quantity of ice or ſnow; the moon or ſtars differently ſituated; the air and vapours more or leſs condens'd by heat and cold; or finally the air below more or leſs preſt by the deſcending clouds, the winds are either, higher or lower, more or leſs frequent, and more or leſs refreſhing or boiſtrous. And thus much of the air.

Of the element of water.

The next thing to be conſider'd in the natural hiſtory is the water, which, with *Acoſta*, we ſhall divide into theſe following. 1. The ſea. 2. Lakes. 3. Springs and Fountains, and 4. Rivers.

Varen. Geo. *Vol.* I. *p.* 178. 181, *&c.*

It has been demonſtrated by philoſophers, particularly by *Archimedes*, that the ſuperficies of all liquid bodies is ſpherical; and conſequently that the ſea is not higher than the land, which *Varenius* proves from experience.

Of the ſea.

1. Becauſe if the land were lower than the ſea, there would always be a flux towards the land, it being natural for water to deſcend; but we ſee the contrary, in fair weather, upon the coaſt, where there is no flux toward the land, but what is occaſion'd by the tide. 2. If the ſea, at a diſtance from the ſhore, were higher than the land, it would be ſeen at a greater diſtance than if it were ſpherical; but experience ſhews, that when we come from the inland parts nearer the ſhore, we diſcover by little and little the more remote parts of the ſea, and the nearer we approach the ſhore, the farther we can ſee on the ocean; therefore the remote parts of the ocean are not elevated above the ſea coaſt, but upon a level with it, and the land. 3. Altho' by ſuch accurate inſtruments as are now us'd, it is an eaſy matter to find the altitude of a mountain or tower, above the places where the obſervations are taken, yet no ſailors ever could make out the altitude of the main ocean, above the ſea coaſt. 4. The ſea not being higher than the iſlands, many of which are in the main ocean, is a demonſtration that the ſea has the ſame center with the land. 5. The waves on the ocean naturally diffuſe themſelves into a ſmooth ſurface, which ſhews that the water cannot ſtand in a heap. 6. If the ſea were higher than the land, there would be a conſtant flux from the ocean into the rivers (which are for the moſt part lower than the land) whereas we find the rivers flow into the ſea, except at the turn of tide, which has no relation to the heighth of the ſea.

From theſe experiments, which are obvious to the meaneſt capacity, it appears that our fancying the ſea, at a diſtance, to be higher than at the ſhore, is a deception of the ſight; and the very ſame appearance a row of pillars, or trees upon a horizontal plain of any length, will make to the eye; the fartheſt ſeeming higher altho' in reality upon a level.

This agrees exactly with what *Acoſta* ſays of the ſtreights of *Magellan*, where the north and ſouth ſeas, (which are the two that are known to flow on both ſides of *America*, and perhaps meet in the north as they have been found to do in the ſouth at *Magellan* and *Le Maire*'s ſtreights,) flow equally into the ſtreights the one from eaſt to weſt, and the other from weſt to eaſt, and meet in the ſtreights, only with this difference; that the ſouth ſea water has run but 30 leagues, and that of the north, or rather eaſt ſea, is 70 leagues from the entry, when the two waters meet, which may be occaſion'd from the greater breadth of the entry on the eaſt ſide, and conſequently the greater quantity of water continually flowing in. Acoſta *p.* 159.

We have already ſpoken of the conſtant eaſterly wind between the tropicks; but *Varenius* obſerves * that the whole ocean continually moves from eaſt to weſt. And thus, he makes the *Flux* of the ſea, to be only the ſtronger preſſure of the water towards the weſt, and what is call'd the *Reflux* to be the leſſer preſſure. So that, according to him, the *Flowing* and *Ebbing* of the ſea is ſtill agreeable to the general motion of it to the weſt; and therefore he thinks it were more properly call'd the *Swelling* and *Swaging* of the ſea. For he ſays, † "The ſea perpetual-"ly flows from eaſt to weſt, and only "*ſeems* to flow back again, when its more "violent

* Varen. Geo. *Vol.* I. *p.* 230.

Of the Flux and Reflux of the ſea.

† Ib. *p.* 237.

" violent force is ſlacken'd and waſted, " which a little before, was quicken'd and " augmented. But this is call'd the *Re-* " *flux*, becauſe the ſea ſeems on ſhores and " in bays, to approach and retire by fits: " which is not owing to the quality of " the motion itſelf, but to the ſituation " of the ſhores and bays, which requires " that the water ſhould fall back to " the contrary point: but the ſettling of " the ſea in general, does not proceed from " the ſituation of the ſhores, but from " the quality of the motion of the " water."

And that the ſea moves from eaſt to weſt both in *flowing* and *ebbing*, or, as he chuſes to call it, in *ſwelling* and *ſwaging*, he endeavours to prove from theſe two following obſervations. I. " In the main " ocean, between the tropicks, there is no " other motion perceiv'd than this, from " eaſt to weſt. II. In ſtreights that join " the parts of the ocean, and run directly " eaſt and weſt, as the ſtreights of *Ma-* " *gellan*, &c. the ſea riſes and ſettles in " 12 hours time; *but in ſettling, it does* " *not flow back out of the ſtreights to the* " *eaſtward; but is carry'd by other paſ-* " *ſages, ſtill to the weſtward:* which is " a plain ſign, that this ebbing and flow- " ing are not two contrary motions, but a " modification of the general motion from " eaſt to weſt," But then he gives this caution. " It is to be underſtood, that " when we ſay this motion from eaſt to " weſt, we do not mean punctually, the " cardinal points, but include all their p. 239. " collaterals, even to the north and ſouth " poles, towards which, however, the " motion is weaker."

But as the flux and reflux of the ſea, and the variety of it according to the different places, and concurring circumſtances, have difficulties in them, which I ſhall not pretend to explain, I ſhall leave the reader who is curious to be inform'd of thoſe phænomena to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, (1) Dr. *Gregory*, (2) and Mr. *Halley* (3) in the places mark'd on the Margin. It is agreed upon by all, that the moon is the occaſion of this extraordinary event, and therefore all tides are calculated from the moons age; but that other things concurring alter the tides in different places is undoubtedly certain. Thus in ſome places there are perpetual currents, which have great influence upon the tides: and not to go from *America*, in the *South Sea*, the ſea flows from ſouth to north along the ſhores of *Peru*, which is occaſion'd by the ſouth winds which blow there, altho' far out at ſea, they have neither thoſe winds nor a north tide. The ſame courſe is obſerv'd along the coaſt of *Brazil*; which is occaſion'd by the reſiſtance made by the coaſt againſt the general motion weſtward, formerly mention'd; ſo that it runs north, as finding a more open chanel that way. Some ſay the tide ſets eaſterly at *Le Maire*'s ſtreights but that is not certain.

(1) Prin. Math. B. 3. Prop. 24. (2) Phys. Geom. Aſtron. B. 4. Pro. 64. 65. (3) Diſſert *in* Ph. Tran. N° 226.

Having had occaſion to ſpeak of ſeveral ſorts of fiſh in the *Indian* ſeas, when we mention'd the different parts of *America*, we ſhall not take up much time with them here. There are whales in ſeveral parts of the *American* ſeas; particularly where there are ſtreights, as at *Le Maire*'s, *Magellan*'s thoſe of *Florida*, and in the north ſeas about *Hudſon*'s ſtreights. Not to ſay any thing of the manner of the *Europeans* fiſhing for whales, ſo commonly known, *Acoſta* gives an account of the *Indians* catching them, which is ſurprizing. An *Indian* goes in his canoe, upon the coaſt of *Florida*, where there is great plenty of them; when he ſpies one, he comes up along the ſide of it, and leaping upon its neck, ſits there aſtride, having his canoe faſt by a ſtring, then watching his opportunity, he thruſts a ſharp ſtake into the whale's noſtril, which he drives in with another ſtake, which he has ready at hand. The Pain of this, makes the monſter bound, and beat the ſea in a furious manner, and ſometimes he dives with great force, but immediately riſes again, the *Indian* ſtill keeping his hold. Then he fixes the other ſtake in the oppoſite noſtril, and gets into his canoe, having firſt ty'd his cord to the ſtake, and ſo goes aſhore, leaving the whale to rage and bounce, till being weary, and no longer able to endure the water, he comes aſhore of his own accord, and then a great number of *Indians* get about him, and cut his fleſh in pieces, which they dry, and beat into powder, and uſe it for meat, I ſhall not mention the cod-fiſh of which the *Europeans* make ſuch profit out of the *Indian* ſeas, and of which ſome of them might make much more, if it were not their own faults.

Of fiſh.

Indian *manner of killing whales.*

At the entry into the bay of *Mexico*, and among the *Barlovente* iſlands, *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, &c. There is a fiſh which they call *Manati*, that has teats, and nouriſhes her young ones with milk, and eats graſs, but lives in the water; and the fleſh of it taſtes and looks like veal, ſo that our author ſcrupled to eat of it upon a friday.

Manati.

They have likewiſe large *Sharks*, which they call *Tiburons*, ſo ravenous, that our author ſays he ſaw a butcher's great knife, a great iron hook, and a piece of a cows head, with one whole horn, drawn out of the gullet of a ſhark, which was taken at port S. *Dominic*. And he tells a piece of diverſion they had there, of hanging a quarter of a horſe upon a ſtake driven

Tiburons.

driven into the water, ſo that the carrion did not reach the water by many hands breadths; but the ſmell gather'd a multitude of ſharks to the place, and leaping above the water, cut the bones of the horſe's leg with their teeth, as if it had been the ſtalk of a lettuce.

Rambos. There are ſmall fiſhes call'd *Rambos*, which follow the *Tiburons*, and live of their off-falls, nor can they drive them away.

The flying Fiſh. The flying fiſh are common in thoſe ſeas, which are ſupported in the air by two fins in the ſhape of wings, almoſt like the wing of a batt, and are ſaid to fly, when purſued by their enemy the *Ducade* fiſh, till their wings grow dry, and then they fall into the ſea again, and ſometimes into ſhips or boats, if they come in their way. But this flight may be better call'd a ſpring in the air, for they generally do it with the one motion with which they come out of the water.

Croco-dile. In the north parts of the ſouth ſea they have *Lezards* or *Caymans*, which our author ſays are *Crocodiles*, and are found at the mouths of hot rivers. They come aſhore for prey; and what they take alive, they carry into the water to drown it; but cannot eat it there, becauſe of the figure of their throat, which would quickly choak them if they ſhould ſwallow water. Theſe creatures, as our author ſays, have frequent battles with tygers, the tail of the former threſhing the tyger, whom he endeavours to puſh by force into the water, whilſt the other makes uſe of his paws to drive the *Cayman* from the ſhore; and ſometimes one prevails, and ſometimes the other. He likewiſe tells a ſtory of an *Indian*'s getting the better of one of them, which ſhew'd a great deal of courage, and natural affection. The *Cayman* had carry'd away a young child belonging to an *Indian*, and plunged into the water with it, in ſight of the father; the father, having a knife in his hand, threw himſelf after the monſter, and diving under it, ript up its belly with the knife, for there is no piercing its back, the ſcales of it being proof againſt a bullet. Thus the *Indian* got the better of the *Cayman*, altho' the poor child loſt its life during the combat.

Of lakes. Vareni. Geog. vol. I. p. 175. The next remarkable effect of water to be conſider'd is in forming itſelf into Lakes, of which the country of *America* has a great many. It would be too tedious to name them all; and ſome have been already mention'd in the diſcoveries of the ſeveral countries where they are. They who treat of the nature of lakes, divide them into theſe four different ſorts. 1. Such as neither receive nor ſend forth any rivers. 2. Such as have no rivers running into them, but ſend rivers out of them. 3. Such as receive an augmentation of their water from rivers which empty themſelves into them, but have no viſible evacuation by ſending out any ſtream from them. 4. Such as have rivers running in, and others out of them.

Thoſe of the firſt ſort, are either always full of water, or ſometimes full, and, at other times are quite dry. Thoſe that are ſometimes dry, ſhew plainly that they are only compos'd of rain water, which is exhal'd in dry weather. And of ſuch lakes, ſome are made on purpoſe for preſerving the rain, in places deſtitute of ſprings; others have been accidental, occaſion'd by inundations of the ſea or rivers, which having fill'd thoſe cavities, afterwards retir'd from them. Such of them as are very large, are not dry at any time; becauſe they are ſupply'd with ſuch a quantity of water by long continued rains, that the ſun has not time to exhale it, before a new rain gives it a freſh recruit; or perhaps (as indeed is the caſe in many lakes) there are ſources and ſprings at the bottom, which are unſeen, and ſupply them with water in as great quantity as is exhal'd.

The lake Parime. Of this is the great lake of *Parime*, directly under the line in that part of the *Terra firma* which borders upon *Brazil*. This is one of the greateſt lakes in the world, being reckon'd 105 *German* miles long, from eaſt to weſt, and much the ſame in breadth; but is not known either to receive or emit rivers.

Of the ſecond ſort, which emit rivers, but receive none, it muſt be concluded that they are fed either by ſprings at the bottom, or by rivers having a ſubterraneous paſſage into them; elſe it would be impoſſible they ſhould ſtill keep full, notwithſtanding the conſtant evacuation made in them by a river or rivers emitted, and the daily exhalations cauſed by the ſun. Of this kind is the lake *Nicaragua*, in *New Spain*, being 117 leagues round. *Herrera* ſays, it ebbs and flows like the ſea, and altho' it is within four leagues of the ſouth ſea, yet it ſends a river 100 leagues the other way, and empties it ſelf in the north ſea. *Verenius* likewiſe reckons *Titicaca* in *Peru* among the lakes of this kind. But I believe he muſt be miſtaken, becauſe *Acoſta*, who has the character of a moſt accurate writer, poſitively affirms, that there are no leſs than ten or twelve great rivers that run into it. So that it cannot be number'd in this ſecond claſs of rivers, unleſs we ſuppoſe this grave author to have been ill inform'd as to that country, (in which he liv'd ſo many years, and had begun to write the natural hiſtory of it whilſt he liv'd in *Peru*,) which I can by no means think; I ſhall therefore alter nothing of what

Nicaragua. Acoſta, b. 3. c. 16.

was

* Un. Tr. p. 305.

was formerly ſaid * of this lake from *Acoſta*, nor is there occaſion to add any thing in this place to what has been already ſaid of it in the place quoted. Of this ſort alſo are ſome of the lakes in *Canada*, from whence S. *Laurence*'s river is fed.

And to this ſort belongs the hot lake near *Potoſi*, which we may call *Tarapaya*, as being in that valley. It is ſo round, that it ſeems to be made with a compaſs. The ſpring that feeds it, boils up in the middle like a pot, and is ſo hot that people can only bath at the ſides of the lake. Before the mines of *Potoſi* were diſcover'd, it had no evacuation but what was imperceptible, but now they have drawn a river out of it, to work their engines for the mines, and yet it is not emptier than it was before.

As to the third ſort of lakes, (ſuch as receive rivers, but ſend out none,) there is no difficulty how they are ſupply'd; and indeed there ſeems to be as little as to the evacuation; for without doubt they are empty'd in proportion to their being fed, by ſubterraneous paſſages, or the pores of their natural bed. Of this ſort is the lake *Paria*, which is fed by a river running from *Titicaca*.

Paria.

Thoſe lakes which both receive and emit rivers, do ſo in different proportions. If they ſend out more than flows into them by rivers (as ſome do,) then it is evident that they muſt be fed ſome other way, by ſubterraneous paſſages or hidden ſprings. If the rivers flowing into them be viſibly greater than what they emit, ſtill allowing for exhalations, then it is plain that there are under-ground aqueducts for conveying away the water, ſo that there ſeems to be no difficulty about the phænomena of ſuch lakes. Of this ſort are moſt of the lakes in *Weſt Canada*, which paſs from one to another, by rivers running out of the one into the other. Thus you paſs from S. *Peter*'s lake, by a large track of the great river, to the lake *Ontario*; from thence, by the river *Niagara* to lake *Erie*; ſo northwards to that of *Hurons*; and ſo to *Ilinoveck* or *Michigan*, from whence there is a communication (all except two leagues) to the river *Miſſiſippi*.

The lake of Mexico.

The lake of *Mexico*, upon which that famous city is built, like *Venice* upon the ſea, ſeems to have ſomething extraordinary in it, beyond the others in *America*. It is divided into two parts, altho' it ſeems to be but one lake; but indeed, from the difference of the water, it appears to come from different ſprings. The upper lake is freſh, and has great ſtore of ſmall fiſhes in it; but the lower is ſalt and brackiſh, altho' there is a communication to it from the freſh lake, which has a conſtant flux into it at ſix or ſeven large gaps in the great cawſey, (over which there are wooden bridges,) yet without changing the taſte of its water. The ſalt lake ebbs and flows, but that is obſerv'd to be occaſioned by the wind, and not as the ſea does. The extent of theſe two lakes taken together is about 100 miles in circuit; thro' which, almoſt in the middle, this cawſay, famous by the retreat of *Cortez*, after *Montezuma*'s death, ſeems to have been artificially made; ſo that both lakes are much of a bigneſs,

The reaſon of the taſte of the ſalt lake, ſome attribute to the nature of the ground at the bottom of it; and indeed there is abundance of ſalt made there, and is no contemptible part of the trade of the place, there being conſiderable quantities of it ſold to other parts of *America*, and even to the *Philippine* iſlands. Others pretend, that this lake is fed by two different ſprings, one ſouth weſt of the city which runs into the freſh lake, from a mountain not far from it; and another running under ground from a mountain towards the north weſt, which having ſome ſulphurous particles in it, occaſions the ſaltneſs of the water. Others again imagine that the ſalt water comes from the north ſea, by ſubterraneous paſſages, which being join'd with minerals by the way, keeps its taſte, nothwithſtanding the track of earth, thro' which it muſt paſs to enter the lake.

This lake often overflow'd to that degree, that it deſtroy'd ſeveral towns built on the ſide of it, and in 1634, it threaten'd the ruin of *Mexico*, and people went in canoes in thoſe ſtreets where there were no canals: for which they labour'd hard to turn the water into another channel, which they did; but loſt 30 towns and villages by the change. This lake was ſo frequented by people from all quarters coming and going to, and from *Mexico*, both before and after the conqueſt of it by the *Spaniards*, that there were above 100,000 canoes and piragua's belonging to it; by means of which there was a vaſt trade carry'd on, and merchandiſe exported and imported thro' all the parts about the lake, and ſo convey'd to other places. Upon this lake are ſeveral artificial floating gardens of herbs and flowers, ſupported by floats of timber; and ſo are mov'd from one part of the lake to another. And thus, having mention'd the moſt conſiderable lakes in *America*; we ſhall proceed to,

See Gage's *ſurvey of the* Weſt Indies. Fol. p. 44.

Springs and fountains of ſeveral kinds.

The ſprings and fountains; which are very curious in ſeveral parts of *America*. In that part of *Peru* call'd *Guancavelica* where the mines of quickſilver are, there is a ſpring, which ſends out hot water, which as it runs along turns into ſtone, and ſerves the neighbourhood for building their

Acoſta. b. III. *ch.* 17.

their houſes. At the *Inca*'s baths, there are waters cloſe by one another, the one hot, and the other cold. And in the province of *Los Carcas*, there are many of thoſe hot ſprings, in which one cannot hold their hand for two minutes. Upon the coaſt of *Peru*, and in ſeveral other parts of the *Weſt Indies*, there are ſprings of *Coppey*, which ſerves for pitch, and is ſo ſtrong that they ſmell it ſome leagues from the ſhore. Other waters are ſaid to be good for venereal diſeaſes, from the great quantity of *Saſſaparilla* found near the line on that coaſt.

The reaſon which naturaliſts give for thoſe different ſorts of ſprings, and the wonderful effects of them, is their being impregnated with the different particles of matter, whoſe nature it is to produce ſuch effects. For, no water is pure, and what they call elementary; that is to ſay, all water is compos'd, or is mix'd, with other particles beſides the pure element of water; for even the very air itſelf which covers the water, and ſo the earth which it runs thro' are impregnated with many different ſorts of particles; ſo that according to the nature of thoſe particles which the water draws from the earth or air, and according to the quantity of ſuch particles, with which the water is mix'd, the ſprings have very different qualities. Thus ſome waters carry'd under ground with a rapid force, among metalline and mineral earth, which is eaſily looſen'd, waſh particles from it, and carry with them grains of that metal or mineral. Or if the minerals are imperfect, and not ſo cloſely join'd, as vitriol, ſulphur, *&c.* or even ſalt, with which the water eaſily mixes, the water which runs thro' beds of theſe, when it breaks out at the ſpring, has ſmall particles of theſe minerals mix'd with it. But, as all metals, before they be form'd in the bowels of the earth, ſend out vapours and ſteams, which are condens'd, and ſtick about the corners of the rocks where they are form'd; the water, which runs thro' thoſe places where the vapours are in motion, is impregnated with them.

Varen. V. I. *p.* 352.

Hence it is that water may be impregnated with gold, ſilver, *&c.* which is call'd metallic water: or with common ſalt, nitre, vitriol, allum, *&c.* commonly call'd ſalt waters. Or with ſulphur, antimony, coal, ambergreaſe, *&c.* which are call'd by the different names of the bitumen they are mix'd with: or with quickſilver, *&c.* call'd mercurial waters.

Cauſes of hot ſprings.

The cauſes then and generation of hot baths are, * 1. a mixture of ſulphureous particles, which are glean'd by the water as it paſſes thro' the ſubterraneous paſſages, or rather as it gleets thro' the ſulphur mines, to the receptacles about the fountains. 2. Fumes, vapours and exhalations in the bowels of the earth, where there is pure or impure ſulphur, foſſil-coals, amber, *&c.* for theſe conſtantly emit hot ſmoke, which warms the water as it paſſes ſuch places. But there is a marginal note upon *Varenius* in this place, which ſays, "They beſt account "for the heat of theſe fountains, who "ſuppoſe that two ſtreams having run "thro', and imbib'd certain ſorts of diſ-"ferent minerals, meet at laſt, and min-"gle their liquors, from which commix-"ture ariſes a great fermentation that "cauſes heat, as we ſee in vitriol and "tartar, which when mingled cauſes an "intenſe heat and ebullition".

* Ibid. *p.* 367.

Thus ſome ſprings are *acid*, from a mixture of vitriol, ſalt and allum. Others are bitter from a mixture of impure ſulphur, bitumen, nitre, copperas, copper. Some are oyly or pitchy, from ambergreaſe, amber, oyl of petrol, pitch, *&c.* Others are cold, from a mixture of nitre and allum, alſo of mercury and iron, *&c.* to which laſt muſt be added the great depth from whence ſuch ſprings flow, ſo that they want the rays of the ſun, and the ſulphureous heat under ground.

As to the petrifying quality of ſprings, by which they are ſaid to turn wood into ſtone, it is ſaid, 1. That they do not change the nature of the wood, but only give it an outſide cruſt of ſtone. 2. That they only give the wood a hardneſs equal to that of ſtone. Or if they really change it into ſtone, it is ſuppos'd to be effected thus "The water gleeting down the ſides "of the ſoft ſtone, corrodes the minuteſt "of its particles, and is impregnated with "them: which are again ſeparated from "the water, by putting ſticks of wood "into it (by the power of attraction) as "we ſee ſome kinds of ſalt ſeparated from "the water by the like means, and other "bodies ſeparated from thoſe that are "compounded with them, by ſuch as are "found by experience to attract their par-"ticles. Now when theſe particles are ſo "minute and ſubtile, as to intrude, with "with the water, into the pores of the "wood, in proceſs of time, when it is "throughly ſoak'd, the interſteces will "be quite fill'd with ſtrong particles: and "if any thing ligneous remain, it is ſo "well guarded and incruſted by theſe par-"ticles, that it is not perceptible, nor to "be acted upon by fire. But if the par-"ticles are not ſo minute, as to penetrate "the pores of the wood, they only ſtick "cloſe to the outſide of it, and parget it "over, as it were by degrees to a conſi-"derable thickneſs." * Ibid. *p.* 375.

* *See note* (h) *on* Var. *ubi ſupra.*

Having thus ſaid as much as we judg'd neceſſary upon the ſubject of ſprings and fountains, we ſhall proceed to

The

Of rivers. The rivers in *America*. And having had occaſion to name moſt of them already, when we treated of the countries thro' which they paſs, or where they enter the ſea, there will be no neceſſity to repeat them here, except it be for ſome remarkable thing taken notice of in them. What we propoſe to do here is, to give ſome account of the riſe and progreſs of the rivers; why they are broader in one part than in others; why they overflow at certain ſeaſons; and ſuch other phænomena known to agree to many of the rivers of *America*.

The origin of rivers. Var. V. I. p. 295. As rivers are deriv'd from ſprings, for the moſt part, the ſame cauſe which produces the one is alſo the origin of the other. But the opinions of naturaliſts are different as to the riſe of ſprings, and conſequently of rivers. 1. Some held that all rivers and ſprings receive their water from rain or melted ſnow; this they would prove from the ſwelling of rivers after the ſnow begins to melt, or the rains to fall, and their falling or growing dry when the ſnow is gone, or when it does not rain for ſome time. But this only ſhews that rain's falling, or ſnow's melting encreaſes rivers, but not that they are the only cauſe of them: for, there are rivers (tho' not ſo many) in places where it ſeldom or never rains or ſnows. Beſides the rain does not penetrate the ground beyond ten foot depth, whereas fountains often ſpring from a greater depth.

2. Others conten'd that the water of ſprings is generated from air contain'd in the bowels of the earth. 1. Becauſe there is the ſame reaſon for turning the ſubterraneous air into water, as the air in the atmoſphere, *viz.* cold. 2. Becauſe we find, by experience, that great drops gather from ſmall ones under ground; and therefore the heads of rivers are only a number of ſprings gather'd into one place. 3. Becauſe, moſt fountains, eſpecially of great rivers, are found to ſpring from mountainous places, which ſhews, that their waters proceed from condens'd air or vapours, which naturally tend towards high plaees; and mountains are as it were ſpunges lying upon planes.

3. Others think that the water of fountains proceeds from little drains, or guts, where the condens'd vapours are collected, both above and under ground, which being augmented by rain or melted ſnow become rivers: which they prove from the mountains being full of moiſture, and the rivers ſwelling, in the morning, near their ſprings.

4. Some fancy'd that the rain water is hoarded up in the internal caverns of the earth, as in a great promptuary, from whence all the rivers in the earth are ſupply'd; ſo that no water is diſpers'd over the globe, but what is thus collected in the winter.

5. Another opinion which was held by ſeveral antients as well as moderns, is, that the earth ſucks in as much water from the ſea, as it ſends to it by rivers. And that the ſea water becomes freſh by draining thro' the hidden receſſes of the earth, and by being ſtrain'd thro' the fiſſures, and the interſtices of ſand and gravel. This appears from ſeveral conſiderations. 1. Becauſe there are ſeveral large rivers (of which there are a vaſt number in the earth,) which pour more water into the ſea in one year than the whole bulk of the earth; ſo that unleſs the ſea refunded thoſe waters back again to the earth, the ocean muſt ſwell to an immenſe bulk, and ſprings ceaſe to flow; becauſe the rain returns the vapours which are exhal'd from the ſea. 2. This is prov'd from the ſaltneſs or brackiſhneſs of ſprings near the ſea, as we have frequent experience of. 3. It appears from finding water by digging ſo deep in the earth, (as is often done in mines;) and this water cannot proceed either from air or rain. But an inſuperable objection againſt this is, the heighth of ſome ſprings above the ſurface of the ſea, it being unnatural for water to flow higher than its fountain. And therefore,

6. Dr. *Halley* having ſhew'd * by a reaſonable calculation, that the vapours, exhal'd from the ſea, exceed the quantity of water diſcharg'd into it by rivers almoſt in a triple proportion; the reaſon of water being found to ſupply the higheſt ſprings is eaſily accounted for. Becauſe theſe vapours being carry'd every way by the wind, neceſſarily meet with high ridges of mountains, diſpers'd over various tracts of the earth, each of which ſurpaſſes the uſual heigh to which the aqueous vapours of themſelves aſcend; and on the tops of which, the air is ſo cold and rarify'd, as to retain but a ſmall part of thoſe vapours that ſhall be brought thither by the winds. The vapours, meeting with thoſe ridges of mountains are compell'd by the ſtream of the air, to mount up with it to their tops, where meeting with more rarifi'd air, they naturally fall down in drops, pervading the cranies and fiſſures of the earth, and gleeting into the caverns of the hills; the waters thereof gather into the baſons of ſtone or clay, which being once fill'd, all the overplus of water runs over, and where it can find a paſſage breaks out at the ſides of the hills, and forms fountains, from whence come rivers, &c.

* Ph. Trans. N° 189 p. 366.

Var. V. I. p. 293 note (a).

From all that has been ſaid upon this head, we conclude, that rivers proceed from fountains generated from the vapours exhal'd out of the ſea or lakes; that they

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are augmented by the addition of rain and ſnow water, which penetrating the fiſſures of the earth, mingle with the waters of the ſpring; and finally they may be likewiſe encreas'd by water from the ſea, percolating thro' the ſand.

Rivers are broader is ſome places than in others, from the highth of their banks; from the hardneſs or mouldring of the ground on the ſides; from the depth or ſhelvineſs of the chanel; or from the evenneſs or fall of the water. And for ſome of theſe reaſons, ſome rivers are much more rapid then others, adding to theſe, the heighth of their fountains, and the narrowneſs of the bed they run in. And for the moſt part, rivers are broadeſt where they enter the ſea; becauſe they are encreas'd by other rivers or brooks falling into them; and that the chanel near the mouth of a river has leſs declivity; or that the ſea breezes or ſea water enter the mouths of rivers.

The reaſon of rivers overflowing at certain times, as we have elſewhere obſerv'd ſome rivers in *America* do, proceeds from the great quantity of rain or the melting of ſnow; as in the *Miſſiſippi* and the *River of Plate*.

We have already taken notice of the falls of the rivers in *Canada*; and the ſame happen in ſeveral other rivers of *America*, particularly in the *Marannon* or *Amazon* river, where *Acoſta* ſays, a whole army paſs'd one of the caſcades, of a great heighth, where their canoes and they came topſy turvy down the fall, and were plung'd in the foaming water below, and yet very few of them were loſt. But he does not tell us when, nor to whom they belong'd; altho' we may gueſs they were *Spaniards*.

The greateſt rivers, known in *America*, are, the *Plata*, the *Amazon*, the *Madalena*, *Miſſiſippi*, and *Canada*, as paſſing thro' moſt land, andhaving moſt rivers running into them. There are many others, but they have been mention'd already, or are ſmall and inconſiderable in reſpect of theſe.

Having now treated of the air and water in *America*, we ſhall follow *Acoſta*'s method, and give ſome account of the land of that country. This he divides into three different claſſes, *viz*, the low land, the high, and the middle between high and low.

The land of America.

The low land is that next to the coaſt, and is (in thoſe countries ſituated within the *torrid zone*) for the moſt part, hot and moiſt, which makes it not ſo healthful. Add that is the reaſon why many places near the ſea in *Peru*, are deſerted. The ſoil thereabouts, being either ſandy or elſe mariſh and bog, occaſion'd by the water which flows from the mountains, and not having certain and fix'd chanels, ſpreads over the low flat country, and makes it unprofitable. Of this ſort are ſeveral places of the north coaſt of *Peru*, as alſo *Panama* and ſome on the ſouth ſea, and ſome others near *Darien* on the north, where the *Spaniards* would not have remain'd but for the conveniency of the communication between the two ſeas. Yet there are many exceptions from this general obſervation, as in ſome parts towards the ſouth coaſt of *Peru*, and in *New Spain*, both on the ſouth and north ſeas; and likewiſe in many of the iſlands. In the other parts without the tropicks, the ſea coaſt is very healthy, and where they are planted by *Europeans*, they are well inhabited. And if ſome places are unwholeſome, it proceeds from ſome cauſe peculiar to the places themſelves, and ſo cannot be comprehended under any general rule.

1. The low land.

The ſecond ſort of land in *America* is, that of the high land, which is quite oppoſite in quality from the coaſt all over the continent as well as in the iſlands without any exception of climate, this land being cold and dry, and for the moſt part very healthy, and therefore well inhabited, eſpecially by the natives; and abounds in cattle, which they truck for grain, and wine. But the mines which many of theſe high lands abound with, make thoſe places, where they are, to be frequented by the *Spaniards*, who have the poſſeſſion of them. This is the reaſon why the country about *Potoſi*, and *Guancavelica* is ſo well inhabited, altho' they are oblig'd to have their corn and ſeveral other neceſſaries from the lower countries about them. In the mines of *Potoſi* alone, they employ above 20,000 men at work, to dig the oar and to bring it up about 400 ſteps of a lader from the mine. The other high lands of *America*, eſpecially in the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe* plantations, are, for the moſt part, poſſeſs'd by the natives, partly becauſe they find them more healthy, but more eſpecially to ſhelter themſelves from the *Europeans*, whom they look upon (and not without reaſon) to be the unjuſt uſurpers of their country; or elſe from their *Indian* neighbours, with whom they have been at war, time out of mind: and if they could have been ſo wiſe as to have made up their hereditary or occaſional quarrels among themſelves, and had united againſt the common enemy, their gold and ſilver might have lain undiſturb'd to this day, in the high hills, and neither *Spain* nor any other country in *Europe* had got poſſeſſion of thoſe rich hills, eſpecially in the continent.

2. The high land.

But the beſt land, and moſt agreeable to live in is, in the middle between the high and low; which altho' it cannot be ſup-

3. The middle land.

ſuppos'd to be of a like heighth every where; yet generally ſpeaking thro' all *America* you find long ridges of mountains, at a good diſtance from the ſea, along the ſides of which is the high land before ſpoken of; and between that, and the ſea coaſt is this middle land of which we now treat. Thus from the line to the ſtreights of *Magellan*, there is one ridge of hills, call'd the *Andes* or *Cordilleras*; far up, upon the ſides of theſe, is that high land on both ſides; between which and the ſea on each ſide, is that middle land, which, from what has been fully diſcover'd of it, as the greateſt part of *Peru*, and a good part of *Chili* has, may well be call'd the garden of the world; unleſs it be rival'd by that of *New Spain*, which our author ſays, aſcends more gradually from both the ſeas, and the diſtance between the north and ſouth ſeas, not being ſo great at *Mexico* as in *Peru*, the former has all the advantages of both ſeas, and therefore *Acoſta* ſays, in a kind of rapture, that *New Spain* is, without doubt, the beſt province the ſun does circle.

But, as *Acoſta* obſerves, there are ſeveral particularities in *Peru* different from other places of the *Weſt Indies*. The ſouth and ſouth weſt winds, which are the moſt unwholeſome in other parts, are the pleaſanteſt and healthieſt there; nor does it rain, ſnow, or thunder upon that coaſt, altho' it does all three frequently within 10 or 12 leagues of it, on the higher ground, ſo that in the compaſs of 50 leagues in breadth, there are three different ſeaſons in the ſame lat. almoſt the whole length of *Peru*.

In that which they call *Lanos*, on the ſea coaſt, it ſeldom or never rains from the line to *Chili*, which is owing to the dryneſs of the coaſt, which does not yield matter for vapours; or elſe it is occaſion'd by the high land all along the country almoſt at a equal diſtance from it, which keeps off the land wind from it, and, as it were, ſhadows the *Lanos*, ſo that the ſea winds meeting no oppoſition, all the exhalations fall down in miſts, which altho' it does not rain there, keep the coaſt conſtantly moiſt. But in *Guayaquil* where they have eaſterly winds, (the hills being ſomewhat lower there) it rains. In the *Andes*, which is the higheſt ground, it rains or ſnows for the greateſt part of the year. And in the *Sierra*, or middle land, it is ſuch weather as we have in *Europe*, ſometimes fair and ſometimes rain, only, as has been obſerv'd before, that their rain is greateſt in their ſummer, or when the ſun is vertical to them. There is leſs variety in *Mexico*, becauſe the mountains there are not continu'd to ſuch a length; nor do they obſtruct the wind ſo much from either ſea.

As to the nature of the land in other parts of *America*, not ſubject to *Spain*, as far as has been diſcover'd by the ſeveral nations who have colonies there, it differs according to the climates in which the different plantations are. But the inland countries have not been ſufficiently ſearched into by any other nation, unleſs we may except the *French* in *Canada*, who have been at much pains to diſcover a vaſt track of ground, of which however they can give but a ſuperficial account in reſpect to what the *Spaniards* have given of *Mexico* and *Peru*. But one curioſity we have from their diſcoveries, is a large ridge of mountains (beginning between lake *Hurons*, and *Michigan*, and running by the back-ſide of *Carolina*,) on the top of which, for above 200 miles from the north end, there is a broad plain like a terrace. If as much pains were taken to diſcover towards the north of *California*, as was once to find the north weſt paſſage, perhaps, we might find an eaſier way to account for the peopling of *America*, and, perhaps, there would be found a very ſmall track of ſea, if any, between *America* and *Jeſſo* to the northward of *Japan*. But this muſt be left to time.

But there are ſome mountains in *America* which muſt not be paſt over in ſilence; and thoſe are, the *Vulcano's*, or hills which ſend out ſmoke and fire. There are ſeveral ſuch in the *Cordilleras* in *Peru*, but chiefly in *Arequipa*. But the moſt famous burning mountains in *America* are *Popacatepec* near *Mexico*; (the Place from whence *Cortez* got the Sulphur to make Powder, as we obſerv'd before*) and thoſe of *Guatimala*. That of *Popacatepec* had been viſited by *De Ordas* in 1519, before *Cortez* went firſt to *Mexico*, and it was from his report that the general afterwards ſent to get the ſulphur from it; and therefore we ſhall give a more full relation of that expedition in this place, becauſe it will give a better idea of the nature of the *Vulcano's*.

Vulcano's *or hills of fire.*

* Un. Tr. *p.* 82.

Cortez being in great want of powder, when he lay at *Segura della Frontiera*, ſent his maſter gunner, one *Meſa*, together with *Penaloſa*, *Larios* and *Montano*, with ſome *Indians*, to go to this burning mountain. This expedition was ſo new to the *Indians*, that above 40000 of them aſſembled near the foot of the mountain to ſee what would be the iſſue of this raſh adventure, where they built huts to wait the return, or the deſtruction of the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* began to aſcend the mountain in the afternoon, carrying with them two long ropes, ſacks made of cloth, and lin'd

Herrera *dec.* ii. b. X. *ch.* 5.

The burning mountain of Popacatepec.

with deers skins, and two heavy blankets. Night coming upon them before they had made a fourth part of the way, they found it ſo exceſſively cold, that they made a pit in the mountain about two ſpans deep to ly in, and reſolv'd to cover themſelves with the blankets. After having dug, in ſand, ſo far, they found rock, which was ſo hot, and ſuch a ſcent of ſulphur iſſued from it, that in a ſhort time they were not able to bear their new habitation; ſo that they were forced to hold on their way. As they went in the dark, the froſt was ſo hard on the ſurface of the hill that they could ſcarce keep their feet; and one of them fell about eight fathom into a cavity cover'd at the bottom with ice, and it was well for him it was, for our author ſays, he had gone 1000 fathoms lower, but for that ſtop. His comrades let down a rope with a ſlip knot to him, which he put over his ſhoulders and under his arms, and altho' he was much hurt by his fall, by their aſſiſtance, and uſing his hands and feet as well as he could, he got out of the hole; and ſtaid near that place till day, which appear'd very ſoon or elſe they had all periſh'd with cold.

At ſun riſing they proceeded towards the top, whence they ſaw a great ſmoke and ſome flaſhes of fire iſſue forth, together with a burning ſtone as big as a pint pot, which rolled down the hill, to the place where they were, which they ſtopt with their blankets, and warm'd themſelves with it. The man that had fallen in the night, not being able to walk farther, they left him with one of the blankets to keep him warm, and the reſt got to the mouth of the *Vulcano* by ten of the clock; looking into it they perceiv'd the fire, and as far as they could judge by the eye, it ſeem'd to be about 150 fathoms below the mouth of the hill where they were. They went round the orifice, which was about a quarter of a league in compaſs, but found the ſame difficulty of going down all round. But they were reſolv'd to die rather than go back without their errand; they caſt lots, therefore, who ſhould venture down firſt, and the lot fell upon *Montano*, who being put into one of the ſacks made of hemp, was let down 14 fathoms. At his firſt going down, he brought out the bag (which was ty'd to the ſack) almoſt full of brimſtone, and then going down again ſix times more, he brought out, in all, about 200 weight. He being reliev'd by another, who went in ſix times, that perſon brought out 100 weight, with which being ſatisfy'd, they went down the hill, and having found their companion, they went in a ſpiral way, finding it impracticable to go in a ſtraight line, as they had come up.

As ſoon as they came to the foot of the mountain, the *Indians* look'd upon them as ſomething above human, and having refreſh'd them with victuals and drink, took them upon their ſhoulders in biers, as they us'd to do their caciques, and ſo carry'd them to the camp. Theſe *Spaniards* affirm'd that the fire below, which they ſaw very plainly from above, was juſt like the furnace of a glaſs-houſe.

Near a kin to theſe vulcanos are earthquakes, very common in the *Weſt Indies*, which proceeding from the ſame cauſe, as the vulcanos, we ſhall account for them both together. But it is obſervable, that the latter are for the moſt part in places near the ſea, and a great way from the burning mountains. But they ſometimes reach a vaſt way. *Acoſta* ſays, an earthquake has been felt from *Qitu* to *Chili*, along the whole coaſt of *Peru*, which is 1200 miles. Nor are the other parts of *America*, either upon the continent or in the iſlands, free from earthquakes; ſo that we need not give a hiſtory of things which happen in that country almoſt every year, in ſome place or other. *Earthquakes.*

The reaſon of vulcanos and earthquakes is this "Thoſe countries which "yield great ſtore of ſulphur and nitre, "or where ſulphur is ſublim'd from the "*Pyrites* (which is a ſort of ſulphur, that "naturally takes fire of itſelf;) are the "moſt ſubject to earthquakes: For where "there are ſuch mines, they muſt ſend "up exhalations, which meeting with ſubterraneous caverns they muſt ſtick to the "arches of them, as ſoot does to the ſides "of our chimneys, where they mix themſelves with the nitre or ſalt peter, which "comes out of theſe arches, in like manner as we ſee it come out of the inſide "of the arch of a bridge, and ſo makes "a kind of cruſt, which will eaſily take "fire ſeveral ways, as, 1. By an inflammable breath of the *Pyrites*. 2. By a "fermentation of vapours to a degree of "heat equal to that of fire or flame. 3. By "the falling of ſome great ſtone, which "is undermin'd by water, and ſtricking "upon another produces ſome ſparks, "which ſet fire to the combuſtible matter "that is near: which being a kind of natural gun powder, at the appulſe of the "fire, goes off (if I may ſo ſay) with a "ſudden blaſt or violent exploſion, rumbling in the bowels of the earth, and "lifting up the ground above it; ſo as "ſometimes to make miſerable havock and "deſtruction, till it gets vent, or a diſcharge. Burning mountains or vulcanoes are only ſo many ſpiracles, or "breathing places, ſerving for the diſ- *The reaſon of vulcanos and of earthquakes.*

"charge

"charge of this ſubterraneous fire, when "it is thus perternaturally aſſembled. "And where there happens to be ſuch a "ſtructure and conformation of the interi- "or parts of the earth, that the fire may "paſs freely, or without impediment from "the caverns therein, it aſſembles into "theſe ſpiracles, and then eaſily and rea- "dily gets out, from time to time, with- "out ſhaking or diſturbing the earth. "But where ſuch communication is want- "ing, or the paſſages not ſufficiently large "and open, ſo that it cannot come at the "ſaid ſpiracles, without firſt forcing and "removing all obſtacles; it heaves up, "and ſhocks the earth till it has made "its way to the mouth of the vulcano; "where it ruſhes forth, ſometimes in "mighty flames, with great velocity, and "a terrible bellowing noiſe."

See Var. p. 152. note (c.)

But, to compenſate for thoſe noxious particles contain'd in the bowels of the earth, particularly in *America*, the WISE CREATOR has ordain'd, that in the ſame earth, ſhould be found many things for the uſe of man: and if the perverſneſs of human nature has made a bad uſe of them, the fault is in thoſe who corrupted them, not in the things themſelves.

Of this ſort are metals deſign'd by infinite wiſdom for the benefit and advantage of mankind: ſome for phyſic and curing diſeaſes; others for defence againſt enemies; ſome for ornament and beauty, and others, neceſſary inſtruments to work the reſt. And the induſtry of man has found out one uſe of the beſt metals, ſuch as gold and ſilver, which has been of great ſervice to trade, and to keep up a correſpondence between people of different nations; *viz.* the coining of gold and ſilver into money, which altho' the natives of the *Weſt Indies* knew nothing of, and was the occaſion of grievous miſchiefs to them, by the covetouſneſs of their firſt conquerors; yet now they come to be better acquainted with it; and know the value of coin as well as the *Europeans*.

Of the different mines in the Weſt Indies.

Altho' there are ſeveral ſorts of mines in *America* of other metals beſides gold and ſilver, yet they have ſo much work in digging for theſe, that they have neither time nor hands for digging the others, except as much quickſilver as is neceſſary for refining the ſilver.

Gold.

Of all metals, gold has always been the moſt eſteem'd, and is in its own nature more excellent than the others; being more durable than any, and not to be conſum'd either by time or fire. The oftener it paſſes the fire it is ſtill the purer, nor does it loſe any thing of its value by uſe, as other metals do: and of all metals it is the moſt ductile and pliable, and therefore the eaſieſt to be wrought.

There were great quantities of this metal found in many places of the *Weſt Indies*, by the firſt diſcoverers, as we obſerv'd in the account already given of *Columbus*, *Cortez*, *Pizarro*, &c. And it is very evident by the temples and palaces, eſpecially in *Peru* and *Mexico*, that the *Indians* put a great value upon that metal, by their making uſe of it to adorn the temples of their gods, and the palaces of their kings with it. And it is as evident that they had it in great plenty, when they could not only make the ſtatues of their idols of it, but they cover'd ſome of their temples on the out ſide, as well as within, with gold: and made not only their veſſels for the king's table, but the thrones on which they ſat, and the chairs in which they were carry'd, of maſſive gold. It is true indeed that they did not put that value upon it, that the *Spaniards* did, nor had covetouſneſs got poſſeſſion of their minds. They were contented with the neceſſaries of life, and for thoſe, they traded with their neighbours, giving them ſuch things as they wanted for ſuch others as they had occaſion for themſelves; and for the ornaments of their houſes and perſons, they dealt more in feathers and ſhells, than they did in other riches: and when they found out the uſe of iron for working tools, (which neceſſity taught them to make of flint or copper before,) then they would purchaſe knives, hatches, &c. by a conſiderable quantity of gold; ſo that the *Spaniards* very often receiv'd in barter the value of many 1000 of ducats for what did not coſt five in their own country. And ſuch plenty of gold and ſilver they found in *America*, that they ſhod their horſes with it, when they wanted iron, and *Acoſta* ſays, the value of 300 crowns has been given for one bottle of wine in *Peru*.

In great plenty.

Different ſorts of it.

There are three ways of finding gold in *America*, *viz.* in grains, in ſtone, and in powder. The grain gold is found in ſmall pieces, almoſt like apple ſeeds, and therefore are call'd *Pippins*. This ſort of gold was pure and unmix'd, and there was no occaſion to melt it for refining: and ſometimes they found large pieces of the ſame kind of gold. But this grain gold is not in ſuch plenty as the others. The ſtone gold is ſuch as grows in veins within ſtone or flint, ſome are half gold half ſtone. The grain gold is found in rivers, but this is found in mines, and muſt be dug out, with ſtrength and labour. But the moſt common, and that which is found in greateſt plenty is the powder gold, which they get in ſtreams and other places where water has paſs'd. Of this there is good ſtore in the rivers of the large iſlands within the Tropics, but

but they bring little of it to *Spain*, becauſe they have deſtroy'd the natives, in thoſe iſlands, who us'd to be very expert in getting it for them. There is abundance of it in *Chili*, in *Quito* and *Granada*. But the beſt gold in *America* is reckon'd that which is found at *Caranava* in *Peru*, and at *Baldivia* in *Chili*. This gold is 23 carats and an half fine, and ſometimes more.

Gold is, for the moſt part, found mix'd with ſilver or copper; but that which is mix'd with copper is the finer gold. When they get a quantity of this powder gold, they put it in baſins, and waſh it in ſeveral waters, till they clear it of ſand, and then they refine it, as we ſhall ſhew by and by; and when it is melted, they make it into ſmall bars or lingots, and ſo ſend it to *Spain*. We need not talk of the vaſt quantities of gold ſent from *America* to *Spain*; *Acoſta* ſays, that in the fleet that carry'd him to *Spain*, there were (for the king's ſhare only) 12 cheſts of gold of 100 *l.* weight each, beſides 1056 bars or lingots, but he does not tell their weight, beſides a vaſt deal of ſilver. So that we may ſafely ſay, of the riches of this country, that they make good *De Foe*'s obſervation.

Wealth which would, in wiſe hands, the world undo.

But it is generally in the moſt barren and unfruitful parts of *America* where they have any gold mines; altho' the gold duſt is found in rivers which water the beſt ſoil: but the gold is not bred there, but waſh'd down by the ſprings from the barren places where it is engender'd.

Silver As to ſilver mines, they abound moſt in *New Spain* and *Peru*, altho', like the gold, there are of them in many places; but thoſe of *Peru* are reckon'd the beſt; and particularly thoſe of *Potoſi*, of the diſcovery of which we gave the hiſtory before.* This mine lies on the eaſt ſide of the mountain of *Potoſi*, and branches out in a very irregular form, and makes as it were, different mines. They were at firſt eaſily dug, becauſe they were equal with the ſurface; but by the huge quantities drain'd out of them, they are now of a vaſt depth, *viz.* 200 ſtades, according to their reckoning, every ſtade being a man's heighth. But to avoid that inconvenience, they have made openings upon the ſide of the hill, and run paſſages a-croſs the great one horizontally; theſe croſs paſſages they call *Soccobones*, they are made eight foot broad and the heighth of a man, and have doors to ſhut them in when they pleaſe. Theſe *Soccobones* belong to different proprietors, who, having made them as a vaſt charge, have ſpecial privileges granted them, particularly, they have the 5th part of all the bullion taken out by their reſpective doors. But the poor miners are ſlaves in the worſt ſenſe: they work day and night, without knowing any diſtinction between the one and the other: they are ſubject to the groſs unwholeſom air, and breath the fumes and vapours of the metal, and are expos'd to all the damps that riſe, which ſometimes ſtrike them dead, or occaſion ſuch diſtempers as they never recover. Beſides the danger they are in of pieces of the rock falling upon them or with them, or their own falling off the ladders of ropes, like ſhrowds of a ſhip, by which they go down and mount up with burdens upon their backs 500 foot: only that, at ſuch diſtances, they have platforms of wood, with ſeats for the poor labourers to reſt, and take their breath. As they go up and down, they have a lighted candle ty'd to one of their thumbs, becauſe they are oblig'd to hold the ladder with both hands. They that work below, make uſe of great ſledges, or hammers of a vaſt weight, as our people who dig in quarries; and they divide day and night by ſand-glaſſes, and relieve each other by watches as they do at ſea.

*Un.Tr. f. 191.

This mine is ſo rich, that our author ſays, that from its firſt diſcovery to the year 1585, about 40 years, there were enter'd in the cuſtom-houſe of *Potoſi* an hundred thouſand millions of pieces, every piece valu'd at thirteen rials and an half: and he ſays, that in the two fleets of *Peru* and *Mexico*, the year that he return'd to *Spain*, which was in 1587, there were eleven millions of pieces, of which almoſt one half was the king's, and above two thirds of that treaſure was brought from *Peru*. And according to him the half of the ſilver of *Potoſi* was never enter'd in the cuſtom-houſe books.

Quick-ſilver. Before we ſpeak of the manner of refining this metal, it will not be improper to ſpeak of the mines of Quickſilver, which they likewiſe have in *America*, and particularly in *Peru*, and to ſhew how they were diſcover'd here. There is no doubt but the *Indians* knew of them long before the *Spaniards* went amongſt them, for they dug often in thoſe mines for *Vermilian*, with which they painted themſelves; but they did not know the uſe of quickſilver, and therefore neglected it. But after the *Spaniards* had been ſome years in *Peru*, a certain *Portugueſe* being at *Guamangua*, a city near the mountains of *Guancavelica*, in the province of *Coſco*, finding by the vermilian, which the natives made uſe of under the name of *Limpi*, that there was quickſilver in that country, for they are found in the

the ſame mines, he went to ſearch in the mountains from whence they had their *Limpi*, and diſcover'd as rich a mine of Mercury as the hill of *Potoſi* was for ſilver. But they firſt began at *Mexico* to refine the ſilver with it.

The way of drawing the quickſilver out of the ſtone, is to beat the ſtone as ſmall as poſſible, and then to ſet it in earthen pots cloſe ſhut, upon a fire, which ſeparates the mercury, by drawing it up in fumes to the top of the veſſel, from whence it falls down congealed after it grows cold.

Having found out this rich mine of quickſilver ſo near *Potoſi*, and being afterwards inſtructed from *Mexico* how to refine their ſilver with it, they us'd it to great advantage there. For before that time they were at a vaſt expence of time and fire in refining their ſilver; being obliged to melt the ore in furnaces built on purpoſe all about the hill, to the number of 600, with a vaſt conſumption of wood, till one found a way to do it with a ſort of ſtraw, which the *Indians* call'd ycho, of which there is great plenty near thoſe mines. But there was one thing very remarkable, when they refin'd their ſilver with fire; *viz.* that in the mines at *Porco*, ſix leagues diſtance from *Potoſi*, they us'd bellows to blow their fires, and ſo melted their ſilver ore; but that at *Potoſi* would not melt by this artificial blowing, but only by the natural air from the mountains without the force of bellows.

The way of refining ſilver.

But a great deal of this trouble was ſav'd after they got the way of uſing quickſilver. And the way of uſing it is thus. They beat the ſilver ore to powder, and ſearch it thro' a fine ſieve; this powder they put into veſſels over the fire, mixing a good quantity of ſalt with it, the proportion of ſalt to the ore is as 5 is to 50. Then they ſtrain the quickſilver into the veſſel, ſtirring all together that it may incorporate. The force of the fire helping them to incorporate in five or ſix days, whereas without fire it took a month to mix. To ſeparate the mercury from the ſilver, the whole mixture muſt be pour'd into water, ſtiring it well till the ſilver and mercury being the two heavier bodies ſubſide, and ſo they pour off all the dregs; and this operation they repeat often, till the ſilver and mercury begin to be bright; and then putting both together into a cloth they ſtrain it hard, ſo that the mercury, which is liquid, goes thro' in ſmall globes, leaving the ſilver behind. And becauſe, in the ſeveral waſhings, ſome of the metal may have been thrown off, with the droſs and particles of earth, they keep thoſe waſhings, as they call them, and waſh them over again, and ſo ſtrain them as before, to get out all the remainder. This leaves the ſilver ſo fine that they are forced to put ſome alloy to it to make it ſtandart.

The quickſilver being taken out of the mines, and ſeparated by the force of fire in earthen pots, as was obſerv'd before, after it is quite cold, they uncover the veſſels, and find all the vapours congeal'd and fallen to the bottom, which they put in skins to be ſent to *Potoſi* or *Mexico*, as they have occaſion.

This mountain of *Potoſi*, with the ground about it, is one of the moſt barren places in all *Peru*, yielding neither graſs nor corn; and yet, ſuch is the mighty force of ſilver, that it is the beſt inhabited place of the whole empire, and every thing neceſſary or convenient for life is brought thither from other parts in great adundance.

The mills for fining the ſilver.

All round this mountain, they have their mills for pounding the metal, as it comes out of the mine. Some of the mills go with horſes, and others with water, which coming from the clouds is kept in large ciſterns made in the ground for that purpoſe, and let out by ſluices to the mills: and at *Tarapaya* there is a river, brought from the lake, which ſerves 22 mills made there for the ſame uſe. In thoſe mills they grind their oar to powder in order to make it incorporate with the mercury as aboveſaid.

The trial of ſilver at Potoſi.

When the ſilver is made into bars, they carry it to the eſſay-maſter, who cutting a ſmall piece off every bar, weighs it by itſelf with the utmoſt exactneſs, and puts every ſuch piece into a crucible, and melts it in a ſtrong fire; the particles of lead vaniſh in ſmoak, and thoſe of tin or copper likewiſe diſſolve: and upon weighing each portion a ſecond time, he knows by the deficiency of the weight what alloy to give it.

Emeralds.

Having thus given an account of the gold and ſilver in the *Weſt Indies*, we ſhall ſay ſomething of emeralds and pearls. Of the firſt of theſe there is great plenty in that country, but the greateſt ſtore of them was found in the places near the line, particularly in *New Granada*. Our author ſays that near *Port Viejo* there is a country call'd the *Land of Emeraids*, for the great abundance of them: but in his time, the *Spaniards* were not maſters of it. Thoſe jewels grew in ſtones like criſtal; but there is great difference in them; ſome are white; others half white, half green; but others of a beautiful green; and thoſe that are ſo, are, in my opinion, the fineſt ſtone that can be ſeen, green being the moſt agreeable colour, to the eye, of any that we ſee. Some authors relate wonders of the bigneſs of emeralds, but our author does not affirm that he ſaw any bigger than a large nut. How-

ever they were in ſuch plenty in *Peru* and other parts of the *Weſt Indies*, as to diminiſh the value of them in *Europe*.

Pearls. As to pearls, they are ſo common in the *Weſt Indies*, as not to be much minded, the negroes and meaner ſort of people wearing them in great quantities. But indeed one reaſon why they may not be ſo valuable there, is, that they are not generally ſo bright as thoſe which are found in the *Eaſt Indies*, which are, from the country, call'd *Orient Pearls*. The places where moſt of them were found, were what the firſt diſcoverers call'd the *Iſland of Pearls*, on the ſouth ſea, not far from *Panama*, and in the north ſea about *La Hacha* near *Carthagena*, on the north of *Terra Firma*, and in ſome of the iſlands adjacent. It was a great fatigue for the natives to fiſh for pearls, the beſt of them lying in water 9, 10, ſome 12 fathoms deep. They are different in colour, ſize, ſhape, and are more or leſs valuable, as they are clear or dark, big or little. And if two pearls happen (which is rare) to be of one ſhape and ſize, if they be of a tollerable bigneſs, their being ſo matth'd enhances the price very much, becauſe they ſerve for ear-rings. And this ſhall ſuffice to have been ſaid of the internal produce of the earth in *America*.

Plants. We now proceed to what is produced above ground, ſuch as plants, and animals. And of theſe other nation have their ſhare in the different colonies of *America*, whereas the *Spaniards* engroſs the treaſure (at leaſt the rich mines) to themſelves.

Maiz. As bread is juſtly reckon'd, with us, *the ſtaff of life*, we ſhall begin with *Maiz*, which ſerves a great part of the *Weſt Indies* for bread, and drink too: and is not much inferior to our wheat, in ſtrength and ſubſtance; only it is hotter, and apt to breed groſs humours, as oat meal is obſerv'd to do. It grows upon reeds or canes, and ſhoots up in two or more branches from each root, on the top of which is the grain ſticking cloſe together, 6 or 700 upon one ſtalk. It is planted by the hand, one by one, not too near one another, and requires a hot moiſt ſoil. It is eaten in ſeveral manners, as boil'd in the grain hot; roaſted before the fire; or ground and made into bread; and ſometimes they make biskets of it, mixing the flower with ſugar. When they make drink of it, they uſe it as we do malt, ſteeping the grain in water till it burſts, and this infuſion they boil, and make very ſtrong drink of it, which intoxicates ſooner than wine. They call it *Acua*, *Chicha*, or *Sora* in different places. Another way of making *Chicha* is by waſhing the maiz, and making it into leven, and then infuſing it. But the beſt way is to roaſt the maiz, and then infuſe it. It is very wholeſome, moderately taken, being excellent for the rheins, ſo that it is taken for the gravel. The buds of this grain ſerve inſtead of butter and oyl.

Papas & Cacavi. But becauſe as we obſerv'd, this grain requires a warm and moiſt ſoil, it does not grow in cold or dry countries; thoſe have, in place of it, *Papas* and *Cacavi*. The *Papas* is a ſmall root, which caſts out many leaves; they dry it in the ſun, and then make a ſort of a paſte of it: or elſe they boil or roaſt it like maiz. The *Cacavi* is made of a root call'd *Yuca*, which is a large root, and when it is ſcraped or grated, they put it in a preſs and ſqueeze all the juice from it, and then dry it for bread. It has no taſte, but is wholeſome. They find it very good in ſoup, for it ſwells much, and takes a reliſh, from the broth, which it wants to make it palatable. But in moſt of the plantations they have *European* wheat, and rice.

Roots. As to roots, our author obſerves, that not only all thoſe that have been carry'd to *America* from *Europe*, ſuch as turnips, onions, garlick, &c. have wonderfully improv'd there, and become much better by being tranſplanted; but they had great variety of their own; ſuch as, *ocas*, *yanococas*, *camores*, *vatas*, *xiquimas*, *cochucha*, *cavi*, *totora*, *mani*, and many more too tedious to be mention'd. The firſt *Spaniards* who went to *America*, as they gave names of their own to the ſeveral iſlands and countries, ſo they did to the plants, trees and fruit which they found there, from ſome reſemblance they ſeem'd to have to the plants, &c. in *Spain*, altho' they were very different. Thus what they call the pine apple in *America* *Pine.* has nothing in common with the pine in *Spain*, but only the form of it; for whereas thoſe in *Spain*, have ſcales, and but little meat, thoſe in *America* have no ſcales and are all pulp, and may be eaten like a mellon when the skin is pair'd off. So the cucumber is ſomthing like ours in *Cucumber.* ſhape, but they are ſmooth without, the skin of them is white, and the inſide yellow or violet, and have a ſweet tart taſte, and very delicate.

The little fruit of Chili. What is call'd the Little fruit of *Chili*, taſtes like our beſt cherry, but looks like an unripe mulberry, but bigger. The ſhrub on which it grows is a creeper, and is found in many parts all over *Chili*. The fruit they call prunes are not unlike our *Prunes.* plumb, and are (like them) of different ſorts. Thoſe of *Nicaragua* have a delicate taſte, but have little pulp, and are good to create an appetite.

Capallos. The capallos are a ſort of calibaſh, and grow in various ſhapes, and ſome ſo big that

that they make large baskets of them, cut in two in the middle; others of them make genteel drinking cups.

Axi. There is a ſort of pepper which the *Indians* call axi, which was greatly eſteem'd by the natives. It is of different colours, as red, yellow, green, and fire colour; ſome of it is very ſharp and biting; but other ſorts of it ſweet and pleaſant; and is the common ſauce for meat.

There are many ſorts of pulſe in this country, but our author ſays they came originally from *Europe*, there being very few of them when the *Spaniards* went firſt thither.

Different ſorts of trees. Of trees they have great variety, many of them peculiar to the *Weſt Indies*. The plane tree, ſo call'd by the *Spaniards* for ſome reſemblance to the platanus, in the broadneſs of the leaf, is a quite different tree from that: for the great value of the *Indian* plane is owing to a good fruit which it bears, whereas the *European* plane bears none. *The plane.* Beſides the plane in other places is a large ſpreading tree with a big body, but the *Indian* is ſmall, and does not ſpread. Indeed the leaves of the *American* tree are much larger than the other, for they are able to cover a man from head to foot. It ſhoots from the root in ſprigs or branches, all ſeparate from one another, every one making a ſmall tree apart. When thoſe ſprigs grow to about eight foot, it puts forth only one bough with fruit, 300, ſome more, ſome leſs, on a bough two or three inches thick, which have a kernel, within a rind, tender and good to eat, if ſuffer'd to ripen upon the tree. The taſte of them is like an apple; and they laſt the whole year round. It grows in warm ſoil where there is a good deal of moiſture. They flouriſh moſt in *Mexico*, *Terra Firma*, and in ſome of the iſlands within the tropicks. The leaves of this tree have been writ upon.

Cocoa. But as profitable as the plane is, the cocoa is moſt eſteem'd, ſo that in *Acoſta*'s time it was one of the moſt valuable and current commodities of *New Spain*, and he ſays that whole ſhip loads of it were frequently carry'd from *Guatimala*. And altho' this author ſpeaks ſlightly of it, and ſays that the *Spaniards* made great account of the drink made of cocoa *fooliſhly, and without reaſon*, this may be excus'd in him, becauſe, perhaps, chocolate was not come to that perfection, nor ſo univerſally us'd as it has been ſince; but it ſeems very odd that Dr. *Harris*, a modern writer, ſhould be ſo little acquainted with the reputation of chocolate, as to out-do even *Acoſta* in his rediculing this fruit, and had ſuch a weak ſtomach as to take the frothing of a diſh of chocolate for a vomit. But neither of their opinions will put the world out of conceit with it, and indeed it is a pity they ſhould.

The tree that bears this fruit, or nut as it is call'd, is much about the ſize of our plumb trees, with leaves not unlike the orange tree, and flowers of the colour of ſafron, but the tree muſt be preſerv'd from the ſcorching heat of the ſun by being ſhelter'd by ſome other tree planted near it. The fruit is inclos'd in a husk, almoſt like a cheſnut, and is of ſeveral ſizes, from the bigneſs of a crab apple, to that of the middle ſort of musk-mellon. As they ripen, the husk changes from green to rediſh or pink colour, eſpecially on the ſide towards the ſun; there are two ſeaſons of the year for them, *viz. January* and *May*. When this rind is cut, you have the kernel or fruit, in ſome more, in others fewer, almoſt like almonds, but not ſo flat; before they are ripe the kernel is whitiſh, but as it ripens becomes almoſt of the colour of a bullock's kidney. Thoſe kernels being dry'd in the ſun are afterwards beaten in a mortar, and made up in a kind of paſte, of which the chocolate is compos'd.* But the making of chocolate is ſo well known in *England*, that we need ſay nothing of it. There are abundance of theſe trees in *New Spain*, from whence the *Spaniards* tranſplanted them to *Jamaica* and other places where there is great plenty of them.

* *See* Hughes's Amer. Phyſician *p.* 102 *& ſeq.*

Another tree in great reputation, chiefly in *New Spain*, is the magueny, which *Acoſta* ſays, yields water, wine, oyl, vinegar, honey, ſyrop, needles and thread. For the leaves of it may be drawn out in long threads very ſtrong, and at the end of the leaf there a ſort of thorn which ſerves for needles. By cutting the body of the tree they get a good quantity of water, very freſh and pleaſant; which when it is boil'd is a ſort of wine, and that in time turns to vinegar; if it be boil'd but half it is ſyrop, and if over-boil'd it becomes like honey; but our author forgot the oyl. *Maguey.*

Tunnal breeds cochinile. The tunal tree might be paſt over, for any good that is in itſelf, if it were not for little inſects, which breed in the leaves of it, and being dry'd are the ſo much eſteem'd cochinile, with which they dye in grain. Of this cochinile, our author ſays there was brought to *Spain* in 1587 the value of 283,750 pieces of eight, in one fleet, and as much comes every year: ſo that it is no matter whether the tunal tree be handſome or ugly, ſince it breeds thoſe valuable inſects. This tree is very common in *New Spain*. There are alſo of them in *Peru* (ſince *Acoſta*'s time) and in the iſlands of *Hiſpaniola* and *Bermudas*.*

* Gord. Geo. gra.

The

Cotton tree.

The cotton tree ſerves for excellent uſe in the *Weſt Indies*. It grows to the bulk of apple trees; the leaves of it ſmall and pointed; and after the flower falls, there is form'd a green button about the bigneſs of a tennis ball, having a thin cruſty ſhell, which becomes black when it is ripe, within which the cotton is incloſs'd, and would be loſt if not gather'd in time. There are likewiſe ſhrubs where cotton grows, but only with this difference, that the buttons, produced by the ſhurb, are ſhap'd like bean cods; but in all other reſpects they are the ſame with that upon the tree. This cotton is the product of *Peru*, *Mexico*, S. *Cruz* in *Sierra*, *Paraguay*, *Carolina*, *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes* and *Brazil*. And *Acoſta* ſays, that, in the year before nam'd, there were ſent from S. *Dominica* to *Spain* 64,000 arobes of cotton, which amounts to 1,590,000 lb. weight; beſides vaſt quantities of it wrought in the *Weſt Indies* for their own uſe.

It would be an endleſs task to enumerate all the different trees and plants which grow in the *Weſt Indies*. They have fruits and trees of all kinds, either found in the country before the conqueſt, or brought into it from the ſeveral countries of *Europe*, to which the conquerors belong'd. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe already mention'd, to which we may add the capote, chicapote and blankmanger, which eat like marmalade, or compounded fruit rather than ſimple; the mameys, guiavos and paltos, reſembling peaches, apples and pears. Of the other ſort there is an infinite number carry'd thither by the *Spaniards*, *Portugueſes*, *Engliſh* and *French*; moſt of the *European* ſeeds thriving and improving in many parts of the *Weſt Indies*, as having, in moſt places a ſoil agreeable to their nature, and a happier influence of the ſun to ripen them; ſuch as quinces, pomgranates, vines of different kinds, both from *Spain* and *France*. But altho' they have good grapes for eating in *Mexico*, and other *Spaniſh* plantations, yet the wine does not anſwer there, and therefore they bring wine from *Spain*, and the *Canaries*, to all the places north of the line. But in *Peru* and *Chili* they have good wine of their own growth. The reaſon they give for it is, the rains which fall in the ſummer in *New Spain*, and its neighbouring countries, which at that time of the year ſpoils the wine.

But there is one thing very extraordinary, which I ſhould not venture to relate after any man; of whoſe veracity I have a leſs opinion, than of *Acoſta*'s. That is, there are trees in *Peru*, which are of ſuch a nature that one part of a tree bears fruit for one half of the year, and the other part of it for the other half. And he gives an inſtance in a fig tree, (in *Malta* within 13 leagues of the city of *Lima*,) whereof the one half, towards the ſouth, is green, and bears fruit, when it is ſummer in *Chili*, and the other moitie of the tree is green, and bears fruit, when it is ſummer towards the north. If this is true, I ſhall leave the *Phenomenon* of it to the royal ſociety, for I own it is too deep for me.

A ſtrange inſtance of a fig-tree in Peru.

Having thus reckon'd the moſt uſeful fruit trees, we ſhall in a few words ſpeak of the foreſts trees. Many places of *America* were, at their firſt diſcovery, ſo full of foreſts, that there was no travelling thro' ſeveral countries, till they were cut down, and, without doubt, that is the caſe of a great part of it to this day. But as good an opinion as I have of *Acoſta*'s veracity, I cannot believe the ſtory told him by one of the brothers of his order; *viz.* that he travel'd 15 days upon the tops of buſhes, without touching ground; and was oblig'd to get up to the tops of high trees to make obſervations. *This brother may paſs for a traveller any where.*

Foreſt trees.

Among the foreſt trees of *America*, cedars are there in great plenty, ſome white and ſome red, and ſerve both for houſes and ſhiping. As alſo bay trees, palms, and ceivas, of which the natives us'd to make their canoes. In the iſlands, particularly *Cuba*, they have good ſtore of ebony, cedar, grenadille, caovana, and others which are large and fit for uſe; as other places of the continent and the iſlands abound in pines, oaks and firs, of which laſt they make excellent maſts for ſhips. But of all the trees, there ſeems to be the greateſt plenty of *Brazil*. The *Indians* call the tree which yields the *Brazil* wood, *Ibripitanga*. It is tall and ſpreading, its bark is of a dark colour, and full of ſhort prickles; the leaf is green and not unlike that of box tree; the boughs ſhoot forth a yellow ſweet ſmelling flower, which falling off is ſucceeded by a long flat cod full of little red pulſe. The lower part of the tree is only good for dying, and is brought to the ſea, at a great charge, becauſe it grows upon high hills and ſome of them a good way up in the country. There are of thoſe trees in ſeveral parts of the *Weſt Indies*, but *Brazil*, ſo call'd from that wood, is the moſt famous for them. There are many other ſorts of trees both on the continent and in the iſlands, but I ſhall only mention the *Manchenile* tree, of which there is a good number in the iſland *Dominico*, which bears long leaves, and the fruits of it ſmells ſweetly, it is full of red ſtreaks, and taſtes like a hazle nut, but cauſes a deadly ſleep to thoſe who eat of it. And there

Brazil wood.

Ogilvy's Amer. p. 481.

Manchenile tree poiſonous

there is a poiſonous juice comes from the tree, in which the *Caribeans* dip their arrows. But nature has provided a remedy againſt this poyſon, which is an oyl drawn from a ſort of ſnails, which creep into the claws of dead crabs for ſhelter from the weather, which being laid before the fire, come out of their lurking places, and being ſqueez'd, they yield an oily ſubſtance that cures the poiſon of the manchenile.

How cured.

Ogil. *p.* 375.

Before we finiſh this branch of the natural hiſtory, it will be proper to ſay ſomething of thoſe trees or plants which yield gums, drugs, or other ingredients for phyſick. All plants are more or leſs medicinal, when well apply'd: but ſome are more eſpecially ſo. Among thoſe, balm is juſtly eſteem'd excellent; and altho', perhaps, it may not come up to the ſcripture account of the balm of *Gilead*, not being of the ſame kind; yet it has many qualities attributed to that; *viz.* its fine delicate ſmell, the variety of colours in it, and the effect in curing wounds. It is drawn, in the *Weſt Indies*, from a tree about the bigneſs of the pomegranate, which being larger than that of *Engaddi*, has conſequently a greater quantity of juice. And it is not improbable, but that the great plenty of it in *America* has leſſen'd the eſteem of it, as was the caſe of emeralds and pearls. The *Terra Firma* abounds with it, eſpecially *Tolu* near *Carthagena*. A great deal of it is conſum'd in religious ceremonies by the *Spaniards*, the pope having granted a diſpenſation for uſing it inſtead of cream in thoſe rities where unction is requir'd.

Balm.

Gums and Drugs.

There are ſeveral other gums and drugs, of uſe both for phyſic and painting. Such as *amber*, *gum animi*, *copal*, *tacamahaca*, *caranna*, *oyl of aſpic*, *caſſia fiſtula*, *ſarſaparilla*, &c.

We ſhall ſhut up this part of our natural hiſtory which relate to plants and trees, with a ſhort account of ſugar and tobacco, of which there is ſuch a vaſt trade carry'd on to all parts of *Europe*.

Sugar.

Sugar is not originally the product of *America*, but was carry'd thither from *Sicily*, or from the *Maderas*, who had their ſugar canes from *Sicily*. The ſugar cane is a kind of reed, which grows to the highth of ſix or ſeven foot, and is of different joints; the leaves come out of each joint on both ſides of the ſtalk, of a bluiſh green colour. The cane is not hollow, but of a porous ſubſtance, moiſt, and ſweet to the taſte. The young ſuccors that ſpring from the root, they cut off, and plant in other places. At the proper ſeaſon for cutting thoſe canes, which the planters know, as we do when corn is ripe, they cut them at the firſt joint above ground, and lay them along the earth, and having cut off all the leaves or branches, they bind the canes in bundles, and carry them to the mill, which muſt be done very ſoon after cutting, or elſe they ſuffer much. The mill is made in ſuch a manner, as ſqueezes out all the juice out of the canes, which are remov'd to make way for others, and the juice ſo ſqueez'd, runs into a ciſtern, from whence it is convey'd into a copper, where it is boil'd with a ſlow fire. The firſt ſcum that riſes is good for nothing, but when that is taken off, they preſerve the other ſcums, which is what are call'd moloſſes, of which the rum is made; a liquor ſo well known in *Europe*, but eſpecially in the *Britiſh* dominions. After the juice has been boil'd in the firſt copper, then it is put into others, where they uſe ſtrong fire, and keep it there till it grows thicker, and ſo paſſing from one copper to another five or ſix times, they bring it to the due conſiſtence, and then put it into wooden boxes, of the ſhape of ſugar loaves, which are ſet in rows, with the broad end uppermoſt, adding a ſort of white earth to it for making it white. This manufacture is made in ſeveral parts of *America*, particularly in the iſlands, and more eſpecially in *Jamaica*. The *Portugueſes* likewiſe make a great trade of it in *Brazil*.

See Hughes's Am. Ph. *p.* 27 & *ſeq.*

Tobacco is properly an *American* plant, and was not known in *Europe* before this new world was diſcover'd. It takes its name from the iſland of *Tobago*, where either it was firſt found, or was in greateſt plenty. The manner of planting it is this. They ſow it in beds of 12 foot ſquare, cover'd with palm leaves, to keep off the ſun: and when it does not rain, they water it, till the tobacco comes to be about the bigneſs of young lettuce, and then they tranſplant them, ſetting them in rows, at three foot diſtant from one another, in the months of *February* and *March*, weeding it with great care. When it comes to be 18 inches high, they cut off the tops, and when it is full grown, take it up, and lay it upon poles and rafters, in a place made for the purpoſe, to dry, and when it is ſufficiently dry'd, they pull off the leaves and roll them up. This plant is of ſuch univerſal uſe thro' all parts of the habitable world, that there needs no more be ſaid of it, and is ſuch a branch of the *Britiſh* trade, that many of our plantations ſtand by it.

Tobacco.

Harris's Bibl. *Vol.* II. p. 819.

Having thus done with the vegetables of the *Weſt Indies*, we ſhall proceed to the animals of that country. This we ſhall, with *Acoſta*, (whom Dr. *Harris* likewiſe follows,) divide into three ſorts. 1. Such as the *Spaniards* carry'd from *Europe* to *America*. 2. Such as are of the ſame kind with the animals in the

Animals.

other parts of the world, but were found in *America* upon the firſt diſcovery. And 3. Such as are peculiar to the *Weſt Indies* and were not known to the *Europeans* before the *Weſt Indies* were diſcover'd. Of the firſt ſort are, the *European* ſheep, cows, goats, ſwine, horſes, aſſes, dogs, cats, &c. The ſheep have multiply'd exceedingly, and if they had gotten into the way of ſending their wooll into *Europe*, it might have been a conſiderable branch of their trade. For the paſture in many places of the continent is in ſuch abundance, that ſome people had 70, ſome 80, and others 100,000 ſheep; and great flocks of them in *Peru*, belonging to different people, went a grazing in the country, without having their walks appropriated to the different owners. And the wooll of them was for ſome time uſeleſs, till at laſt ſome, more frugal than the reſt, began to husband it, and made cloth and blankets of it for their own uſe, and they got clothiers from *Spain*; and altho' the cloth was not ſo fine as what came from *Europe*, yet it was of great advantage to the country.

Sheep ſent from Europe.

Cows.

They have great herds of black cattle both tame and wild. Of the firſt they make great advantage by their fleſh, by butter, milk, calves, and oxen for labour; and all the uſe they make of the other, is by hunting them in the woods, and when they have kill'd them, they take off their skins, neglecting the fleſh, as having no occaſion for it. And every one that pleaſes kills thoſe beaſts, none claming any property in them. Thoſe hides they ſend to *Spain*, and *Acoſta* ſays that from *Hiſpaniola* and *New Spain* in 1587, there were 99794 hides ſent over in the fleet that he went in.

Horſes, dogs, goats, &c.

The horſes have likewiſe multiply'd exceedingly in the *Weſt Indies*: as alſo dogs, which have increas'd in ſome places to that degree going wild in troops, that they became a nuſance, and a reward was propos'd in *Hiſpaniola* for killing a dog, as in *Europe* for a wolf. They have great plenty of goats, whoſe greaſe ſerves them for making candles. They have ſome camels, but not in great abundance, theſe the *Spaniards* brought from the *Canaries*.

Wild beaſts in common with thoſe of other parts.

Of ſuch animals as they had in the *Weſt Indies* before the *Europeans* ſettled there, ſome were of the ſame kind with thoſe in the other parts of the globe, and others peculiar to that country. Of the

Mooſes.

firſt were lions, tygers, bears, boars, foxes, ſtags and deer. Of the ſecond they have many, ſuch as, the mooſe, ſhap'd like a ſtag, but as big as an ox, a ſlow creature, good to be eaten, and would ſerve for the yoke if they were tam'd. The females bring three at a time, ſo that they multiply faſt. There is plenty of them in *New England*.

Ogilvy's Amer. p. 146.

Rackoons Ibid 147.

The *Rackoon* is a deep furr'd beaſt, not unlike a badger in ſhape, with a tail like a fox, and the fleſh taſts like lamb. They ſleep in the woods, in hollow trees, all the day, and in the night go to the ſhore to ſearch for ſcollops or other fiſh, and ſo are hunted by the inhabitants.

Muskaſh Ibid.

The muskaſh ſhap'd like a beaver, but not ſo big; the male's teſticles ſmell ſtrong of musk, and if they are kill'd in winter, never loſe that ſmell. They are little bigger than a rabit, and yet their skin ſells for a crown.

Beavers.

The beaver (altho' it cannot be ſaid to be peculiar to the *Weſt Indies*) yet being in great plenty in *Canada* and the countries adjacent, eſpecially *New York*, and in other parts of *America*, deſerves to be mention'd. They are a ſort of amphi- Ibid p. 174. bious creature, and Mr. *Ogilvy* tells of their building their neſts in a very curious manner. For, he ſays they gather all the looſe wood along the banks of the rivers where they live; and if they have not enough, they bite off the barks of ſtanding trees, and ſo gnaw the tree itſelf till it falls; and then cutting of ſuch parts of it as are for their purpoſe, they make their neſt ſix ſtories high, and cover them on the top with clay to keep out rain. They leave a paſſage to the river about the middle, and putting one as a centinel, as ſoon as the allarm is given of any danger near, the whole family makes to the water. They give their young ones, of which they have four at a time, ſuck like puppies. The teats of the female are between her fore legs, are only two, ſo that ſhe ſuckles her young ones by turns, two at a time, and is very tender of them. The fore legs of this creature, with the feet, reſemble thoſe of a dog, but the hind legs and feet are like thoſe of a gooſe. The right *Caſtoreum* is a bladder in ſhape of a pear within the body of the female beaver.

Sainos:

The ſainos are the likeſt to a wild hog, of any creature we know, they are ſmall but extreamly fierce, and aſſault men who hunt them, ſo that they are often forced to take ſhelter in the trees from them, which makes the ſainos bite the Acoſta's Nat. Hiſ. trees for rage, and then they kill them from the trees, by ſhooting bullets or arrows at them. They are remarkable for having their navel upon the ridge of their backs.

But there are two creatures very common in the *Weſt Indies* which the *Spaniards* call ſheep and goats, only for their reſembling thoſe creatures: but are indeed peculiar to *America*. For there is this mark by which we may know the creatures carry'd thither by the *Europeans*, from ſuch as were there before. *viz.* the names they go by among the natives.

The

The creatures which were there at the firſt diſcovery of the country have their diſtinct names, but thoſe that were carry'd thither, and which the *Indians* had not ſeen before, paſs, to this day, by the *European* names, altho' corrupted by the *Indian* pronunciation.

Pacos & guanacos.

The creature call'd, by the firſt *Spaniards*, *India* ſheep is different from our ſheep in *Europe*, and has a diſtinct Name given to it in the different countries where it is found. There are two diſtinct ſpecies of them in *Peru*, one is call'd pacos, and the other guanacos. The pacos bear wool, but the others are bare. They are both eatable; but the greateſt uſe of them was to carry burdens, and the greateſt part of the ſilver of *Potoſi*, and the quickſilver of *Guamanga* was carry'd from thoſe mines upon the backs of thoſe creatures; each of them being able to carry 114 lb. for 70 leagues at four leagues a day, and ſometimes 400,000 ducats worth in ſilver bars are carry'd by a drove of thoſe ſheep, and only guarded by a few *Indians* and perhaps three or four *Spaniards*. But they are obſerv'd to have odd qualities attending them. Sometimes they will ſtop all of a ſudden, and raiſing their long necks like a crane, they ſtare in the faces of ſuch as attend them. At other times they will ly down under their burdens, and no beating can force them to riſe till they pleaſe, and they will ſuffer themſelves to be cut to pieces rather than take to their feet, whilſt that humour laſts. The only remedy in that caſe is patience and making much of the ſullen creature.

The bezoar ſtone found in the belly of ſeveral animals.

Thoſe ſheep as well as other animals of *Peru* are ſaid to have the *Bezoar* ſtone in them, which is found ſometimes in the maw, ſometimes in the belly of them, and often two or three of thoſe ſtones in one creature. Thoſe ſtones are of different colours and ſizes. Some are black, ſome white, ſome dark green, and others as if they were gilded. Some again are of the ſize of a hazzle nut, others as big as eggs, and *Acoſta* ſays there are of them as big as an orange. I ſhall not be ſo ſqueamiſh as Dr. *Harris* was, nor refuſe to give my readers, from *Acoſta*, the *Indian* tradition of the generation of this ſtone, which is this. They ſay, that in *Peru*, and eſpecially in *Xaura*, there are many herbs and creatures, which poiſons the water and paſture of that country: and therefore nature has wiſely provided that there ſhould be one herb, that is an antidote or counter poiſon to preſerve the creatures which get their food there. This herb the ſheep and goots of that country know by inſtinct, and eat of it in good quantity for a preſervative, and that the herb ſo eaten produces this ſtone. Now altho' I will not vouch for the truth of this origin of it, I do not ſee ſuch extravagance in it as to make one afraid to mention it. Nature, or to ſay better, the AUTHOR of nature, has been kind even to brutes, as to teach them by inſtinct to avoid ſeveral inconveniencies, which man with all his reaſon has not been able to diſcover: And I ſee no reaſon why a ſtone may not be engender'd in the ſtomach of a beaſt for its advantage, and the good of others, as in the kidney or bladder of a man for his deſtruction. But if the reader does not believe this account of it, I ſhall not go about to perſuade him to it.

This ſtone is excellent againſt poiſon, and ſeveral other infectious diſeaſes; and ſuch account was made of it, that the *Indians* thought it worth their while to counterfeit them, and paſs the falſe upon the *Europeans* for true, which perhaps may have brought them into diſrepute. But to return to the animals.

Vicugnes.

The vicugnes are call'd by the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, goats, altho' they are a quite different ſpecies; they are larger than goats, and have no horns. They live upon the mountains, and ſeem to delight in froſt and ſnow. The *Peruvians* made ſeveral ſorts of coverings of their fleeces or hair, which they keep in its natural colour which it ſtill retains, being that of dry'd roſes. One thing is very remarkable of the fleſh of this creature, that it is apply'd with good ſucceſs to ſome diſeaſes of the eyes. And *Acoſta* tells of having had his own eyes cur'd by applying a piece of it newly kill'd and bloody, by the advice of an old *Indian* woman.

Tarugues.

The tarugues, are a creature not much different from the vicugnes, but nimbler, and not ſo ſociable as they; for they are ſeldom ſeen but alone. Theſe tarugues yield the beſt and largeſt *Bezoar* ſtones.

They have likewiſe dantes, armadills, yguanas, chinchilles, cuyes, and viſchachas, ſome remarkable for the hardneſs of their skin, and the ſtrong ſcales like armour, as the two firſt; and other for other qualities not very material.

Monkeys.

But the ſtories our author tells of the micos or monkeys, eſpecially about *Carthagena* are very extraordinary. He ſays they uſe, when they have a great leap to make, one of them to fix its tail about a branch with the head down, and ſo another twiſts his tail about the hands of that one, till there be five or ſix hanging by one another, capable of reaching to the place they wou'd be at, and ſo beginning to ſwing, they go backwards and forwards, till they acquire ſuch force, by the long ſwinging, that the undermoſt catches hold of the place intended, and then the firſt diſengaging his tail from the tree, they can one after the other reach the deſir'd place

He

He tells one ſtory of a monkey at the governor's houſe in *Carthagena*, which would go to the tavern with money in one hand and a pot in the other, and would not part with the money till he got his pot fill'd with wine, which he would carry home, and if he was inſulted by the way, as it ſometimes happen'd, he would ſet down his pot, and battle his aggreſſors with ſtones, and ſo go home with his cargo: and which was more extraordinary, altho' he was a good bottle companion, he would not taſte the wine by the way, nor afterwards, till his maſter gave it him.

Birds. Nor is there leſs variety of fowls and birds in the *Weſt Indies*, than of beaſts. Of thoſe likewiſe ſome are common with *Europe*, and others peculiar to *America*. Of the firſt ſort are partridges, pigeons, turtles, ſtockdoves, quails, hawks, herons, eagles, parrots, hens, *&c.* The parrots fly about the mountains in *Peru* in great flocks, as other fowls do with us. Of thoſe birds and fowls, which are found in *America*, and no where elſe, there is great variety. Some are ſo ſmall that *Acoſta* took them for butterflies in the air, till he was convinced by a nearer inſpection that they were birds. Such were the tomineros in *Peru*, and others of ſeveral kinds, eſpecially in *New Spain* famous for the beauty, and great diverſity of colours in their feathers, of which the *Indians* made the moſt ſurpriſing works for the ornament of their temples, and of their kings and nobles. And their dexterity in diſpoſing of thoſe different colours of feathers to repreſent any thing they ſaw or imagin'd, was, perhaps, a more refin'd art than our painting. If this art is out of uſe among thoſe poor people now, it is no wonder, when they have been ſo long ſlaves, to the *Europeans*, who are more intent upon ſetting them to work in the bowels of the earth, in order to glut their avarice, than in giving encouragement for ingenuity.

Tomineros.

Ingenious pictures made of feathers.

Of the larger ſort of fowls they had likewiſe great plenty, ſuch as the condores, a bird of ſuch ſtrength, that they would attack ſheep and calves, and devour a whole one at a time, The auras and paulazes (a ſort of ravens) which rooſted upon trees or rock and in the day hover'd about towns to watch their prey. Theſe were eſteem'd for their eating up all the carrion they found, and ſo ridding the cities and towns of the ſtench of it. The *Guacamayoc* are bigger than parrots, but have a pleaſing variety in their feathers. Others again are far from being pleaſant to look upon, but ſerve for good manure, and fatten the land with their dung. Our author ſays, that in ſome iſlands near *Peru*, the hills are cover'd to an incredible heighth with their dung, ſo that they ſeem at a diſtance, all cover'd with ſnow; this they bring in boats to the main land, and it proves of great uſe to their ground. There is particularly one valley in *Peru*, call'd *Limoguano*, from this very dung, which they call'd guano in their language. In a word, the *Americans* are the beſt ſtor'd with fowl of any people in the world; for they not only eat their fleſh, are delighted with their muſick, and have their eyes feaſted with the beauty of their feathers, but even their moſt deform'd birds of which they make no uſe, any of theſe three ways, help to make their land fruitful; for it is obſerv'd that, in this valley of *Limoguano*, there is the fineſt fruit of any in *Peru*, ſaid to proceed from this manure.

Condores.

Auras.

Guacamayoc.

Thus we have given a ſhort ſketch of the natural hiſtory of the *Weſt Indies*. To dwell longer upon it, would have been foreign to our deſign, and had ſwell'd our work to an undue bulk. What we have ſaid of it has been taken from approv'd authors, and we hope we have ſaid nothing on this ſubject, but what was proper, and ſupported by ſufficient authority. And therefore we ſhall proceed, according to our propos'd method, to

SECT. II.

The Moral Hiſtory of AMERICA.

AS we have follow'd *Acoſta*'s Method in the laſt Section, there appears no Reaſon for deſerting him in this, and therefore, without farther Preface, we ſhall obſerve, with him, that the pride and malice of the devil have been two great cauſes of idolatry in the world.

His pride to be equal with his maker, made him ſet up himſelf as the object of worſhip in all nations whom he could lead blindly into that ſnare; and his malice to mankind, for ſeeing them more in favour with their CREATOR, than he himſelf was, made him uſe all the ways he could invent, to keep them in ſubjection to him, that he might the more eaſily accompliſh their ruin.

As a due reverence for Almighty GOD, is the foundation of all religion, ſo the placing that regard, which is commonly call'd worſhip, upon wrong objects, is the fountain of all vice and immorality. And this is what we call idolatry; that is *paying that adoration and reverence to creatures which is due to GOD alone.* Idolatry is center'd either in real objects, or imaginary ones: the one addreſs'd to natural things, and ſuch as really exiſt; the other to chimæra's and creatures of fancy and imagination only. In both theſe

Idolatry defin'd.

theſe kinds, the devil found leſs difficulty, from the univerſal tradition deriv'd thro' all ages, of the being of one ſupreme creator, whom all mankind was bound to worſhip. And therefore, according as any nation was more or leſs ignorant, he adapted his ſchemes to entrap them; repreſenting to ſome that there was one *ſupreme being*, the father of all things, but then he added that he had ſome inferior Gods under him, who were to be worſhip'd: and becauſe men are moſt forcibly led by what ſtrikes their ſenſes, the hoſt of heaven, as they are call'd in ſcripture, came in for a ſhare in the worſhip of moſt nations; the ſun and moon being under different names, the objects of worſhip in moſt heathen countries. But as I do not deſign any general hiſtory of idolatry, I ſhall confine myſelf to *America*.

A ſupreme lord believ'd by the Indians.

It is certain that at the firſt diſcovery of this new world, the firſt conquerors (as ſoon as they came to underſtand their language, and to be well acquainted with their ſentiments) found among the more ſenſible among the *Indians* a notion of one ſupreme lord of all, whom they call'd *Viracocha*, *Pacacamac*, *Pacayachachic.* or *Uſapu*; all which are names of great excellence in their language.

But they worſhip'd creatures too.

But, altho', in common reaſon, the belief of one ſupreme lord of all things muſt exclude all other Gods, yet it is a hard matter to perſuade ignorant people, long bred up in the practice of idolotry, that there can be but one infinite being *to whom* ALONE *worſhip is due.* Thoſe *Indians* therefore, together with *Viracho-ca* or *Pacacamac* offer'd ſacrifice to others, particularly to the ſun; the moon; thunder; ſtars, under ſeveral names, according to the different bleſſings they expected from them; the earth; the ſea; thus the *Mexicans* call'd *Cortez the ſon of the ſun*; and thoſe of *Peru* call'd the *Spaniards the off-ſpring of Heaven* or *Virachoca*, as long as they continu'd to have a tolerable opinion of them.

Nor was their idolatry confin'd to thoſe creatures which ſeem'd to have ſome inherent excellency in themſelves, but even their worſhip was addreſt to the moſt baſe and abject things, as hills, rivers, ſtones, metals, nay even roots: in ſhort any thing that was any way extraordinary in its kind. And the *Spaniards* found them much inclin'd to worſhip them for their ſtrange appearance, till they, by their cruelty and ill uſuage, gave them ſuch an idea of them, that if they were inclin'd to worſhip them afterwards, it was as they ſacrificed to their evil Gods, for fear of being murder'd by them.

As their deities were, ſo their worſhip and ſacrifices were different. To ſome they made their devotions with open hand, and looking towards them, or putting their hands to the ground, and then to their mouth; which, it appears, was not peculiar to the idolaters of *America*, for *Job* aludes to this as a cuſtom in his country us'd by idolaters. *If I beheld the ſun when it ſhined; or the moon walking in brightneſs, and my heart has been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand. This alſo were an iniquity —— for I ſhould have deny'd the* G O D *that is above.** To other inferior Gods, they us'd to offer old ſhoes, feathers, and chew'd cocoa, and when they had nothing elſe, they offer'd ſtones: and ſometimes they pull'd out their eye brows to offer to their Gods.

* Job xxxi. 26, 27, 28.

A homely argument of a Spaniſh *captain.*

But here it would be an injuſtice to conceal a familiar argument us'd by a *Spaniſh* captain to an *Indian* king or cacique, to prove that the ſun was not a God as he alledg'd. The captain pretended to have a letter to ſend, and deſir'd the cacique to find him a meſſenger, who being come by the king's order, the captain ask'd the cacique, *Which was greater, the meſſenger who was to carry his letter, or he, by whoſe order he was to do it?* the cacique readily anſwer'd, *that he himſelf was undoubtedly greater, becauſe he had commanded the* Indian *to carry the captain's letter. Even ſo*, ſaid the captain, *the ſun goes like a poſt, at the command of the great* CREATOR, *and is as much a ſervant to* HIM, *as this* Indian *is to you.* This, altho' it may ſeem a poor argument to our *learned* and *wiſe* age, was a very good one, *ad hominem*, and, by the grace of GOD had a good effect.

The Mexican *idol* Vitzili-putzle.

Another ſpecies of idolatry, which they us'd, was in their imaginary idols, who never had a being but in their brain. Such was the famous *Mezican* idol *Vitziliput-zli*, to whom they erected a temple, the moſt glorious of any they had. This idol was of no finer ſtuff than wood, but it was adorn'd finely with gold, jewels, and feathers. It was in ſhape of a man, with his forehead painted azure, and a band of the ſame colour between his mouth and noſe, which reach'd from ear to ear; upon his head was a rich plume of feathers ending in a point like the beak of a bird, and cover'd on the top with burniſh'd gold; he heldin his left hand a white target, upon which were the figures of five pine apples wrought in feathers, ſet in a croſs; out of the top of the ſhield iſſued a creſt of gold; in his right hand he had a ſtaff colour'd azure cut in the faſhion of a waving ſerpent; at his ſides were four darts. This idol was ſet upon a ſtool, in a ſort of a litter, and placed upon the great altar, with a rich curtain drawn before

before it to add the greater reverence to it for being ſeldom ſeen.

Nor was this the only idol kept in this temple. There was another, held in great eſteem among them, call'd *Tlalec*, whoſe chappel was next to that of *Vitziliputzli*. Abundance of others they worſhipp'd, and adorn'd, according to the affairs over which they thought they preſided. And not only in the city of *Mexico*, but in the provinces adjacent they had their ſeveral deities, and temples, too tedious to deſcribe.

But here I ſhall drop my author in one favourite notion of his, *viz.* that the devil had taken great pains to mimick the chriſtian worſhip in the idolatry of the *Indians*, and inſtances in ſeveral particulars, ſuch as temples, prieſts, monaſteries of men and women, the trinity, ſacraments, confeſſion and ſuch like. I ſhall not make myſelf ſo merry with *Acoſta*'s religion as a late author does, upon this account. But I think there is more charg'd upon the devil, by the *Spaniſh* writers, than he has the honour to have any title to. If ſacrifices were at firſt appointed, as a part of religion, as they certainly were, which appears from the holy ſcripture, it is no wonder that the practice was handed down to the whole poſterity of *Adam*, or rather of *Noah*; it being the univerſal tradition of mankind that *without ſhedding of blood there was no remiſſion.* If then, by the command of ALMIGHTY GOD, people were to offer ſacrifice, and thoſe who, from time to time, went off the great ſtock, to ſettle in different parts of the earth, carry'd with them this part of religion, then I think ſome part of what our author charges upon the devil, was the reſult of experience by what the firſt who came off from the family had ſeen practis'd by their fathers. And as to temples, and prieſts they ſeem to be neceſſary in common ſenſe, without the devil's having any finger in them. For ſome place muſt be allow'd for ſacrifice, and ſome perſons to perform the office. And what our author calls mimicking the euchariſt, was a part of the commanded religion of ſacrifice, where they were to conſume that which was offer'd in honour of GOD. So that altho' I do not deny but the devil had a great hand in corrupting the religion of the heathens, I cannot think the corruptions he introduced conſiſted in apeing the divine inſtitutions, but rather in departing from them. And as to the chriſtian religon, I cannot allow that the ſuperſtitions of the *Americans* had any relation to it, becauſe there was very little new in their worſhip, but the very ſame things were practis'd, by the old heathens, far enough from *America* before the devil knew what the chriſtians inſtitutions would be. I therefore believe that the worſhip of the heathen, as far as it had any reſemblace of the true worſhip, was owing to the univerſal tradition deriv'd from *Noah* and his family; and the extravagances and corruptions of of it took their riſe from the different defects and failings of human nature, and were ſtill farther improv'd by ignorance and ſuperſtition, which generally go together; nor ſhall I deny the devil his ſhare in promoting thoſe corruptions and deviations. And it ſeems to me as reaſonable to alledge, that the devil taught them that truth and native ſincerity, that diſintereſted plainneſs of living, and ſeveral other good qualities (by which they came nearer to the goſpel ſpirit than many of the baptis'd heathens who conquer'd them, and taught them chriſtianity backwards,) as that the parts of their worſhip reſembling the divine inſtitutions, were the ſuperinducements of that rival of divine power.

Having given this caution, which I hope will not be thought an impertinent digreſſion, I ſhall proceed to treat of their temples and worſhip. In diſcourſing upon this ſubject what is related by the *Spaniſh* authors of *Peru* and *Mexico* and the other *Spaniſh* colonies, may for the moſt part agree to the whole *Weſt Indies*, as far as we have accounts of them from others, only with this difference, that *Peru* and *Mexico* having been govern'd by two powerful monarchs, and reduced to great empires under their two emperors, were more magnificent in their temples, and had their worſhip perform'd with more ſolemnity than the other nations which were govern'd by petty caciques, or divided into clans; to which we may add, that the politeneſs of the two empires mention'd being more remarkable than in the other nations of *America*, theſe laſt, as was obſervable among the rudeſt, and moſt ignorant people, had goſſer notions of religion in ſome inſtances, than the others had: altho' GOD knows! it was bad enough among the beſt of them, *ſo neceſſary is* REVELATION *to direct even the wiſeſt nations as to* RELIGION. And I cannot help thinking that if our preſent free-thinkers were to be left to themſelves, to draw up a ſcheme of religious worſhip, (for ſome religion they muſt have, from the old maxim of keeping the leſs inlighten'd multitude in aw, which they boldly aſſert to have been the firſt riſe of religion) their ſyſtem would be as ridiculous, and have leſs foundation of truth, than any that ever was us'd in a heathen country. But this only by the bye. To return therefore to our ſubject.

The

The *Americans* had temples to their idols almoſt in all the great towns, eſpecily where thoſe towns were ſubject to one cacique, independent of any other; and thoſe temples were generally as well adorn'd, and as magnificently built as any of the palaces of their kings, and very often ſurpaſt them: common reaſon teaching them, that the ſupreme being ought to be regarded above any of their fellow creatures, even kings. But as it were impoſſible to give any account of the 10th part of their temples, and, if we could, it would be foreign to our deſign, we ſhall ſay ſomething of the great temple of *Mexico*, and let that ſerve to give an idea of thoſe of *Peru*, and the others thro' all the nations, only with this caution, that thoſe of *Peru*, and *Mexico* were infinitly more rich and magnificent than any elſewhere.

The temple of Mexico.

The temple of *Vitziliputzli*, in *Mexico*, was built upon a hill, to which they aſcended by ſteps. It was built of ſtones cut in the ſhape of ſnakes ty'd together, taking in a vaſt compaſs of ground, called, by the *Indians*, *Coatepantli*, or *the circuit of ſnakes*. The court, within this encloſure, was capable of containing abhve 8000 people, who aſſembled to dance upon ſeveral of their feſtivals. Within this court, were the appartments for the prieſts, and other religious, as alſo the oratories of their idols; upon the top of each of which, was placed a pillar, made of ſmall ſtones black as jet, and upon the capitel of the pillars, were battlements ſupported by two ſtatues of *Indians*, holding candleſticks in their hands. To this ſtructure there were four entries, faceing the four cardinal points, and from each gate a cawſey of about three leagues long quite thro' the lake, and at the beginning of the cawſey, a ſtatue of an idol fronting the cawſey. Before the great court of the temple, there was a riſing of 30 ſteps, and above thoſe a wall of 30 foot broad made of earth with high trees planted upon it, at ſix foot diſtance from each other, and rods reaching from tree to tree, all the way from top to bottom, which were full of the skulls of humane ſacrifices offer'd from time to time to their idols. Above this wall they aſcended 120 ſteps, where there were two ſtone chappels appropriated to *Vitziliputzli* and his brother idol *Tlalec*. Before theſe chappels there was a court of 40 foot ſquare, in the middle of which was a high ſtone of about 20 inches broad ſet up like a pyramid, where the victim was fix'd to have the heart pull'd out.

Prieſts.

In this temple adorn'd with gold, emeralds, and other precious ſtones to an infinite value, many prieſts and religious men and likewiſe women had their reſidence. The prieſts belonging to this temple were hereditary, but thoſe of the inferior deities (to whom were dedicated many other temples in *Mexico*) were elective. The high prieſt, whom they called *Topilzin*, appear'd in a red robe which had taſſels beneath, wearing a crown of the fineſt feathers, and pendents in his ears. The others wore a white habit wrought with black, with their hair ty'd up with fillets, and a circle of paper, (ſuch as they us'd for their hierogliphicks) painted with different colours, round their temples. The offices of theſe prieſts were to burn incenſe before the idols, four times a day, *viz.* at break of day, at noon, at ſun ſet, and at midnight. The laſt of theſe was perform'd with great ſolemnity with trumpets, flutes and other inſtruments of muſick, ſuch as they us'd; after which they all retir'd to the chappel to perform an odd ſort of penance; which was to thruſt a ſort of bodkins thro' the calves of their legs, and to beſmear their faces with the blood, which they expos'd in view of the people, and then waſh themſelves clean in a pool of water, which ſtood within the encloſure. And before any ſolemn feſtival, they faſted very rigourouſly. But their chief buſineſs was to perform the ſacrifices, the moſt ſolemn of which were the human victims, of theſe I ſhall, without any heſitation, allow the devil to have been the author.

Human ſacrifices.

It is not without horror that any body can think, or write of the inhuman barbarities common thro' all *America* of this kind. Not only *Spaniards*, but other nations who went thither ſaw many inſtances of it, and felt the effects of it too, as often as they had the misfortune to fall alive into the hands of the natives. And altho' the *Indians* of *Peru* ſeem to have out done the other *Americans* in offering up their own blood and thoſe of their neareſt relations to their idols, yet the *Mexicans* were more laviſh of human blood than any other people. It is true they did not ſacrifice any but the priſoners taken in war; but then they made war with no other intent but to get victims: and whilſt other princes went to war to enlarge their dominions, or to revenge injuries, they went to the field with no other view, but to make the altars of their idols ſmoak with human gore, for which reaſon they kill'd as few enemies as they could, but endeavour'd to make many priſoners. And the reaſon which *Montezuma* is ſaid to have given, to *Cortez* why, being ſo powerful as he was, he had not ſubdu'd *Tlaſcala*, was, that he could do it when he would, but that he reſerv'd them for a recruit of ſacrifices to his Gods, which he could not make uſe of them for, unleſs they continu'd his enemies.

In

The manner of them.

In this helliſh piece of religious worſhip, they obſerv'd great ſolemnity. There was generally a good number of them together, deſtin'd for this bloody triumph. Theſe were brought within the court of ſkuls already mention'd, whither came the *Topilzin*, or high prieſt, in his robes, from the top of the temple, with a ſtatue of the idol made of paſte, compos'd of maiz and honey, in his arms, and going to the high ſtone, which we mention'd to be placed in the middle of the court, he deſcended from it by a ſtair on the oppoſite ſide to that by which he went up. Then going to the place where the wretches to be ſacrificed were kept under a guard, he ſhew'd the idol to them one by one. After this ſhew, they went in diſmal proceſſion to the place of execution, where being, in their turns, fix'd to the ſtone, two prieſts held their legs, and and as many their arms, and a fifth their head, whilſt the *Topilzin* open'd their breaſt with a flint, and taking out the heart, threw it ſmoking in the face of the idol, whoſe chappel was juſt fronting the ſtone. After this, they tumbled the dead body down the temple ſtairs, which rolling to the very bottom, with its own weight beſmear'd the ſteps with blood. This inhuman butchery they renew'd with great dexterity, as long as there were any left of thoſe appointed for ſacrifice. And as they came to the bottom of the ſteps, thoſe who had made them priſoners, were there ready to take them away for their dinner. The feweſt that they ever ſacrificed at a time were 40, but very often a much greater number.

But in ſome of their ſacrifices in other temples, they ſometimes gave a victim a fair chance for his life; for they furniſh'd him with a *Macana* or wooden ſword, and target, and gave him leave to fight the perſon who deſign'd to ſacrifice him, upon equal terms, and if he came off victor, they not only give him his life, but ſhewed great regard for him as a brave man.

But ſometimes they took a fancy to call one of thoſe, who had been appointed for a victim, the image and repreſentative of the idol, and therefore having waſh'd him with many ceremonies, they put upon him all the ornaments proper to the duty he repreſented, and kept him in the beſt appartment of the temple for a whole year, ſhewing him in all publick places, and carrying him thro' the ſtreets at ſtated times in proceſſion, the women bringing out their children to be touch'd by him; and then he had his heart taken out with the ſolemnity above deſcrib'd. But if he made his eſcape during the year, the captain of his guard took his place, and was treated as the repreſentative of the idol, for the remaining part of the year, and was ſacrificed in his ſtead, at the expiration of the time.

The prieſts were in high eſteem with the people thro' all the *Weſt Indies*, and eſpecially with their kings, and often prompted them to undertake wars to ſupply their idols with food, threatning deſtruction to them unleſs they brought ſuch a number of human ſacrifices to their altars. And ſuch was the ſuperſtition of thoſe deluded wretches, that they went with as much devotion to make war for food for their Gods, as if they had been going to ſave their country from foreign invaſion.

One great feſtival in honour of *Vitziliputzli* was held in the month of *May*; but before we give an account of that feaſt, it is neceſſary to ſpeak of the other religious who liv'd in the temple, diſtinct from the prieſts. We hinted before, that there were cloiſters in the temple both for men and women. The men lived by themſelves in the lower parts of the building, within the great incloſure, and were about 18 or 20 years old, to whom were added ſome boys to aſſiſt them. Their buſineſs was to miniſter to the prieſts, and to cleanſe the temple. In another part of the ſame incloſure there was a manſion for young women, under the direction and government of ſome old ones whom they call'd *momacomas*. Both theſe ſocieties men and women, were oblig'd to the moſt ſtrict chaſtity; and the leaſt infringment of it in any of them, was death without mercy. But one rule of thoſe religious ſocieties was very commendable, *viz.* that altho' they were oblig'd to the ſtricteſt chaſtity, whilſt they continu'd there, yet they were not confin'd for life, but were choſen out for wives, for the kings and great men, according to the cuſtoms of the country. So that this convent was only a place for education, only that whilſt they were in it, they were oblig'd to a ſtrictneſs worthy of a more reaſonable religion: and if ſuch an education (under proper regulations) were in uſe all *Europe* over, I cannot help thinking that a world of inconveniencies might be prevented. But this by the bye.

Cloiſters for men, and others for women.

The ſolemn feaſt of the idol, approaching, theſe religious virgins, two days before it, were employ'd in making an image of maiz, and beet ſeed mix'd with honey; this image was made in imitation of that of *Vitziliputzli*; and upon the feaſt day, they brought it in proceſſion, upon a ſort of litter, out of their cloiſter into the great court, where the young men dedicated to the ſervice of the temple, (and whoſe ſervice there, and rules altho' very ſtrict, laſted only a year) receiv'd this idol from the virgins, and putting it upon their ſhoulders, carry'd it in proceſſion

The May feaſt of Vitzilliputzle.

proceſſion thro' the city, and to ſeveral villages near *Mexico*, attended by vaſt crowds of people, and at their return, the prieſts proceeded to the human ſacrifices, which were more numerons at that feaſt than at other times, inſomuch that our author ſays, They ſacrifice 4000 and ſometimes more upon thoſe occaſions. The virgins are all dreſt in white, with garlands of maiz upon their heads, their cheeks painted with vermilian; and their arms from the elbow to the wriſt covered with parrots feathers of the ſame colour. The men, who take the burden from them are all clad in red, with garlands upon their heads.

After the ſacrifices are over, the people have cakes of paſte of the ſame kind with the idol deliver'd to them, and *Acoſta* ſays, they break the idol and diſtribute it among them. If this be true, I ſhall not, with him, reſemble it to ſo ſacred a rite as the bleſſed ſacrament; but it puts me in mind of the black torch which the pope toſſes out of the window of St. *Peter's* church, upon maundy Thurſday, after he has excommunicated all the world; the pieces of which, broken by the fall, are very eagerly gather'd up by all that can come at them.

There were ſeveral other feaſts, to the God of repentance; to the idol of the merchants, in *Mexico*, and ſeveral others ſuch like in *Peru*, where the temples were no leſs magnificent than in *New Spain*, and ſome of them much richer in gold and ſilver. But the deſcriptions of them, by the *Spaniards*, from whom alone we have any accounts of thoſe two empires, are ſo extravagant that I ſhall not inſiſt any more upon this part of their religion. Let it ſuffice, that altho' they ſacrificed all ſorts of creatures in ſome part or other of *America* to their numberleſs deities; yet we find human ſacrifices a common abomination in that country at the ſeveral diſcoveries of the different parts of it: which is horrible enough to relate without dwelling upon the more deteſtable manner of them. We ſhall only add to what has been ſaid, that in *Peru* they were more barbarous than at *Mexico* in ſacrificing innocent children to their idols, and thoſe not only of enemies but their own.

But if we may believe the *Inca Garcilaſſo*, the *Peruvians* ſeem to have had a more diſtinct notion of a ſupreme being, than the *Mexicans* had. Their *Pacacamac*, was the *quickener* or *ſpirit* of the univerſe; and they never pronounced his name but with reverence. And, believing him to be inviſible, and unknown, they offer'd no ſacrifice to him, but paid him an internal worſhip. But yet we are told, they had a temple dedicated to him and call'd by his name.

The ſun had the greateſt ſhare of their external worſhip, and the moſt magnificent temples were built to him, and their *Inca's* deriv'd, in their own opinion, their origine from the ſun, to raiſe themſelves above the level of their ſubjects. And this author (who, as we obſerv'd before,* was a native of *Peru*, and of the blood royal) ſays that *Acoſta* and the other *Spaniards* were led into ſeveral miſtakes, concerning the opinions of the *Indians*, by not being ſufficiently maſters of their language, of which he gives ſeveral inſtances; which is not unlikely. But, (as we obſerv'd, in the hiſtory of the diſcovery and conqueſt of that country,) the ſafeſt way to come at the truth, is not to follow blindly, either *Garcilaſſo* (who was byaſs'd by his love to his country) or *Acoſta*, *Herrera*, *&c.* (who ſtretch'd as far, perhaps by miſtake of the language, and ſometimes to juſtify the *Spaniards* in ſome of their unwarrantable proceedings, out of a miſtaken zeal for religion;) we have therefore, all along endeavour'd to take the mean between thoſe authors, who are, to this day eſteem'd the beſt who writ of the *Indian* affairs.

* Un. Tr. *in the conqueſt of* Peru *by* Pizarro.

That the *Peruvians* were idolaters, *Garcelaſſo* does not deny, but he ſays they were not ſo bad as the *Mexicans*, and that may be true. And to ſhew that they had a truer notion of the ſupreme being, he relates a converſation of *Guyana Capac*, the father of *Atahualpa*, or as ſome call him, *Atabaliba* (who was murder'd by *Pizarro*) with the high prieſt. It ſeems the prieſt had reprov'd him for looking at the ſun, as being too familiar with that deity, the *Inca* ask'd him, *whether any of them durſt bid him, their ſovereign, undertake any journey, which he had no mind to?* the prieſt anſwering, that *none would be ſo preſumtuous*; the Inca reply'd, *But if I command the greateſt of you to go to* Chili, *would you not obey?* to which the high prieſt readily aſſenting; the Inca added, *then I conclude that our father the* Sun *muſt have a mighty lord for his ſuperior, by whoſe command he takes ſo long a journey every day; for if he were lord himſelf, he would reſt ſometimes.* Whether this author took this ſtory from the *Spaniſh* captain formerly mention'd, or the captain from him, we ſhall leave to the judgment of the reader.

The temple of the ſun at Coſco.

The temples built for the worſhip of the ſun were magnificent, particularly at *Coſco*. The moſt glorious part of it was the chappel or throne of the ſun. The chappel was ſquare, built of poliſh'd ſtone; the walls cover'd with maſſie gold, beaten

beaten into plates, and towards the eaſt was an emblem of the ſun, as we uſe to draw him, with a man's face ſurrounded with rays. It was of one plate of gold, ſo large that the rays reach'd from top to bottom, and from wall to wall. At the rifling of this temple, this image fell to the ſhare of one *Spaniſh* officer, who loſt it at play in one night, which gave occaſion to a *Spaniſh* proverb, *Jugar el ſol, antes de ſalir*, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies, *To play away the ſun before his riſing.*

On both ſides of this chappel were the bodies of their Inca's ſet on ſeats of gold, fronting the doors; only that of *Guayna Capac* fronted the ſun, as having been eſteem'd his favourite ſon. Thoſe bodies were ſo well preſerv'd that they ſeem'd to be alive. The *Indians* took care, when they ſaw their empire going to ruin, to hide moſt of thoſe bodies, together with a great part of their treaſure, ſo as the *Spaniards* could never come at them, altho' they rack'd and burn'd ſeveral of the poor natives to make them diſcover them: only by chance three bodies of their emperors, and two of the empreſſes were found and brought to *Lima*.

Near this temple of the ſun, there were other buildings, in one of which was an emblem of the moon in ſilver, as that of the ſun was in gold; and the bodies of the empreſſes were there repoſited as the emperors were in the other. In all their temples of this city, the utenſils were of thoſe rich metals, and in the gardens belonging to them, there were ſtatues of men and women; and figures of birds, beaſts and reptiles of the ſame metal in prodigious number.

Their prieſts at *Coſco* were always of the blood royal, and the high prieſt either brother or uncle to the reigning Inca. Their ſacrifices were ſolemn and magnificent, but defil'd with human blood, upon ſome occaſions; but in the ordinary ſervices, there were only rich offerings, firſt by the Inca and his family, and then by the nobility and inferior people. For inſtance; in one of their feaſts, after a three days abſtinence, both from food and women, the Inca us'd to go barefooted into the ſtreet near the temple, before ſun-riſing, the nobility attending in another ſtreet. As ſoon as the ſun began to appear, they all fell down and worſhip'd. Then the Inca took two large veſſels of gold full of liquor, one in each hand: that in his right, he pour'd into a gold pipe which carried it into the temple of the ſun; and after that offering, he drank part of the liquor which was in the other cup, and ſo gave it about among the royal family. The nobility in the other ſtreet perform'd the ſame ceremony. After this they all join'd, and went in proceſſion to the temple, the Inca and his family enter'd the chappel, where with great devotion the emperor preſented his two cups to the ſun, with his own hands; but the other Incas gave theirs (for no perſon appear'd empty) to the prieſts to be preſented in their names. The nobility did not enter the great gate, but the prieſts went to receive their offerings. After all this was done follow'd the ſacrifices, which were of different kinds according to the feſtival.

The Indians believ'd the ſoul immortal.

With all the ignorance and ſuperſtition, with which thoſe poor people were blinded, there were ſome rays of truth in their notions. For inſtance, there was an univerſal belief of the immortality of the ſoul ſpread over the whole new world: and whatever miſtakes or errors it was clouded with, yet when ever the *Europeans* came to underſtand their language, they ſaw this doctrine clearly evinced, from ſeveral cuſtoms among them. They were in many, I may ſay all, places of the *Weſt Indies* ſo perſuaded of the ſouls living after death, that when any of their king's dy'd, they kill'd many of their wives and ſervants in order to have them well attended in the world to which they believ'd he was gone, as we find in all the hiſtories extant of the new world. And ſome of our authors tell of an ingenious thought of a *Portugueſe* to ſave his life upon ſuch an occaſion. Having been made a priſoner, he was ſervant to one of their great lords, and, his maſter dying, he was condemn'd to accompany him, that he might perform the ſame office in the ſeparate ſtate. But the *Portugueſe* having no inclination to that imployment, very gravely, but artfully repreſented to the directors, that it would diſcredit his lord in the other world to have a ſervant who was blind of an eye ſent after him, as if he was ſo deſtitute of ſervants that there were not a ſufficient number, of ſound ones to be diſpatch'd for that purpoſe. The relations of the deceas'd were ſatisfy'd with the excuſe, and the poor *Portugueſe* eſcap'd to tell this inſtance of his wit. I am not accountable for the inconſtancy of their notions with one another, nor with the anſwer which they might have return'd to ivalidate his objection. It is ſufficient that their practice of ſending people after their lords and kings ſhews their belief that they liv'd after death. In conſequence of this belief, they ſaid there were three worlds, this that we ſee, the world above where good men went after death, and were rewarded for their virtue; and the world below the earth where people were puniſh'd for their wickedneſs.

One may ſee, by this acconnt, that if the chriſtians had behav'd with that juſtice

tice and humanity towards thoſe people as their religion teaches them to do towards all men, they might have prevail'd upon them from ſome of their own principles to have had a better opinion of chriſtianity than they had reaſon to entertain, when they ſaw neither juſtice nor mercy in the profeſſors of it.

Of their burying. But the ceremonies of burying were different in ſeveral parts of *America*. Thus in *Peru* they embalm'd and preſerved them, if of any condition, as we have ſaid. But in *Mexico*, they bury'd ſome in their houſes and gardens, and others they burn'd and put their aſhes in urns which they repoſited in their temples, according to the cuſtoms of the ancient *Europeans*, in the times of heatheniſm. But both in one and the other, they put to death many of their ſervants to perform the offices in the other world which they were accuſtom'd to do in this. And that they might want for nothing, they buried great ſtore of wealth with them. The like cuſtom was practis'd in all other parts of the *Weſt Indies*; and in thoſe places where they did not know what riches were, but got their living by hunting, they bury'd their bows and arrows with them, as we have had occaſion to take notice of more than once. But where they had gold or jewels, they gave good ſtore to the dead, as we have ſaid of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and we obſerv'd before,* that the maiden lady of *Cofachiqui* gave *Soto* leave to take a great quantity of pearls out of the burying place of her family.

* p. 160.

Their marriages. Altho' in ſeveral parts of *America* they allow'd concubines, or rather poligamy, yet in moſt places, they ſhew'd a ſacred regard to marriage, which was perform'd with a certain ſolemnity every where, tho' not always the ſame. Thus, in *Mexico*, they came before the prieſts with the friends of both parties; and the prieſt having ask'd their mutual conſent to be man and wife, he ty'd the corner of the woman's vail to the skirt of the man's robe, and ſo they went to the bridegroom's houſe, where a fire was kindled on purpoſe, and the prieſt led the bride ſeven times round the fire which compleated the ceremony. But as they had no cloaths in many places, ſo they had other rites in marriage. The bridegroom went to the bride's houſe, and putting an *ottoya* (that is a certain kind of ſhoe) upon her foot, led her home to his houſe. If ſhe was a maid the ottoya was of wool, but if a widow, it was of reeds.

When a woman was once ſolemnly married by theſe or any other ceremony in uſe among them, ſhe was acknowledg'd as miſtreſs of the houſe, and all the other wives and concubines who had not paſt that ceremony, (which only one could have have the privilege of) were obedient to her; and if ſhe prov'd falſe to her huſband's bed, ſhe was puniſh'd with death, whereas the others were only turn'd off. Of the cuſtom of the Inca's of *Peru* marrying their own ſiſters we have already ſaid as much as is neceſſary.

Divorces. If a marriage did not prove comfortable, they had a liberty to part with mutual conſent, and then they divided the goods according to what each had at their marriage; and the ſons ſtaid with the father, but the daughters follow'd the mother. And each party might marry again, but never to one another. Thoſe marriages which prov'd happy were ſolemniz'd with great feaſting, the husband entertaining his wife's friends in token of gratitude.

At the birth of their children, their prieſts perform'd ſome ſolemn rites, ſuch as waſhing them in water, and putting into their hands proper emblems of their future calling and profeſſion. Thus the ſon of a king or nobleman had a ſword and target put into his hands; and thoſe of the inferior rank had the inſtruments of their father's trade put into theirs; and the daughters, thoſe of ſpinning, &c. proper for their ſex. Theſe rites continu'd for four days and were perform'd in preſence of their idols.

Education of youth. When the children are fit to be put to ſchool, they ſent them to ſchools and ſeminaries, kept in their temples, where they were inſtructed in ſinging, leaping, wreſtling, and other exerciſes in uſe among them: as alſo in learning the hiſtory of their country, expreſt in verſes which they handed down to poſterity by word of mouth. And according to the different ſtates of life that they were deſign'd for, they made them apply to the different ſtudies of politicks or arms, in which they were inſtructed by word of mouth, and trials of skill. And altho' the two great empires of *Peru* and *Mexico* were beſt fitted for ſuch ſchools, yet the other parts of *America* were not wanting in that ſort of education, which fitted them for that ſort of knowledge in uſe in their country: and there were found, in ſeveral parts of the *Weſt Indies*, men, who conſidering their want of letters, were wonderfully qualify'd both for the cabinet and camp.

Exercise of the body. To qualify them for war, in which they were often engag'd among themſelves, they took great care to cultivate a natural agility they ſeem to have been born with, by all the exerciſes which they thought proper to improve it; and this they began from the time that they had any ſtrength, and one may ſay from their cradle. I ſhall not pretend to tell what arts they us'd to teach them to ſwim and dive, but it is certain, that, thro'

thro' all *America* both the men and women were ſo dexterous at thoſe exerciſes, that they appear'd to be no leſs in their proper element when they were in the water, than at land, and they would keep under water a much longer time than any other people were known to be able to do, before the *Europeans* invented machines for diving, which enable people to breath in the water. And they could ſwim from the continent to iſlands, at a much greater diſtance than an *European* would have attempted to have done.

Dancing. To the ſubject of exerciſe of the body belong their dances ſo common in that country, and practis'd upon different occaſions; ſometimes upon a religious account; ſometimes to expreſs peace and alliance; at other times, and in a different manner, to bid defiance, and to declare war; and ſometimes only for diverſion and pleaſure. The *Mexicans* had, of all others, the greateſt variety of them. But the moſt famous kind of dances, in that empire, was that call'd the *Mittote*, in which the emperors themſelves ſometimes had their part.

Montezuma was particularly fond of muſick and dancing, and therefore had thoſe entertainments often in his palace, and gardens. For muſick they had a ſort of inſtrument made of wood hollow'd, and cover'd with a deer's skin dreſs'd like parchment, which was ſtretch'd, and beaten with ſticks or men's hands, and tho' not ſhap'd like kettle-drums, were in ſtead of them. And to the ſound of thoſe inſtruments the ſingers tun'd their voices. They had likewiſe a ſort of flutes and cornets; which altho', perhaps, not ſo agreeable to *European* ears, made tolerable muſick in that country. When the emperor was going to dinner, eight or ten ſounded the wind inſtruments, and beat thoſe drums, at which the dancers, who were all noble, prepar'd themſelves againſt dinner was ended. They were richly dreſs'd in coſtly mantles of different colours. They held in their hands noſegays of roſes, or fans of feathers, or feathers mix'd with gold. And ſome, to make them look fierce, had the skins of the heads of tygers, lions, or crocodiles put upon their heads. Of thoſe there were above 1000 who danced at one time. The muſick was in the middle, and the chief dancers in a circle about the muſicians, and taking hands in ſeveral circles one without another, all danced at the ſame time, keeping time to the muſick. Two or three of the beſt dancers led the dance, ſinging along with the inſtruments, as did all the reſt; and when any of them was tir'd he retir'd out of the dance to refreſh himſelf, and then return'd. The ſongs they ſung, upon thoſe occaſions, were different, and their muſick of conſequence was of different kinds: thoſe which were made in praiſe of their emperors and the hiſtories of the country were ſolemn and grave, and therefore the movement of the dance was accordingly ſlow, like the *Spaniſh* Sarabands; but when their ſongs were upon merry ſubjects, the muſick was *Allegro*, and the dance light and quick. But when that prince had his women to dance before him, it was always in his gardens, and then no men were allow'd to be preſent, but ſuch favourites as he thought fit to call to attend him. And when the dance had any thing of devotion in it, it was grave and ſlow, and always in the temple. Herrera *dec.* II. B. V. *ch.* 2.

But the *Indians* were not only very expert and clever at bodily exerciſes, but they were likewiſe dexterous in ſome things which one would think requir'd letters, or at leaſt figures, which they had not. Thus they had a mechanical invention for arithmetic, by which *Acoſta* ſays, they perform'd multiplication and diviſion in a wonderful manner, and with great certainty; and had a ſort of regiſters, which they call'd *Quippos*, made of bows with ſeveral knots, and ſtrings of different colours, which ſometimes ſerv'd for numbers, and ſometimes for things, and they us'd them not only in arithmetic but in hiſtory: and people of all ſorts and conditions had thoſe things, which were of the ſame uſe as ſcores in publick houſes here, with marks for the difference of ſums. *Computation.*

Their manner of reckoning time, was ingenious enough. They divided the year into 18 months of 20 days apiece, which made up 360 days; and the five days over and above that number, they reckon'd by themſelves, under the title of *the days of nothing*, and to make them ſo in good earneſt, they gave over all manner of buſineſs, and even the worſhip of their gods, whilſt thoſe five days laſted, which were in the month of *February*, when the leaves began to grow green; the 26th of that month being the firſt day of their year. *Acoſta* ſays he had the *Mexican* Almanack, where the different months were mark'd by different pictures or hierogliphicks; and by particular marks they knew what feſtivals were in every month, and upon what days they were to be held: ſo that I believe we do them wrong when we ſay they had no letters. For their chronology, they had a wheel painted, which ſtood for 52 years; this they divided into four parts, and diſtinguiſh'd them by four different figures, as a houſe, a rabit, a reed, and a flint: each of which contain'd 13 years; and when they told any thing remarkable, they ſaid it happen'd in ſuch a year *Of time.*

of

of the houſe, or rabit, or reed, or flint of ſuch a wheel. And from the center of the wheel, they draw lines to the circumference dividing the circle into four parts as before, and marking thoſe diviſions by different colours, as green, blue, red and yellow: and at the out ſide of the wheel they repreſented, in painting, any remarkable event. Thus, our author ſays, they had repreſented, in his almanack, the year in which the *Spaniards* enter'd *Mexico* by a man with a beard clad in red. And thus they did other occurrences.

When the laſt day of the wheel came, that is the laſt of 52 years, they broke all their veſſels, and put out their fire; becauſe they believ'd that the world was to end at the expiration of one of thoſe ages, and for ought they knew, it might be then, and therefore they ſat all night, in great fear, waiting to ſee whether the ſun would riſe again, and upon his firſt appearing, there was a great rejoicing, all their muſick play'd, and they went to their temples, and after paying their devotions, took new fire from the prieſts, and bought new veſſels for dreſſing their meat. And then they made a new wheel for the new age. But the *Peruvians* computaion of the year by months according to the moon, was nearer to ours.

After this manner of painting, the *Americans* repreſented the hiſtory of their country, and as we obſerv'd in the conqueſt of *Mexico*, they ſent diſpatches to *Montezuma* in painting, ſignifying the landing and progreſs of the *Spaniards*. And they were ſo ingenious in this art, that whoever believes the accounts given of their pictures of that kind (and indeed I ſee no reaſon for diſputing the truth of them) muſt conclude that the *Indians* were far from being fools.

Govern-ment.

As to government, there was great variety in the *Weſt Indies*. Some parts of them being under emperors, as *Peru* and *Mexico*; others under their ſeveral caciques and kings, whereof ſome had large dominions, and ſome ſmall; and others were in clans, or under captains, who were choſen to lead their armies, and govern'd abſolutely whilſt they continu'd. Of theſe two laſt, *viz.* The kings or caciques, and the clans, we have had ſeveral inſtances in the preceding ſheets; all therefore that we ſhall further ſay of them is, that the caciques or kings were hereditary and abſolute, thro' all *America*; and that was generally ſpeaking, the government eſtabliſh'd in that country; as it undoubtedly was in all other parts of the world at firſt; which is, to me, an unanſwerable argument for *hereditary Monarchy* being the firſt government inſtituted by the ALMIGHTY GOVERNOR. The clans were a ſort of vagabonds, for the moſt part, who had no fix'd habitation, or if they had, it was but of ſhort ſtanding. But becauſe the empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* were the moſt conſiderable, and the moſt powerful, and of the greateſt extent of any in the new world, we ſhall be more particular in giving an account of their government.

Mexico is repreſented as an empire gover'd by an emperor choſen by the ſuffrages of the people, and then of the nobility. But to have the better notion of their government, it will not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of the origine of the people who inhabited *Mexico* when the *Spaniards* invaded it.

The Origine of the people of Mexico.

It is agreed upon by all thoſe who have ſtudy'd the old traditions of *New Spain*, that the *Mexicans* were not the ancient inhabitants of it. The old poſſeſſors were *Chichimecans*, a barbarous ſavage people, who are ſaid to have liv'd without order or government, like ſo many wild beaſts, eating raw fleſh and fiſh, or more unnatural food. But about the year 720 according to the chriſtian *Æra* (if the *Spaniards* who write of thoſe things did not miſtake the *Mexican* chronology) the *Navatalcas*, people living far north of *Mexico*, who conſiſted of ſeveral tribes, (all of them polite people, compar'd with the *Chichimecans*,) came by degrees farther ſouth, either prompted by ſome outrages receiv'd by the barbarians, or to ſeek a better country than their own, or for ſome other reaſon; thoſe *Navatalcas* chas'd the old inhabitants from about the lake of *Mexico*, then only call'd the great lake, and after they had gotten poſſeſſion, encourag'd another tribe from their own country to do the ſame in the places near the lake: ſo that in the ſpace of 300 years *Mexico*, *Tezeuco*, and all the places thereabouts as far as *Tlaſcala* were inhabited by the *Navatalcas*. Six tribes of them were now come to what was ſince call'd *New Spain*, and all liv'd in great friendſhip, uniting againſt the *Chichimecans*, who having retir'd to the mountains, often fell upon them.

In this condition they liv'd till about our year 1000, that the laſt tribe of the *Navatalcas* came towards the lake under the conduct of *Mexi* their king or captain. We ſhall not amuſe our readers with the ridiculous ſtories of their making this expedition at the command of their idol *Vitziliputzli*, and of his having deſcrib'd the part of the lake where they were to build their city, from finding an eagle upon a tunal tree, growing out of a ſtone. There is no impoſſibility in their having ſeen that fowl upon ſuch a tree, and that either to encourage his people, by ſhewing them that bird devouring his

prey, or out of ſuperſtition; *Mexi* took that for a part of his coat of arms, as it remain'd to the city of *Mexico*, which took its name from him, altho' they call'd it likewiſe *Tenoxtitlan*, which ſignifies *a Tunal upon a ſtone.*

But altho' the *Mexicans* were originally the ſame people with the other ſix tribes, yet they were look'd upon with an evil eye, by thoſe who had been many years there before, which occaſion'd them much trouble, and they were oblig'd to make good their poſſeſſion by force, and policy: and therefore they agreed among themſelves to chuſe *Acamapitzli* the ſon of a neighbouring prince, but of their own lineage by one of his parents, for their king. This brought them ſo powerful an alliance that during his life, they liv'd in profound peace; altho' they were oblig'd to endure great hardſhips, and pay an odd kind of tribute for that peace, to the king of *Tepeaca*. But the *Mexican* king dying, after he had beautify'd the city by many fair buildings, his ſon *Vitzilovitzli* being pitch'd upon to ſucceed him in the government, ſoon after marry'd the daughter of the king of *Tepeaca*, by which he redeem'd the *Mexicans* from their grievous ſlavery, the kind of *Tepeaca* remitting the unreaſonable tribute before exacted of them. But both the king and queen of *Mexico* dying ſoon after, the *Mexicans* choſe their ſon, altho' a child of 10 years old, for their king that they might ſtill keep the favour of his grand-father. But perſuming too much upon the friendſhip of the king of *Tepeaca*, grandfather to the young king *Chimalpopoca*, they not only deſir'd liberty of bringing water to *Mexico* from *Chapulpcepec*, which was granted, but deſir'd him, (with ſome circumſtances of diſreſpect) to ſend them ſtones and timber to make an aqueduct, and likewiſe workmen to build it. Which ſo diſoblig'd the people of *Tepeaca*, that in ſpite of their king, they murder'd young *Chimalpopoca*, and by that action broke their own king's heart, for he dy'd ſoon after. The *Mexicans* reſolving to revenge his death, ſent to the two caciques of *Tezeuco* and *Culuachan* to be preſent at their choice of a king.

Acamapitzli *1ſt king of* Mexico.

Vitzilovitzli *2d king of* Mexico.

The two caciques conſented to ſtand neuters in the quarrel between them and their enemies, ſeeing the juſtice of the cauſe to be on the *Mexicans* ſide, and coming to aſſiſt at the new election of a king, promis'd them freedom of commerce with their cities. The nobility being aſſembled, in preſence of the two caciques, made choice of *Izcoalt*, the ſon of their firſt king by a ſlave, but a man of reſolution and courage, who as ſoon as he was advanced to the regal dignity gave orders for preparing his army. He was very acceptable to the king of *Tezeuco*, for he had married *Izcoalt*'s ſiſter.

Izcoalt *the 4th king of* Mexico.

But the orders for war were no ſooner given, but the commons aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and coming to their new king, beg'd of him to ſubmit himſelf and his people to the king of *Tepeaca*, becauſe his power was ſo much ſuperior to theirs, that there was no probability of ſucceſs in the war with them. Their king was much troubled at the cowardice of his ſubjects; but as they were engaging the prieſts to join with them, to preſs this baſe ſubmiſſion to their enemies, *Tlacallec*, a young man of a brave ſpirit, advanced before the multitude, and after having upbraided them with their cowardice, he turn'd to the king, and with a reſolute ſpeech, adviſ'd him to proceed in his firſt deſign without liſtning to thoſe cowards who ſought to enſlave their country. *Izcoalt* encourag'd by the aſſurance with which this young man ſpoke, who was his nephew, ask'd the nobility preſent, which of them would carry a defiance to the *Tepeacans*, they looked upon one another without ſtirring from their place, which *Tlacallec* perceiving ſtept out, and offer'd to be the meſſenger, and accordingly went to *Azcapuzalco*, the capital of *Tepeaca*, and having perſuaded the guards to let him go to their king upon a meſſage of peace, they made way for him. He propos'd peace to him upon honourable terms, which that king promis'd to propoſe to his council, deſiring he would return the next day: which he did, and finding, by the anſwer, that the *Tepeacans* rejected his propoſals, he boldly bid them defiance in the name of the king of *Mexico*. The king of *Tepeaca*, who it ſeems had a reſpect for a brave enemy, adviſ'd *Tlacallec* not to return by the ſame way he had come, but by a poſtern gate which he told him of; ſo that, by taking his advice, he got home, and avoided the ambuſh that was laid for him.

He ſends defiance to Tepeaca.

As ſoon as this was made known at *Mexico*, the people murmur'd a-new; and going in a body to *Izcoalt*, preſt him to ſubmit to the king of *Tepeaca*. The king endeavour'd to inſpire them with courage, but in vain, they ſtill demanded what muſt be done if they ſhould be overcome? To which the king anſwer'd, *if we be overcome, I myſelf and all the nobility who have agreed to this war, are contented to give ourſelves into your hands to be kill'd and eaten by you, which will put it in your power to make what ſubmiſſion you pleaſe to your enemies.* The commons agreed to this propoſal, and in return, engag'd themſelves by oath, to become vaſſals and ſervants to the king and the nobles, in caſe they got the victory over the *Tepeacans*. This

A ſtrange contract between the king and people of Mexico.

This contract being made, the king inveſted *Tlacallec* with the office of general, and having muſter'd his army, march'd undauntedly againſt the enemy, who came out of their city to oppoſe them, with a force ſuperior to that of *Mexico*. But *Izcoalt* having given the ſignal with a little drum which he carry'd himſelf, fell in with the enemy crying out aloud *Mexico*, *Mexico*; and charg'd them ſo briskly that, nothwithſtanding their numbers, he forced them to retire; when *Tlacallec* advancing, with a cry of *victory*, *victory*, they put them to a downright flight, and enter'd their city, where they put all to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. A great number of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, whither *Tlacallec* purſu'd them, where he pent them up ſo cloſe, that they threw down their arms, and offer'd to ſerve the *Mexicans* in all things as ſervants, if they would ſpare their lives. *Tlacallec* receiv'd their ſubmiſſion upon thoſe terms, and retir'd to the vanquiſh'd city: and *Izcoalt* return'd to *Mexico* the next day with the rich ſpoils of their new conqueſt.

Izcoalt attacks Azcapuzalco.

And takes it.

Having call'd the people together he claim'd their promiſe, which they promis'd to ſtand to, and from that time made good. Thus the *Mexican* king not only got the better of his enemies, but became abſolute over his own ſubjects (if this account of the occaſion of it be true.) His next care was to divide the lands of the *Tepeacans* among his army; the greateſt part remain'd to him, and next to him *Tlacallec* had the beſt ſhare, and ſo the nobility, and ſoldiers who had behav'd well in the battle: nay even the commons had a ſhare, in the ſpoils, nor did they forget the prieſts and temples; and this manner of dividing the ſpoils became a cuſtom among the *Mexicans* for ever after as long as their monarchy ſtood.

But the whole kingdom of *Tepeaca* was not as yet ſubdu'd; *Tacuba* and *Cuyoacin* were cities under the dominion of the king of *Tepeaca*; the *Mexicans* therefore march'd their now victorious army againſt thoſe places, and by the conduct of *Tlacallec* ſubdu'd them, and divided their ſpoils.

This making them formidable to all their neighbours, the *Suchimilcans*, the firſt tribe of *Navatalcas* who had come into that country, became jealous of them, and therefore made war upon them; but *Tlacallec* with his uſual conduct and ſucceſs defeated them, enter'd their city, and reduced them to the ſame ſtate of ſubjection he had done the *Tepeacans*. After this the king of *Mexico* imploy'd the *Suchimilcans* to make the cawſey between *Mexico* and *Suchimilcho*, as he had put the *Tepeacans* upon building his aqueduct of lime and ſtone to bring the water to *Mexico*, as was taken notice of in *Cortez*'s ſtory.

Tlacallec defeats the Suchimilcans.

The ſate of *Suchimilco* allarm'd *Quitlavaca*, a city likewiſe upon the lake, ſo that they prepar'd their canoes to attack *Mexico* by water. *Tlacallec* had ſuch a mean opinion of their force, that he diſdain'd to make uſe of the armies he had led upon other occaſions, and liſted an army of boys between 10 and 18, to go againſt them, and, with thoſe, he forced them to ſubmit: ſo formidable had his valour and conſtant good ſucceſs made him to all the enemies of *Mexico*.

Quitlavaca *ſubdu'd by an army of boys.*

The king of *Tezeuco* ſeeing ſuch wonderful progreſs made all round him by this great general, call'd a council to deliberate what was to be done; where it was unanimouſly agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to *Izcoalt*, with offers of ſubmiſſion; which being done, the peace was concluded, and *Tezeuco* enjoy'd its own king, but as a vaſſal of *Mexico*, and *Izcoalt* made him for the future a perpetual privy counſellor to the *Mexican* kings. But that they might have the pretence of conqueſt, by *Tlacallec*'s advice, they oblig'd the king of *Tezeuco* to march his army into the field, and engage with the *Mexicans*, and then to yield without bloodſhed.

Tezeuco *ſubmits.*

Izcoalt having had a glorious reign of 12 years, by his own good goverment and the bravery and conduct of his nephew, dy'd much regretted, and having no children, the election fell upon *Montezuma*, a nephew of *Tlacallec*, he himſelf having refus'd the throne. He proved a valiant prince, and enlarg'd the dominions of *Mexico* by ſeveral conqueſts. It was this *Montezuma* who brought up the cuſtom of taking the field after being elected king, to procure a number of priſoners to ſolemmize his coronation by ſacrificing them to their idol *Vitziliputzli*. In order to which he attack'd *Chalco*, on the way between *Mexico* and the north ſea; and altho' he did not intirely ſubdue that province at that time, he brought away a great number of victims to grace his coronation; which was the moſt glorious of any ſolemnity before his time, and perform'd in the beſt order; eſpecially they brought the tribute from the ſeveral cities and nations which had been ſubdu'd, by his predeceſſors, according to the order of time in which they were ſubdued, in proceſſion, by the ſeveral officers appointed to gather it in gold, ſilver, rich feathers, garments of all ſorts, cotton, fruits, fiſh, veniſon, &c. beſides magnificent preſents made the new king.

Monte-zuma I. *5th king of* Mexico.

Attacks Chalco.

Is crowned.

After this ceremony was over, he advanced with his army, to *Chalco* a ſecond time, by the advice of his uncle and general

neral the famous *Tlacallec*. In one of the battles he had with thoſe people, *Montezuma*'s brother was taken priſoner, and the *Chalcans* liking him ſo well that they preſt him to be their king, he refus'd it, and finding they would force him to it, he deſir'd them to erect a high ſcaffold and get a ladder to mount it, that he might ſpeak to the people; which being done, he told them he could not accept their crown without betraying his country, and therefore exhorted ſome other *Mexicans* who were priſoners with him, rather to die than be guilty of that treaſon, and then threw himſelf down upon the ſtones with great violence, he was kill'd by the fall, which the *Chalcans* reſenting, they murder'd all the *Mexican* priſoners. But *Montezuma* ſoon revenged the deaths both of the one and of the others: for falling upon them with all his power, he ſubdu'd them and made them a province as ſeveral others were. From thence he march'd as far as the north ſea, bringing all that country ſouth eaſt to the gulf under his dominion, except *Tlaſcala* which *Tlacallec* advis'd him to leave, (as it was independent) both for exerciſing the *Mexicans*, and uſing them to arms, and likewiſe for a conſtant ſupply of victims for the alters of their Gods.

Subdues Chalco.

Good government of Montezuma.

Having thus made conſiderable conqueſts eaſtward, he turn'd his arms towards the other ſide, and made the provinces between *Mexico* and the ſouth ſea his tributaries. Nor did he, at the ſame time, neglect the arts of peace, for he beautify'd the city, and made conſiderable additions to his palace, and ſettled ſuch order in his courts of judicature, that they were as well regulated as thoſe in more polite parts of the world. And to his own court he added many officers, and ſettled his authority upon ſuch a foundation, that it ſeem'd to be as likely to continue as any of the great monarchies in the other ſide of the globe.

He built the temple of *Vitziliputzli* formerly mention'd, and ſettled revenues for the mantenance of the prieſts and religious who liv'd in it; and when it was finiſh'd he dedicated it with great ſolemnity, and offer'd many human ſacrifices to that idol. And thus having reign'd in great ſplendor 28 years, he dy'd, and left *Mexico* in a moſt flouriſhing condition.

His death

As ſoon as the electors met to chuſe a new king, and were join'd by the caciques of *Tezeuco* and *Tacuba*, they unanimouſly pitch'd upon *Tlacallec*; but he as ſteadily refus'd it, telling them, he would be as faithful a ſervant to the ſtate under another king, as he could be if he were advanced to the throne. When they could not prevail with him to accept the crown, they left the choice to him, and he named *Ticocic* the ſon of *Montezuma*, but very unlike the father in every thing requiſite for a king. He going, after the example of his father, to procure captives to grace his coronation, by his cowardice and ill conduct loſt more men than he either kill'd or made priſoners; and after his coronation behav'd himſelf ſo that the *Mexicans* began to deſpiſe him, and, (*as contempt of a* SOVEREIGN *is a certain forerunner of his* DESTRUCTION,) he liv'd but about four years, making the pooreſt figure upon the *Mexican throne* of any that ever fill'd it, if it could be ſaid to be full whilſt he was in it, and dy'd, as was thought, by poiſon, leaving the kingdom to be put into the hands of a more worthy ſucceſſor.

Ticocic 6th king of Mexico.

The great general, aſham'd, no doubt of the unworthy choice he had made before, was now reſolv'd to make his country amends for that miſtake; and therefore influenced the electors to chuſe *Axayaca* another ſon of *Montezuma*, and the inheritor of all his virtues. But *Tlacallec*, now worn out with age and fatigue, did not out live his coronation. The new king was much afflicted at his ſickneſs, and going to viſit him, call'd him his father, and the father of his country. He liſten'd attentively to many good advices which the general gave him, and promis'd to follow them; and that he might ſhew his affection and regard for him altho' he ſaw him dying, he gave the enſigns of captain general to *Tlacallec*'s eldeſt ſon, in his preſence, which made the old gentleman die contented, as he had liv'd the moſt glorious of any ſubject that ever *America* ſaw of her own natives. He was bury'd with great pomp, fit for a king; and *Axayaca* to allay the general grief, undertook the expedition neceſſary for his coronation. He led his army to *Tecoantepec* 200 leagues from *Mexico*, towards the ſouth ſea, where having engag'd the enemies army firſt in perſon, he pretended to fly, and thereby drew them into an ambuſcade he had laid for them, where rallying his men, and the *Mexicans* from the ambuſh appearing, he routed the enemy, and purſuing his victory, enter'd their city, and raz'd it to the ground. Then, without making any ſtay there, he march'd to *Guatulco*, upon the ſouth ſea coaſt; and having taken rich ſpoils, and many priſoners, he return'd to be crown'd, which was done with great pomp. This prince was very ſucceſsful in his wars, and reduced ſeveral revolted provinces. Notwithſtanding all which the provinces of *Mecoachan*, *Tlaſcala* and *Tlatelulco* (all formerly mention'd in the conqueſt of *Mexico* by *Cortez*) ſtill remain'd unſubdu'd, nor did the firſt two ever ſubmit to the empire of *Mexico*, till that

Axayaca the 7th king of Mexico.

Tlacallec dies.

that empire was tranſer'd from the *Indians* to the kings of *Spain*.

A ſingle combat between two kings.

The king of *Tlatelulco* challeng'd *Axayaca* to fight with him ſingle hands, and that he might make ſure of the *Mexicans*, he made a great number of his people conceal themſelves by the ſide of the lake, the reſt being drawn up in ſight of the *Mexican* army. When the two kings drew near each other, he of *Mexico* advanced before his army, and offer'd to anſwer to the challenge of the other, who likewiſe entering the liſts, they order'd their men to ſtand ſtill and ſee the iſſue of the combat. They fought a conſiderable time with great bravery, but at laſt the king of *Tlatelulco* perceiving that *Axayaca* was like to get the better of him, he turn'd his back, and fled towards the city, but the *Mexicans* purſu'd him his men making little or no reſiſtance; ſo that *Axayaca* enter'd the temple with him, and following him cloſe at the heels up to the battlement, he, there ſeiz'd him, and throwing him headlong from thence daſhed out his brains.

In the mean time the *Mexican* general having had intelligence of the ambuſcade at the lake, purſu'd thoſe who were hid there, and having taken them out of their holes, where ravens, frogs and other creatures us'd to frequent, he told them that ſince they had taken up the quarters of thoſe animals, the only condition by which they could redeem their forfeited lives was to mimick the cries of ſuch they had perſonated, which they did; and *Acoſta* ſays it was ſtill the greateſt affront to any of the natives of *Tlatelulco* to croak like a frog or a raven before them. This prince reign'd eleven years, and then made way by his death to another ſucceſſor.

Autzol the 8th king of Mexico.

The next who mounted the throne was *Autzol* one of the electors, who prov'd a moſt excellent prince, being both wiſe and valiant. The inhabitants of *Quaxatatlan* having fallen upon his officers, and ſeiz'd the tribute as they were carrying it to *Mexico*, he march'd againſt them, and having ſubdu'd them he carry'd his conqueſts as far as *Guatimala* which is above 300 leagues from *Mexico*.

Nor was he leſs generous and magnificent than valiant and prudent: for, when his tribute came in, he diſtributed a large ſhare among his nobles, and likewiſe to all that wanted: and finding the city ſtill ſcarce of water he determin'd to let the water of *Curoacan* into it; and to that end, ſent for one of the chief men of that city, to conſult him about his deſign. This man had the reputation of being a great ſorcerer, (I ſuppoſe becauſe he had more underſtanding than his neighbours) and having ask'd his advice about bringing the water, he told him, it would drown *Mexico*, and indeed the execution of the deſign had in ſome meaſure the effect which he foreſaw it would, for it overflow'd a part of the city, and had drown'd the whole, if the king had not made a drein to bring it into the ſalt lake. *Autzol* reign'd eleven years, and by his death made way for a new election.

Montezuma II. 9th king of Mexico.

The choice fell upon *Montezuma* II. who in effect was the laſt of their kings; for, altho' they ſet up two after him, they were little better then nominal; becauſe the *Spaniards* had, by that time, overturn'd that great monarchy. *Montezuma* had acquir'd a great reputation before he was elected, by his piety, or affectation of it, for he retir'd often to the temple and pretended frequent converſations with *Vitziliputzli*, and he was ſo grave and ſerious in all his behaviour, that he was eſteem'd a very wiſe man; for which cauſe they unanimouſly choſe him for their king; but upon the report of it, he hid himſelf in the temple, making ſhow of great unwillingneſs to aſcend the throne. However he ſuffer'd himſelf to be prevail'd with to receive the enſigns of royalty, and to have his noſe bor'd to hang the royal emerald to it, which was one of the *Regalia*; and when the cacique of *Tezeuco* complimented him after his election, in terms full of commendation, he anſwer'd with great humility.

But he was no ſooner ſeated upon the throne, than he ſhew'd a moſt aſpiring mind. He took for his ſervants none but noblemen, nor would he ſuffer a plebeian to have any office in his palace. And where ever he went, he made the greateſt lords give him water to waſh, and do other offices of ſervants about his perſon. Having ſettled his houſe, he drew out his army to provide victims for his coronation according to cuſtom, and a great province towards the north ſea having revolted, he march'd his army againſt it; and being a man of great courage as well as prudence, he defeated their armies, and reduced them to obedience, but carry'd a great number of priſoners, taken in the field, to ſacrifice at his coronation.

The fame of his great wiſdom and magnificence brought great numbers of ſtrangers to ſee the ſolemnity; among whom were many from *Tlaſcala*, *Mechoacan*, and *Tepeaca* who had not ſubmitted to *Mexico*. *Montezuma* having intellegence of their being in the city, order'd them to be lodg'd and ſerv'd with great pomp, and had ſcaffolds built a purpoſe for them to ſee his coronation.

His wiſe government.

After this ſolemnity was over, he ſet himſelf to make good laws, and was careful to ſee them put in execution: and to try the integrity of his judges, he cauſed them to be offer'd bribes to give ſentence

tence againſt juſtice, and if they took them, he never miſs'd hanging them for a terror to others. He likewiſe diſguis'd himſelf often to find out the behaviour of his officers of all ſorts: but when he appear'd as king, it was death for a plebeian to look him in the face; and he never ſet his foot upon the ground, but was carry'd in a chair of ſtate by the nobility, and when he had occaſion to ſtop any where, there was a rich carpet laid for him to ſtand or ſit upon. He never wore the ſame garment, nor ate or drank out of the ſame veſſel twice.

This prince had reign'd in great ſplendor 14 years, when the *Spaniards* arriv'd to diſturb his government. But having, in the III. chapter of this book given a particular account of what happen'd to this empire afterwards, we ſhall not ſay any more in this place, but proceed to give a ſhort account of the government of *Peru* before the conqueſt of it.

We have already obſerv'd, in this ſection, that the *Indians* of *Peru* believ'd one ſupreme being, whom they call'd *Pacacamac*, and that they held the immortality of the ſoul; we have likewiſe given an account of their ſacrifices in common with thoſe of the *Mexicans*, together with a deſcription of the temples of the ſun and moon; and the feaſts kept in honour of them. We ſhall therefore now ſpeak more particularly of their civil government.

The monarchy of Peru.

The monarchy of *Peru* was hereditary from its firſt eſtabliſhment; nor was there ever an inſtance of any ſuch thing as electing a king or emperor among them. And indeed if the account given of their monarchy by the Inca *Garcilaſſo della Vega* is true, (as he had the beſt opportunity of knowing it of any perſon whatſoever, and ſeems to have been a man worthy of credit,) the kings of *Peru* have been inferior to none in the more polite and knowing parts of the world for policy and government, which will appear by a ſhort hiſtory of their ſucceſſion.

Manco Capac, who liv'd near the lake *Titicaca*, and appears to have been a man of the firſt rate underſtanding, being of an aſpiring genius, left his place of abode, and going about 80 leagues farther north, came to the valley of *Cozco*, together with his coya or wife, (but whether ſhe was really his ſiſter is not ſo clear.) This man had fram'd a ſtory, and brought his wife for a voucher, that they two had come down from the ſun, and were both children of that deity, and were ſent, in compaſſion of the ignorance, and barbarity of the then inhabitants, to poliſh and civilize them: that they were at firſt ſet down by the lake of *Titicaca*, with inſtructions to travel northward, till a bar of gold which their father the ſun had given them, ſhould melt by one ſtroke upon the ground: he told the inhabitants, that they had try'd the experiment of melting the bar at all places where they had halted by the way, but that it continu'd firm, till they came to *Cozco*; and then having try'd as uſual, it had melted by the firſt ſtroke againſt the ground: and therefore he knew, that was the place where the ſun had appointed them to ſettle, and if the inhabitants had the grace to be inſtructed by them, it would redound to their happineſs. He told them that his father had given him a ſyſtem of excellent laws to be the rule of their government, which were ſo temper'd with juſtice and mercy, as would be beneficial to all degrees of people: for, as the ſun himſelf took vaſt labour to do good to all, ſo he had given them his children, a ſtrict charge to imitate him in his extenſive charity and compaſſion.

Manco Capac 1ſt king of Cozco.

This ſtory being artfully compos'd, and meeting with an ignorant (and conſequently a ſuperſtitious), people; and *Manco Capac* and his coya being extraordinary perſons, ſoon brought the people to do homage to them as if they really had deſcended from that deity, which before that, they worſhipped, with a religion common to all the heathen world, ſo that in a ſhort time, they had a vaſt number of people who ſubmitted to them, and *Manco* us'd them with ſo much good nature and civility, that they not only thought themſelves, but really were, happy in their obedience to him. He gave them inſtructions about tilling their ground and making gardens, having invented inſtruments for that purpoſe which they had till then been ſtrangers to. Among the other improvements he made, the building the city of *Cozco* was one; he laid out the ſtreets himſelf, and taught them how to build houſes; and how to dreſs their meat, and to live with a decency they had never been us'd to. And what he practis'd among the men, his coya, *Mama Oclo Auaca* did among thoſe of her own ſex, teaching them to work cotton, and to make garments for themſelves and families. If any one ſhall ask how theſe two extraordinary perſons had acquir'd this politeneſs? I confeſs I cannot tell; nor can I reſolve it into any thing, but the force of ſtrong natural ſenſe, and vertuous inclinations. But however this be, our hiſtorian ſays that in a very few years, this part of *Peru* came to be in a very flouriſhing condition; ſo that this inca or king *Manco Capac* found himſelf at the head of a powerful nation; and able to force his neighbours to obey his laws, which he call'd the laws of his father the ſun.

This

This is ſaid to have happen'd about 400 years before the *Spaniards* invaded *Peru*, and is not much different in time, from the ſettling the monarchy of *Mexico*.

Manco Inca gave, from time to time, many excellent laws; he puniſh'd murder, adultry, and robbery with death. He regulated the laws of marriage, allowing none to enter in that ſtate, but ſuch as were come to the years of diſcretion; and then he order'd that they ſhould marry in their own tribe. He likewiſe appointed diſtinctions of dreſs. He himſelf wore a party-colour'd ribbon round his temples, almoſt like a turbant, which was not lawful for any one elſe to uſe; but the chief of his nobility, to whom he ſhew'd great regard, had leave to wear a ribbon of one colour, by way of turbant, to diſtinguiſh them from others. He introduced the cuſtom of polling the hair, which they did with ſharp flints; and would have given all the gold of their country for ſciſſers and knives, had the *Spaniards* treated them civilly.

Nor did this wiſe king neglect the worſhip of his pretended father; for he built temples to the ſun, not only in *Cozco*, where his chief reſidence was, but likewiſe in other towns and cities, and eſtabliſh'd prieſts for the ſervice of them. And thus, he liv'd to eſtabiſh a flouriſhing kingdom, in which were above two cities and towns. And to bind the chief of his ſubjects the more in their obedience to his family, he adopted them likewiſe into the family of the ſun, and gave them the title of *Inca*, but in ſubordination to the royal family, which was but ſmall at that time. Having given his ſon inſtructions about his future government, he gave the new Inca's, whom he had adopted, a ſtrict charge to obſerve the laws he had given them, and likewiſe to obey ſuch new commands as his ſucceſſors, of the true lineage of the ſun, ſhould from time to time injoin them; and then telling them, that he was ſoon to return to his father, but ſhould always aſſiſt them upon all occaſions, if they follow'd the precepts he had left them, they all promis'd an inviolable loyalty to the royal family; and after his death, which happen'd in a ſhort time, his ſon ſucceeded him.

Chinchi Rocca 2d Inca of Peru.

This ſecond Inca call'd *Chinchi Rocca*, who, after the example of his father, married his own ſiſter, that the brood might be kept pure in the offspring of the ſun. Before he was crown'd, he perform'd his father's obſequies, and in his after life follow'd his ſteps ſo well, that he became maſter of the affections of his people, and enlarg'd his dominions partly by the reputation of his wiſdom and good government, and, where that fail'd, by his valour and the force of arms: the bringing all his neighbours to the true worſhip of their father the ſun, being ſufficient ground of quarrel againſt them. *Thus has* RELIGION *been, many a time, the* PRETENCE *for ambitious* USURPERS *invading dominions they had no right to.* However, to do him juſtice, he took all the pains imaginable to make his people happy; and perceiving that the land about *Cozco* was barren, he had a great deal of earth brought from the *Andes* which made it a fruitful ſoil; he likewiſe fill'd up the ſquare of *Cozco*, which was a quagmire before, and made it firm ground. This prince made himſelf be reſpected far and near, and made conſiderable alliances, and *Herrera* ſays, he departed from the cuſtom of marrying his ſon to his ſiſter, obliging his daughter to devote herſelf to a religious life, and took to wife, for his ſon, the daughter of a very powerful neighbour, and the marriage was ſolemniz'd with great pomp. *Chinchi Rocca* reign'd 30 years, and enlarg'd his dominions conſiderably on all ſides, ſo that the monarchy of *Cozco* became the greateſt of any in ſouth *America*.

Herrera *dec.* III. B. IX. *ch.* 2.

Lloqui Yupangui *the* 3d *Inca of* Peru.

This Inca dying, left the kingdom to his ſon *Lloqui Yupangui*, who ſucceeded his anceſtors not only in their dominions, but in their vertues and good fortune. He enlarg'd his territories, and conquer'd many other nations or clans. He built many ſtately houſes, and gave the weſtern ſide of *Cozco* to his father-in-law, with whom he liv'd in great friendſhip. But he had no child by his wife, according to *Garcilaſſo*, tho' *Herrera* ſays he had a ſon in his old age, and at his death, order'd the enſigns peculiar to the Inca, to be depoſited in the temple of the ſun, till his ſon ſhould be of age, and appointed two of the boy's uncles to be his guardians till that time.

Maita Capac *the* 4th *Inca of* Peru.

The fourth Inca was *Maita Capac*, the ſon of *Yupangui* according to *Herrera*. He having no ſiſter, marry'd *Manaca Guapatac*, daughter to a petty lord near *Cozco*. He affected the name of *Viracocha*, which ſignifies *God* in their language, and to excuſe himſelf from impious pride in taking that title, he pretended that he did it by *Viracocha*'s command. This Inca carry'd on the ſtately buildings, nor did he neglect the making conqueſts; for he brought ſeveral nations under his dominion, particularly the *Tiahuanacans*, who had been troubleſome neighbours before his time, but were by him ſubdu'd.

Capac Yupangui *the* 5th *Inca of* Peru.

To him ſucceeded his ſon *Capac Yupangui*, which names ſeem to have been given to the Inca's of *Peru*, as the title of *Auguſtus*

Auguſtus was to the *Roman* emperors, for ſome excellency real or ſuppos'd to be in them: and theſe two names of honour were probably given to this prince, becauſe he acquir'd ſingular glory in his wars, for he enlarg'd his conqueſts as far as *Chili* ſouthwards, and above 70 leagues from *Cozco* towards *Lima* on the ſouth ſea, and eighty leagues northward, beſides forty leagues ſouth eaſt. He is ſaid to have made an extraordinary bridge of bulruſhes over a broad river, by twiſting them into thick ropes which reach'd from one ſide of the river to the other at ſmall diſtances from one another, upon thoſe ropes he laid bundles of bulruſhes quite croſs, and new ropes ſtretched tite, and faſten'd to ſtakes driven into the ground on each bank; and thus by rows of ropes and bundles, alternatly placed above one another, he paſt his army. This bridge was 14 paces broad and 150 in length. He left behind him about 80 children; ſo that we may ſuppoſe he had ſeveral ladies beſides the coya.

Inca Rocha II. *the 6th Inca.*

After his death, ſucceeded Inca *Roca* II. he is ſaid to have been the firſt who inſtituted ſchools in *Cozco* and *Herrera* tells a ſtory of him that in a retirement, occaſion'd by the pain in boring his ears, he pray'd that he might find ſome means to ſupply *Cozco* with water; and that a clap of thunder having ſurpriz'd him, he lay flat upon the earth, upon the ſide of a hill, where he heard the ruſhing of water under him, ſo that giving orders to open a paſſage in that place, he found water ſufficient, which he brought to the city. He made war upon the *Condeſuyans*, north eaſt of the lake of *Titicaca*, and obtain'd a great victory over them at *Pomotambo*, in their own province; but us'd his good fortune with ſo much moderation, that they willingly ſubmitted to him, and paid him tribute. He had many ſons but no daughter, ſo that he marry'd his ſon to a daughter of one of his vaſſals.

Herr. *ubi ſupra.*

Yahuar Huacao *the 7th Inca.*

This Inca dying, his ſon *Yahuar Huacao* ſucceeded him, which name our author *Garcilaſſo* ſays was given him for having wept tears of blood at his birth, which was look'd upon as a bad omen. However, he began his reign proſperouſly, and after the example of his predeceſſors enlarg'd the bounds of his empire with great courage, and ſucceſs. But after a while, he grew jealous of his eldeſt ſon, and for that reaſon ſent him to keep the cattle of the ſun in *Chita* with a ſtrict charge not to appear at *Cozco* without a ſpecial licence. The prince liv'd 3 or 4 years in that ſort of life; but afterwards came to court, contrary to orders under pretence of a viſion, and refuſing to depart till he ſhould have deliver'd his meſſage to his father, he was admitted to his preſence; and told him that *Viracbocha* had reveal'd to him that there was a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, and the city of *Cozco* was in danger of being ſurpriz'd.

The Inca was angry with his ſon for coming to him with ſuch a ſtory, which he did not believe; and therefore order'd him back to his former occupation; but two or three months after the plot broke out, a great many provinces rebell'd. Whether the prince fomented the inſurrection under hand, to make himſelf neceſſary at home, or whether his natural ſagacity made him apprehend a rebellion, perhaps from his ſeeing bad meaſures taken at *Cozco*, is not ſo certain. The thing was ſo unuſual in that kingdom, that the Inca had not reſolution enough to ſtand it, and therefore deſerted his capital, and fled for refuge to ſome other place. But the people of *Cozco*, either being in concert with the prince, or having a good opinion of his conduct and courage, invited him home.

The firſt ſtep he took was to follow his father, and to preſs his return, by repreſenting to him the weakneſs of abandoning his kingdom to the rebels; and when he could not prevail with him to make head againſt them, he invited all that were lovers of their country to join with him for its preſervation. This behaviour prevail'd with a conſiderable number of thoſe who had fled with the Inca; ſo that the young prince ſoon muſter'd up an army againſt the rebels, and having march'd againſt them with a courage becoming his birth, he defeated them after an obſtinate reſiſtance.

After this battle, in which he ſtruck at the root of the rebellion, he us'd the rebels with ſo much mildneſs, that they threw down their arms every where, and begg'd pardon; but the people of *Cozco* were ſo fond of him, that they offer'd him the crown. However, he was either ſo good a ſon, or ſo wiſe a politician, that he would not accept of it till he ſhould ſee his father; and therefore going to him, he had an interview with him by himſelf; after which, coming out to thoſe who had gone along with him, he told them that the Inca had declared that he would never return to *Cozco*, nor meddle any more with the government, which they believing, and perhaps being fond (as is natural for a warlike nation) of a prince who had ſhew'd ſo much ſpirit, preſs'd him to accept of the crown, and upon account of his pretended viſion gave him the name of *Veracocha*.

Upon his return to *Cozco*, he took upon him the title of Inca, and under the name of *Veracocha* was crown'd the

8th

Viracocha *the 8th Inca of* Peru.

8th Inca of *Peru*. The viſion he pretended to have had of his name ſake had been of ſuch uſe to him, that he built a temple to him, like an amphitheatre, without a roof, becauſe, he ſaid, he had appear'd to him in the open air. And altho' this Inca, as well as his anceſtors, ſtill claim'd the honour of being the offſpring of the ſun, yet he ſet *Viracocha* above the ſun, as a deity, and order'd him to be principally regarded, but would have no ſacrifices offer'd to him, ſaying that he ſtood in need of nothing from mortals, but was to be honour'd only with internal worſhip.

This prince having obſerv'd the miſtakes of his father's government, apply'd himſelf to ſettle the kingdom in ſuch a manner, as not only to prevent all troubles at home, but to ſecure himſelf from enemies abroad; and having acquir'd a great reputation for courage and prudence in the firſt appearance, and entry upon government, he was courted by all the great lords round about the kingdom, and had ambaſſadors ſent to him from ſome at a great diſtance. Thoſe he receiv'd graciouſly, and ſent them back with preſents and kind words. Nor did he give over the uſe of arms, but brought all ſuch as refus'd to pay homage to him, to ſubmit themſelves to his dominion by the force of his arms, in which he ſtill had good ſucceſs, and return'd from all his expeditions of that kind crown'd with victory. He pierced farther eaſt than any of the Incas had done; ſo that he brought the empire to its utmoſt extent of what is to this day call'd *Peru*, towards the eaſt, ſouth and weſt.

But, in one reſpect, this Inca far ſurpaſt his predeceſſors, *viz.* the aqueducts, and canals of water which he made, ſome of which *Garcilaſſo* ſays were 150 leagues in length and 12 foot broad. And indeed it was a wonderful thing to ſee ſuch works carry'd thro' rocks and clifts by a people who neither knew the uſe of gun-powder to blow them up, nor of iron tools to break them down.

Pachacutec *the 9th Inca of* Peru.

After a long and proſperous reign of near 50 years, this Inca dy'd, and left the throne to his ſon *Pachacutec*, who was the 9th Inca of *Cozco*. He turn'd his arms northward, where he found many warlike nations, and had wars frequently with them, and brought many of them to be his vaſſals, under pretence of bringing them over to the true religion. And when he had ſpent a good deal of time in his conquetts northward, he aſſembled moſt of the different provinces, eſpecially the lateſt conquer'd, obliging them to grace his ſolemn triumph at *Cozco*, as the ancient *Romans* us'd to do, but only with this difference, that his conquer'd people appear'd, at his triumph, as his ſubjects and ſoldiers in the different habits and arms belonging to their ſeveral countries, without any mark of ſlavery; whereas the greateſt kings, nay princeſſes and children, conquer'd by the *Romans*, were oblig'd to grace the victor's triumph with all the badges of ſlavery that inſolent pride could make them put upon thoſe miſerable people.

In one of this Inca's expeditions northward, towards the coaſt of the ſouth ſea, he found a temple dedicated to *Pachacamac* and by inquiry, he was inform'd that they offer'd human ſacrifices to this deity, whom they own'd for the creator of all things. *Pachacutec*, ſent to the king of the place, demanding homage to the ſun, and that he ſhould ſubmit his kingdom to him as being the offſpring of the ſun. *Cuyſmancu*, the king of that city, and of a large territory lying along the coaſt northward, ſent him word, that his God *Pachacamac* was the maker of the ſun, and for that reaſon, more worthy to be worſhip'd, and that he himſelf was ſovereign of that country, and would neither change the object of his worſhip, nor give up his kingdom. To this the Inca reply'd that he had greater reſpect for *Pachacamac* than *Cuyſmancu* had, becauſe he own'd him not only for the creator of all things, but was even afraid to pronounce his name, whereas they had made an image of him who was inviſible, and worſhip'd him with ſacrifices which they were not ſure he was pleas'd with. He therefore inſiſted upon their laying aſide human ſacrifices and worſhiping the ſun in ſubordination to *Pachacamac*, and likewiſe, (not to give up his kingdom to him, but) to acknowledge him for their ſovereign, and to obey the laws of the ſun. Upon thoſe terms he offer'd peace, but if they refus'd any of them, he bad them prepare for war.

The fame of *Pachacutec* was ſuch, that *Cuyſmanca* was unwilling to try his ſtrength, and therefore came into his meaſures, and having done homage to the Inca, the peace was concluded. But his neighbour of *Truxillo* was not ſo lucky; for the Inca having made the ſame propoſal to him; that lord ſent him a ſurly meſſage, and refus'd to make any change either in religion or government. The Inca upon this meſſage, march'd againſt him, and in one deciſive battle, defeated his army, and took himſelf priſoner, and impos'd what conditions he thought fit upon the ſubjects. Thus, for a long track of years, this prince govern'd *Cozco* with great ſucceſs, enlarging the dominions abroad, and at the ſame time not neglecting the adminiſtration at home. He founded ſeveral cities and towns; he built

temples, ſchools, granaries, and other publick works: and having reign'd much about the ſame time that his father had done, he dy'd, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Yupanqui *the* 10*th Inca of* Peru.

This Inca was call'd *Yupanqui*, and was the 10th king of *Cozco*, who turn'd his arms beyond the mountains eaſtward, and ſubdu'd ſome barbarous nations, exacting tribute from them of monkeys, popinjays, wax, and honey; and going farther ſouth than any of his predeceſſors had done, he ſent a general who paſt the deſart of *Atacama* formerly mention'd, * and enter'd *Chili* with 10,000 men; and the Inca recruiting that army from time to time, with the like number, had good ſucceſs at firſt, ſo that the Inca's forces to the number of 50,000 men were in *Chili* ſix years; but in the mean made no great progreſs being ſometimes repuls'd by the bravery of the natives. In this reign was begun the famous fortreſs of *Cozco*, but it was never finiſh'd.

* Un. Tr. *p.* 114.

Tupac Yupanqui *the* 11*th Inca of* Peru.

After the death of *Yupanqui*, his ſon *Tupac Yupanqui* ſucceeded; and by the example of his predeceſſors, after the ceremonies of his own coronation, and the obſequies of his father were ſolemniz'd, ſet himſelf firſt to ſettle the government of *Cozco*, and then to proſecute the conqueſts already begun, or to proceed to new ones. The firſt attempt he made was northwards upon the *Chiacapoias*, a warlike people not as yet ſubdu'd, between *Cozco* and *Quitu*, and as he had learn'd the art from his anceſtors, the offspring of the ſun, to palliate his ambition with the cloak of religion, he gain'd the *Chiacapoias*, mingling ſharp arrows and hard *Macanas* with his ſmooth arguments, to bring them to his terms; ſo that, after ſeveral ſtruggles, he got the better of them, and join'd that province, which was 50 leagues long, and 20 broad, to the dominions of *Cozco*. Purſuing his conqueſts he fell upon *Huancapampa* a large country conſiſting of different people, whoſe quarrels among themſelves made them an eaſy prey to the Inca. Thoſe people had almoſt as many Gods as there were men among them, for every one worſhip'd what he thought fit; ſo that every beaſt, bird, plant or herb, was a God to ſome one or other. But they were as remarkable for the reaſon of their making war upon one another, for they neither fought for glory, for revenge, for riches nor for dominion, but, like ſo many knight errants, for women. The Inca having ſubdu'd them, left ſome of his own people among them to teach them husbandry, and the other arts practis'd at *Cozco* and in his other dominions, and they were ſo tractable that in a ſhort time, that province became one of the moſt flouriſhing in his dominions. From thence he proceeded to other provinces with the ſame good ſucceſs. But he conquer'd the people of *Quillacu* (a province towards the equinox) out of mere charity to them; for their country was naturally ſo barren that it was not worth taking, and the people were ſuch naſty brutes, that the Inca laid a ſwinging tribute of lice upon them to oblige them to keep themſelves in ſome ſort of cleanlineſs. *An odd tax.*

Having ſpent a good deal of time in thoſe northern provinces about the line, he march'd with an army of 40,000 men to invade *Quitu*, a rich and flouriſhing kingdom on both ſides of the equinox. But the people of *Quitu* were ſo brave, that the Inca made little or no progreſs in two years time, and therefore being under a neceſſity of going back to *Cozco* to ſettle ſome affairs, he left his army under the command of his ſon *Guayanacapa*. This new general battled them for three years more, nor had he, perhaps, ſubdu'd them then, but for the death of their king, which happen'd luckily for *Guayanacapa*; for then they began to capitulate and ſoon after ſubmitted. This young prince having taken poſſeſſion of the capital of *Quitu*, and ſettled all matters in that new kingdom, ſubdu'd many provinces to the eaſtward of it, and then return'd to *Cozco* in triumph.

In the mean time, the Inca *Yupanqui* having had good ſucceſs in his wars, and ſeeing his ſon ſo fit to command armies, gave over the thoughts of taking the field any more, but apply'd himſelf to beautifying *Cozco* and ſome other cities where there were royal palaces, particularly he imploy'd 20,000 men conſtantly in the fortreſs of *Cozco*. And finding himſelf near his death, he call'd his family and chief nobility about him, as was uſual for the Incas to do, and made them a ſpeech, which ſerv'd as his latter will and teſtament. He gave good inſtructions to his ſon, and recommended loyalty to his nobles, and intimated (according to cuſtom) that he was call'd away by his father the ſun, to attend him in the bright region above, from whence he would not fail to aſſiſt his poſterity the Incas, and their loyal ſubjects as occaſion ſhould offer.

Guayanacapa *the* 12*th Inca.*

After his death *Guayanacapa* ſucceeded to the throne, who was eſteem'd the glory of the kingdom or empire of *Peru*. He had in his father's life time, marry'd one of his ſiſters, but ſhe not proving with child, he marry'd another of them, and by a particular law of the Inca, they were both reputed coya's. By the ſecond coya, he had a ſon named *Guaſcar* or *Huaſcar*, who was Inca when the *Spaniards* firſt invaded *Peru*. At the birth of *Guaſcar*, he made great rejoicings, and to ſolemnize

ſolemnize it with ſomthing very memorable, he made a chain of gold of 700 foot long, every link of which was as big as a man's wriſt. The uſe of it was to guide the ſolemn dance us'd upon ſuch occaſions, for whereas formerly 300 of them danced in a circle holding one another by the hand, this chain being ſet up in form of a ring, the dancers taking hold of the chain kept their places, without taking hands. There was diligent inquiry made by the *Spaniards* for this chain, but it could never be found.

About two years after the birth of this ſon, *Guayancapa* march'd to *Quitu* with an army of 40,000 men to look after his late conqueſts, and to make more. Here he marry'd the daughter of the late king of *Quitu*, by whom he had ſeveral children, and among others, *Atahualpa* or as others call'd him, *Atabaliba*, the unfortunate uſurper, that was murder'd by *Pizarro*, as we have related in the IV chapter of this book. In this country he reduced ſeveral nations under his obedience, and enlarg'd his dominions conſiderably, inſomuch that his kingdom became in his days, the greateſt monarchy in the world.

But whilſt he was thus imploy'd in the north, ſome of the provinces on the coaſt near *Puna* iſland, revolted, and had murder'd all the inſtructors ſent to them by the Inca *Yupanqui*. *Guaynacapa* march'd againſt them, and having made them ſubmit, they expected nothing leſs than to have all the chiefs of the revolt tortur'd; but the Inca unexpectedly pardon'd them all except one, for an example, and he choſen by lot: as for the reſt, he made four fore teeth to be drawn from every one of them, two above and as many below, as a mark of their treachery. Another inſurrection having happen'd upon the ſame coaſt, he march'd againſt the rebels, who being afraid of his power, but more of his ſucceſs, ſent a lady, (who had been miſtreſs to his father, and a fine woman in the opinion of the country) accompany'd with a great train of her own ſex, who falling at his feet ſoon obtain'd the pardon they beg'd of him; ſo that riſing from his ſeat, he took up the lady who had made a moving ſpeech, and bad her tell the rebels, that ſhe alone had diſarmed him; but that they ſhould do well not to abuſe his reſpect for ſuch fair advocates as ſhe was.

This Inca having ſpent ſome time in new conqueſts, and in reducing ſome revolters to obedience; and having left nothing worth conquering near him, retir'd to the heart of his kingdom to govern what he had ſo gloriouſly acquir'd; and to employ his people in ſome work either uſeful or beautiful. He built or enlarg'd ſeveral temples in different places, made new palaces and royal houſes of pleaſure. But the moſt ſtupendous of all his works were two cawſeys the whole length of *Peru*, from *Quitu* to *Chili*, each of thoſe cawſeys or highways was 500 leagues long: the one was by the ſea, and the other by the ſide of the *Andes*, in which laſt he fill'd up valleys of 20 or 30 fathoms deep, and in other places levell'd prodigious high ground, ſo that he made both thoſe roads eaſily paſſable, which were impracticable before. A work which ſurpaſs'd by much the fam'd *Appian* and *Flaminian* ways of old *Rome*.

We have already related * how *Guayanacapa* gave the kingdom of *Quitu* to his ſon *Atahualpa* by the daughter of their late king; as alſo a part of what happen'd between him and the Inca *Guaſcar* after the death of the father. All therefore that we ſhall add of the hiſtory of the Incas is, that whilſt *Guayanacapa* enjoy'd a profound peace, and had acquired a vaſt reputation for equal abilities both for war and peace, the tranquility of his mind was at once eclips'd, and he foreſaw the deſtruction of that empire which the pretended offspring of the ſun had been for twelve generations together raiſing with ſo much fatigue.

* Un. Tr. B. I. ch. 4.

This happen'd in the year 1515, when *Nunez de Balboa*'s fleet appear'd in the ſouth ſea to make diſcoveries; upon the news of thoſe ſhips having been ſeen upon the coaſt, *Guayanacapa* was thunderſtruck, and altho' he liv'd 8 years after, it was obſerv'd that he never attempted to make any new conqueſt. *Garcilaſſo* ſays, that this conſternation was occaſioned by an ancient prophecy which they had, by tradition, among them, that after the 12th Inca, their empire ſhould be invaded and overturn'd by ſtrangers, and the line of the ſun ſhould be extinguiſh'd. Beſides, they talk of prodigies in that country at the time of the *Spaniards* appearing among them, as we obſerv'd in the account of the conqueſt of *Mexico*, was likewiſe related of that empire. Whether thoſe ſtories were the reſult of the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, or were invented to excuſe the *Indians* weak defence of their country, by laying the blame upon fate and the decree of heaven, I ſhall not determine. But if the firſt chriſtians who conquer'd them, had been as good men as the firſt planters of chriſtianity in *Aſia* and *Europe*, I ſhould have had as little difficulty of believing the laſt dying words of the idols of *America*; as the wiſeſt of the fathers had in giving credit to the farewel ſpeeches of the oracles among the *Gentiles* of thoſe other parts of the world.

Guayana-

Guayanacapa made a progreſs to *Quitu*, where he fix'd *Atahualpa* upon the throne of that kingdom, with the conſent of *Guaſcar*; and being there ſeiz'd with the ſmall-pox, he died, in good time to prevent his being a witneſs of the miſeries of his country, which indeed were greater than any man of a generous mind could have ſuſpected, or any that had common humanity, not to ſay chriſtianity, could have inflicted upon their fellow creatures. *Garcilaſſo* aſſerts, that this Inca, upon his death-bed, abſolutely forbad any reſiſtance of thoſe ſtrangers, whoſe ſhips had been ſeen at ſea, and by his account of *Atahualpa*'s behaviour to *Pizarro*, already related, one would be apt to believe it; altho' it ſeems very odd that a people, ſo much enur'd to war, ſhould let their government be deſtroy'd, themſelves made ſlaves, and ſubmit to be hang'd and burnt by a handful of men, whom, as dreadful as they might appear to them at firſt, they ſoon found to be mortal; and had they been authoriz'd by the religion they profeſs'd, to act thoſe cruelties which they practis'd upon the poor *Indians*, thoſe miſerable people might have honeſtly and truly told them, that their own religion was better than theirs: and that *Pacacamac* and their father the ſun (who were good and merciful) were more worthy of being the objects of worſhip than a deity who taught ſuch murdering practices for no other reaſon but avarice and thirſt of gold. Nor is this my obſervation only; the *Spaniſh* Authors themſelves have without any reſerve ſaid a great deal more, and particularly *Las Caſas*, who was a biſhop in that country, and by his reſenting the cruelty of his countrymen, procur'd ſtrict orders from the emperor *Charles* V. to have the *Indians* better treated: and whatever miſchief flow'd from the execution of thoſe orders, was owing rather to the wickedneſs of the chriſtians, than to any other cauſe. What happen'd after the death of *Guayanacapa* has been already related as fully as is conſiſtent with our deſign.

Altho' the accounts we have of the two great empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* are the fulleſt, as having been more intirely conquer'd, and more conſtantly poſſeſs'd by the *Spaniards* than the other parts of the continent of *America*, by any other *Europeans*; yet the country of *Brazil* being of ſo large an extent, and ſo particularly deſcrib'd by Dr. *Harris* from the accounts given of it by *Leri* and another, who liv'd there a conſiderable time, we ſhall take, from him, what we find proper for our preſent ſubject.

Brazil.

The *Indians* of *Brazil* were not without religion, altho' it was, like themſelves a little unpoliſh'd. They held *Tupan* to be the author of thunder and lightning; but they were ſo much afraid of him, that they worſhip'd him out of fear only. They had a general notion of a flood which drown'd all the world except ſome of their anceſtors, who eſcap'd by climbing up ſome high trees. Their notions of vertue and vice, tho' they are not juſt, ſhew that they believ'd a future ſtate. Vertue to them was, to love their country, and to defend it againſt all enemies whatſoever, (*ſo far they were right*,) but they carry'd it farther reckoning it heroic and vertuous to murder their enemies in hot or cold blood, and to eat them without remorſe, and they beliv'd that they who dy'd ſo, went after death, to a far country where their anceſtors lived in pleaſant gardens, and enjoy'd all that they could deſire, and where thoſe who were ſo qualify'd became their companions in that ſweet place. But the wicked (that is, cowards, who faint in defending their country) were carry'd away by *Agnan*, and ſhould be cruelly us'd by him.

Their religion.

But notwithſtanding their groſs notions of things, they were not unwilling to liſten to reaſon, nor were they impatient of contradiction in their opinions, but were curious to know what the *Frenchman* and his companion the *Portugueſe* believ'd and practis'd. An inſtance of which is given in an intertainment of theirs where the *Indians*, out of reſpect, let the *Europeans* ſit by themſelves, and obſerving that they all pull'd off their hats before dinner, whilſt one of the company ſaid grace (*a cuſtom which now begins to wear out, in our polite age*) the *Indians* deſir'd to know the meaning of it, which gave *Leri* an opportunity to diſcourſe of ſeveral points of the chriſtian religion, to which they liſten'd with great attention; and afterwards join'd with them in ſeveral parts of devotion. But they were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly fond of their old cuſtoms that they thought it a point of honour not to change their religion: which puts me in mind of a worthy friend of mine, who told me of an acquaintance of his, that us'd to ſay, that *if he had had the grace to be born and bred a* Mahometan, *he would have thought it diſhonourable to have chang'd.* I wiſh they who have had the grace to be bred in a true religion would have the ſame averſion to change, and that faſhion and intereſt were not too much the motive in people's declaring themſelves of this or that ſect, *ſo that if it ſhould ever happen that a* TINDAL'S *or other ſuch infidel's head ſhould be ſet up for an* IDOL, *there would not want wretches abject enough to* WORSHIP *it out of complaiſance.*

It

It is indeed ſaid that there were a ſet of *witches* in *Brazil*, who led the people aſtray by their pretended enchantments, and having once cheated them into a belief of their power and knowledge, they made them follow them blindfold, and give into the groſſeſt and moſt ridiculous ſuperſtitions they could invent. They make them believe that they can inſpire them with courage and fortitude, and to that purpoſe ſtrole about the country, as our gypſies do, in cluſters, and are well receiv'd and feaſted wherever they go. They have the name of *Caraibes*.

But it is obſervable that their entertainments, as well as their lamentations for the dead are accompany'd with moſt dreadful noiſes and doleful howlings, enough to frighten a well compos'd mind unacquainted with their manner. Thus *Leri* declares, that at an entertainment given their caraibes, at which he was preſent, the men, women, and children, from ſeperate appartments, made ſuch a helliſh noiſe, that he almoſt loſt his courage, but that was ſucceeded by a more harmonious muſick than he expected to have heard in that part of the world.

Lamentation for the dead. As to their lamentations for the dead they are very diſagreeable. The moment any one dies, the women ſet up ſuch a skreetch-owl note as is intolerable, and continue it the whole night, and if the deceas'd was a perſon of diſtinction, the whole female *poſſe* of the town join in that pleaſant ditty; and yelling out alternate ſpeeches in praiſe of the deceas'd, recounting his proweſs in war, particularly his exploits againſt the *Portugueſe* and *French*; which others reply to, by extolling his dexterity in hunting or fiſhing; and every verſe ends with a ſort of chorus, importing that *he is dead whom they lament, nor ſhall they ſee him more, till they come to dance all together beyond the mountains.* When this lamentation is over, they waſh the corps, and paint it all over; then *Manner of burying.* wrapping it in cotton, they ſet it upright, in a deep veſſel placed under ground, putting, along with it, ſuch things as the perſon made uſe of whilſt he was alive, as alſo great ſtore of proviſion to hinder *Agnan*, the bad angel, from devouring the body; and this is renew'd as oft as they think proper, till they believe that the corps is conſum'd; and as often as the proviſions are renew'd, they are remov'd by the *Caraibes*, inſtead of the *Agnan:* but they would not be perſuaded of the cheat altho' plainly made appear by *Leri*. After the corps is bury'd, they continue their lamentations for a moon, but in a manner more moderate than at firſt: and after that time is expir'd, they drown their ſorrow in a nights drinking.

But if they are exorbitant in the lamentations for the dead they are as barbarous towards the ſick. For, having try'd their phyſicians art, which is only ſucking the part affected; if this does not do, they lay the patient down in his bed, and dance and ſing about him, without giving him any thing to eat or drink, unleſs he earneſtly deſires it, till he either gets the better of his deſtemper by the ſtrength of nature, or is ſtarv'd to death.

In the affair of marriage, they obſerve *Of marriage.* no rules except, to prohibit that of parents with their children, and brothers with their own ſiſters. But ſuch notions they have of friendſhip, that they reckon it as great inceſt for a man to marry the daughter or ſiſter of his intimate friend (whom they call his *Atouraſſap*) as his own daughter or ſiſter. And one comical notion the *Brazilians* had according to this author, *viz.* that when a young couple were put in a hammoc together, their children were in danger of having tails like monkeys, to prevent which, the bride's father, as ſoon as they were put to bed, fell a chopping a ſtake of wood, to cut off, by this ceremony, the tailes of his future grandchildren. After marriage they are initiated in drinking, which was deny'd them before: and then drinking a good quantity without being ſick is a ſign of courage among them.

At the birth of their children, the father receives the child firſt, and ſo far performs the midwife's part, that he cuts the navel ſtring, and waſhes the child: which done, he paints it, and flattens the noſe, which is a mark of beauty with them. Then they lay them ſtark naked upon a cotten bed, where the mother gives them ſuck, till ſhe is able to go abroad, and then ſhe puts them in a net and carries them, ſlung at her back, without binding or ſwadling; and yet if any child in *Brazil* is crooked it is owing to ſome accident, which ſeldom happens: ſo falſe is that notion which obtains in *Europe*, *that children are preſerv'd from being crooked by being arm'd with ſwathing bands and whale bone.*

The men take as many wives as their inclination and circumſtances prompt them to, and all the wives live in friendſhip together in the ſame houſe, without the leaſt ſign of jealouſy. If any of them is falſe to the husband's bed, it is in his choice whether he will put her to death, or turn her off, which is the higheſt diſgrace. But the ſingle women may make as free of their fleſh as they pleaſe, without any danger of ſpoiling their marriage, for it is no reproach to grant favours of that kind, among the *Brazilians*.

They go naked for the moſt part, only in ſome places, the *Portugueſes* oblige them

to wear clothes, but it is purely out of complaiſance to their maſters, and not out of modeſty. For they will ſometimes appear abroad with a ſhort jerkin, reaching only to the navel, and all the reſt of their body as they were born.

Houſes and furniture.

Their houſes were made of timber, and cover'd with palm leaves, they had ſeveral rooms, but open from one to another, ſo that when you enter'd the ſtreet doors, of which every houſe had two or three, you might paſs thro' all the houſe, which contain'd perhaps 200 perſons of different families; but all under one roof were govern'd by ſome one agreed upon to be ſuperintendant of the whole. And theſe houſes were furniſh'd with earthen jars, baskets, baſons, platters, and cups, ſome of wood, others of gourds, with panniers of ruſhes or graſs curiouſly wrought. But the moſt curious piece of furniture was their hammock, or hanging beds, ſome wrought in the manner of nets, and others like ſolid cloth about ſix foot long, and an ell broad, with cotton loops at each end, faſten'd to the beams of the houſe above. And when their beds are dirty with the conſtant ſmoak of their fires, the women go to the woods, and gather a certain fruit, not unlike a gourd, which being cut in pieces and put with water into an earthen veſſel, by long ſtirring caſts a froth, which has all the effect of ſoap.

Both men and women, in this country are very induſtrious, working at ſuch things as are ſuitable to their different ſexes.

Their diet.

The men go a hunting and fiſhing, and ſo ſupply the family, from hand to mouth, with fowl and fiſh; and if that fails, the fruit and herbs or roots are ſtill at hand to ſupply their wants, and as they are not delicate or nice in their taſte, they are ſeldom or never at a loſs for a dinner. Nor have they fix'd or ſtated times of eating, but as their appetite requires, whether by day nor night whilſt there is any thing in the cupboard.

They ſeldom drink at meals, altho' they are fond of ſtrong drink. They reſerve their drinking, till all buſineſs be over, ſo that they can ſit to it; and when any one has got a ſtock of it in his houſe, he ſends ſome of his family to invite his neighbours, which is done by ſinging at their doors. When they aſſemble, they eat firſt, and then fall to drinking and dancing by turns as long as they can ſtand, and this laſts perhaps two or three days. And as other drunken revels often produce broken noſes, the *Brazilians*, not being wiſer in their cups, than their more polite neighbours the *Europeans*, they ſometimes fall out, and broken heads enſue. But when a quarrel happens upon thoſe or any other occaſion, if the aggreſſor is found, they are the ſtricteſt obſervers of *Lex Talionis* of any people in the world, paying him, in a literal ſenſe, the ſame meaſure he gave, the friends of the injur'd party wounding him in the ſame part of his body, and in the ſame manner that he wounded the other.

There being no ſuch thing as money among thoſe people, they live free from trouble and care, and have no other traffick among them but of one neceſſary of life for another. If they deſire the aſſiſtance of their neighbours in making an houſe, or tilling a piece of ground, they lay in, before-hand, ſtore of poviſions and plenty of good drink, by which they reward the ſervice of others more to their ſatisfaction than if they gave them hire of a leſs uſeful nature. And here I ſhall make no difficulty to tranſcribe a dialogue, which *Leri* ſays he had with a *Braſilian*, upon the ſubject of trade, and laying up for their families. The *Indian* ask'd him, "What is the meaning that you "*Mairs* and *Pero's* (that is, *French* and "*Portugueſes*) come ſo far as our coun- "try to fetch wood? Have you no fuel "for the fire in your own country?" *Leri* anſwer'd, "They had wood enough "to burn, but that the *Brazil* was bet- "ter for dying, which was the uſe they "had for it. But why, ſaid the *Indian*, "do you take ſuch vaſt quantities of it? "Becauſe, reply'd *Leri*, one merchant, "in our country, has as much ſcarlet "cloth, as many looking-glaſſes, knives "and Beads, in his houſe, as would buy "many ſhips loading of *Brazil* wood. "But, ſaid the *Braſilian*, Does that rich "man never die? and if he does, what "becomes of all his cloth, &c.? *Leri* "anſwer'd, that his children or next re- "lations inherited his riches. If that is "the caſe, ſaid the *Indian*, you *Mairs* "are great fools, to tire and turmoil "yourſelves in ſailing over the ocean, "where you tell us you endure great "hardſhips, and run great hazard of your "lives, to get a vaſt heap of ſtuff for "your children, and living kindred. *Sim- "ple men! is not the ſame earth that "nouriſhes you, able likewiſe to main- "tain them?* We have children and re- "lations as well as you, and you ſee we "love them dearly; but we reſt content- "ed in this full perſuaſion, that when we "die, and go beyond the mountains, the "ſame earth that ſuſtain'd us, will like- "wiſe nouriſh them."

With all their poverty, they are generous and hoſpitable, willing to give a ſhare of any thing they have to thoſe who want; and altho' their manner of accoſting ſtrangers is a little odd at firſt, there is nothing of unkindneſs deſign'd by it. *Leri* ſays, that he was ſurpriz'd at their manner of treating him upon his firſt

firſt appearance among them, and he concluded they deſign'd to ſend him a journey beyond the mountains againſt his will: for they came crowding about him, jabbering out all together, *Marape dererе*, that is, *What is your name?* and, without waiting for an anſwer, one took off his hat, and put it upon his own head; another took his ſword and belt, and hung the belt over his naked ſhoulders; a third took off his coat, and put it over his own naked body; and thus they ſtrutted a little while in *Leri*'s ſpoils to his great terror; and then coming to him, with great civility they deliver'd every thing back to him: and if he had not been afterwards worſe frighten'd at their offering him a piece of a man's leg roaſted, he declares, that in all other reſpects they were moſt hoſpitable; and even that was in token of his being welcome, but a piece of courteſy which ſeems to have been owing more to barbarous cuſtom than to the cruelty of their temper.

All that we can ſay of their government is, that it was, as moſt other parts of *America* were, (except *Mexico* and *Peru*) that is, divided into little kingdoms, or into clanſhips, of which the government was as capricious as the humours of the different people according to their ſeveral climates. And the ſame may be ſaid of the other known parts of the *Weſt Indies* not particularly mention'd in this chapter.

Thus we have given, as fully as was conſiſtent with our deſign, the Natural and Moral Hiſtory of the *Weſt Indies* in general; any who have a mind to know the particular curioſities of every ſingle kingdom or province muſt conſult thoſe who have writ profeſſedly of that province or kingdom, for it would have ſwell'd this firſt Book to an unweildy bulk to have writ the natural and moral hiſtory of every place. If our readers are ſatisfy'd with this treatiſe of *America*, we ſhall endeavour to make our accounts of the other three parts of the world as uſeful and entertaining as our time and vouchers will allow: and thus we take leave of *America*, and finiſh the Firſt BOOK of the UNIVERSAL TRAVELLER.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

To the First BOOK.

AFTER I had ſent the laſt ſheets of the firſt book to the preſs, the following report to the board of trade in the year 1718, came accidentally into my hands; and having the honour to know the worthy gentleman who made it, I obtain'd (with ſome difficulty) leave to publiſh it here, without mentioning the author's name.

The exactneſs of the relation, on a ſubject hitherto very little known, will, no doubt, agreeably entertain the curious reader; and the judicious, as well as pertinent, reflections it contains, on the ſtate of our *American* plantations, in that vaſt continent, will not only apologize for putting this appendix in our Traveller, but cannot miſs to raiſe ſome regret in all generous and publick ſpirited minds, that a perſon ſo well qualify'd for the ſervice of his country, has not been more regarded and ſuitably employ'd, according to the juſt character he has always ſuſtain'd.

The eſteem I have for him, would have made me ſay a great deal more, but the condition of his conſenting to the publication of the following report, having been, that I ſhould not ſay any thing by way of introduction to it, which might offend his modeſty, I ſhall give it to the reader, without any alteration, as I had it from himſelf.

To the Right Honourable the LORDS COMMISSIONERS *for* TRADE *and* PLANTATIONS.

The Report of ------ Governor of the Province of —— in NORTH AMERICA.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

IN obedience to your lordſhips commands, ſignify'd to me, by your letter dated at *Whitehall* the 19th of *March* 1717-18, which I receiv'd the 20th of *Oct.* following, I have made what inquiry I could, relating to the progreſs which the *French* nation have made, in finding out, and ſecuring a paſſage from their ſettlement on St. *Lawrence* river, or *Canada*, to that on * *Mechaſippi*: and as I have my information chiefly from the *Indian* traders, I ſhall not pretend to vouch any thing from my own knowledge, but ſimply lay the whole before your lordſhips, in the plaineſt manner that it could be collected from their verbal relations.

* Miſſiſippi.

Yet, firſt, I would entreat your lordſhips will pleaſe to obſerve, that, from an article in the treaty of *Reſwick* between the *Britiſh* and *French* crowns, by which *all lands on any rivers in* America, *the mouths or outlets whereof were then in poſſeſſion of either nation, are conceded to that nation, as high as the firſt ſources of thoſe rivers*; the *French* by vertue of the *Sieur de la Salle*'s expedition and diſcoveries, do now claim all the lands to the northward and weſtward of the *Britiſh* colonies, from *Canada* along the lakes, unto the mouth of the river *Mechaſippi*. But as it is hard to imagine that ſuch a conceſſion was ever intended by the foreſaid Article; becauſe it is not only inconſiſtent with the antient grant from the crown to the proprietors of *Carolina*, but alſo with the ſecurity of all his Majeſty's colonies on this continent of *America*; I only ſubmit it to your lordſhips view, and ſhall proceed to the narrative, as follows.

From the time that the *French* firſt diſcover'd the river *Mechaſippi*, they have with great care endeavour'd, and, at length, have actually ſettled a communication between *Canada* and the ſouthern countries on the ſaid river.

Firſt, they ſail in canoes from *Mount Real*, about three leagues, to the fall of St. *Louis*, where they have a portage or carrying place by land, about half a league;

The French endeavours to keep a communication between Canada and Miſſiſippi.

league; then they reimbark, and row up the ſtream, about 60 leagues to *Fort Frontenac*, on the north ſide, at the beginning of the lake *Ontario*. In this fort is a ſmall garriſon, conſiſting of one or two companies in the king's pay. From thence they proceed on the lake *Ontario*, generally reputed to be about 80 leagues in length, to thoſe dreadful falls of *Niagara*, which oblige them to land: (the portage is about three leagues:) after which they reimbark, and go up the ſtrait, about ſix leagues into lake *Erie*, reputed to be 130 leagues in length. And from this lake they have three different routes to the river *Mechaſippi*.

The firſt, and ſhorteſt paſſage, by water, is to go up the river *Miamis*, or *Ouamis*, (that enters the lake *Erie*, on the ſouth weſt) about 150 leagues; then they come to a carrying place of about three leagues, where is the higheſt land; and from hence the waters divide their deſcent between *Mechaſippi* and that lake. Here they embark on a ſmall ſhallow river, call'd *La Riviere de Portage*, down which they row 40 leagues to the river *Wabaſh*, or *Ouabache*; and on that river, as the traders reckon, 120 leagues to the river *Ohio*, into which the other falls; then 80 leagues, down *Ohio* to *Mechaſippi*, and thence 350 leagues to the bay of *Mexico*. Some call both theſe rivers by the ſame name, and generally *Wabaſh*, but they ought to be diſtinguiſh'd, becauſe the head of the *Ohio* comes more eaſterly towards *Virginia* or *Carolina*, and among diverſe other large ſtreams, it receives the river *Pereſipi* on the ſouth ſide, not far from the mouth of *Wabaſh*; which river *Pereſipi* is ſaid to riſe from the mountains of *Virginia* or *Carolina*.

The other two paſſages are both prickt down in *Hennepin*'s map, and, according to the accounts given, are thus:

From the north eaſt of lake *Erie*, they ſail 8 leagues to a fort, on the lake St. *Claire*, call'd *Pont Chartrian*, where there is a ſettlement of the *French*; and often 400 traders meet here. Then along the lake, 7 leagues, and thence to the great lake *Huron*, about 10 leagues. On this lake they proceed to the ſtraits of *Miſſilimakina* 120 leagues. Here is a garriſon of about 30 *French*, and a vaſt concourſe of traders, ſometimes not leſs than 1000, beſides *Indians*, this being a common place of rendezvouz. At, or near this place, are the *Outawas* ſettled.

From the lake *Huron*, they paſs by the ſtrait *Miſſilimakina*, 4 leagues, being two in breadth, and of a great depth, to the lake *Ilinois*; thence 150 leagues on the lake to fort *Miami*, ſituated on the mouth of the river *Chigagou*; this fort is not regularly garriſon'd. From hence came thoſe *Indians* of the ſame name, *viz. Miami's*, who are ſettled on the foremention'd river that runs into *Erie*.

Up the river *Chigagou* they ſail but 3 leagues to a portage of a quarter of a league; then they enter a ſmall lake of about a mile, and have another very ſmall portage, and again another, of two miles to the river *Ilinois*; thence down the ſame 130 leagues to *Mechaſippi*.

The third is, from *Miſſilimakina* on the lake *Ilinois* to the lake *Des Puans*, 90 leagues thence to the river *Puans*, 80 leagues up the ſame to a portage about 4 miles over to the river *Ouiſcouſing*, and thence 40 leagues to *Mechaſippi*.

From the mouth of *Ouiſconſing* to the mouth of the river *Ilinois*, is reputed 150 leagues on *Mechaſippi*, and from thence to the mouth of *Ohio*, 70 leagues: ſo that, from the mouth of *Ouiſconſing* to the bay, is about 500 leagues.

Theſe diſtances are, as the traders reckon them; but they appear generally to be much over-done, which may be owing to thoſe people's coaſting along the ſhores of the lakes, and taking in all the windings of the rivers.

They have another much ſhorter paſſage, from *Mount Real* to lake *Huron*, by the *French* river on the north of St. *Lawrence*; which anſwers the two later routes; but it abounds with falls, and, not anſwering trade ſo well, is not ſo much us'd. They have alſo, by this river, a much ſhorter paſſage to the upper lake or *Lac Superieur*. But of all the Paſſages, that by *Ouabache* is the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt.

Having, above, given your lordſhips the moſt full and perfect account, that I could poſſibly diſcover, of the ſeveral routes which the *French* take from St. *Lawrence* to *Mechaſippi*, I ſhall, in the next place, proceed to lay before you, the ſtate of the ſeveral *Indian* nations, with reſpect both to the *Engliſh* and *French*, according to the beſt information I could get from the ſame perſons.

It has ever been the policy of the *French* in thoſe parts, in time of war, as well as peace, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours by all manner of means, to bring over any ſort, or all kinds of *Indians* into their intereſt: But as it is in vain to perſuade an *Indian* to think otherwiſe, than that thoſe are his beſt friends, who can help him to the beſt bargain, the *Iroqueſe*, or five nations have hitherto been preſerv'd by the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* at *New York*, chiefly on account of finding better markets there than with the *French*. Nevertheleſs, by the artifices of their jeſuit miſſionaries, they daily continue to debauch them from the *Engliſh* Intereſt; inſomuch that, of the whole number of

Iroqueſe now remaining, which does not exceed 2000 fighting men, the *French* have drawn over 700 to inhabit among them, *viz.* 400 ſeated at the fall of St. *Louis*, on the ſouth ſide of St. *Lawrence*, and 300 on the north ſide.

The reſt of them are planted chiefly along the lake *Ontario*, at ſome diſtance from it: I am told there are no *Indians* in the *French* intereſt on this ſide of St. *Lawrence*, nearer than the *Miamis* or *Twoittois*, as the *Iroqueſe* call them: they are, in number about 2000, ſeated chiefly on the foremention'd river *Miamis*, flowing into lake *Erie*, and on or near the branches of the river *Ouabache*.

The gaining of this one Nation, would be of great importance, to the *Engliſh* intereſt; and, as I am inform'd, it might be eaſily done at this time, if any offer were made of trading with them, and of building a fort upon lake *Erie*, where the *French* as yet have no ſettlements; tho', probably, they will ſoon go about to have one, upon the account of thoſe people, as well as to render their paſſage thro' that lake more eaſy and ſafe.

The *Ilinois* are about 3000 men, on, or near the river of that name. The *Miſſilimakinaes* or *Outawaes* were formerly 3000, but now are ſcarce 500. The *Nokes* 100. The *Felleſavoins* 200. The *Sakes* 200. The *Puans* 600. All theſe join'd the *French* againſt the *Iroqueſe* in the laſt war; and all of them, except the *Miamis*, are ſeated about, or near the lake *Ilinois*, (which is now commonly call'd by them *Mechegan*) and on the rivers that run into it, and on the lake *Puans*, and the river *Ilinois*.

There are alſo diverſe other nations between *Mechegan* and *Mechaſippi*, as the *Renards* or *Foxes*, *Maſſekotins*, *Kikapous*; but theſe being farther off, did not join the *French* againſt the *Iroqueſe*.

Upon *Mechaſippi*, and the branches of it, there are many great nations, eſpecially to the weſt, as the *Miſſouris*, *Ozages*, *Acanſias*, who are different from thoſe of *Acanſa* on the eaſt, with many more, not leſs, as is affirm'd, than 60000 men; with all whom, it is ſaid, the *French* have peace, and ſome alliance.

On the other hand, all the *Engliſh*, to the northward of *Carolina*, have not 1500 men in their intereſt, except the *Iroqueſe*. In *New England* and *Connecticut*, they have very few. In *New York*, only the river *Indians*, beſides the *Iroqueſe*. In *Jerſey* and *Penſilvania*, their own, or home *Indians*, call'd *Delawares*, are exceedingly decreas'd; and, being in ſubjection to the *Iroqueſe*, take their rules from them. In *Maryland* and *Virginia*, there are few, excepting thoſe towards the ſouth weſt, whom Col. *Spotſwood*, with great induſtry, has lately gain'd by treaties and hoſtages.

Thoſe of *Carolina*, and the nations lately in friendſhip with them, have been very numerous; but the *Iroqueſe*, whether prompted by the *French*, or by what other motive is unknown, have, of late years, made great inroads upon them, and cannot as yet, by any endeavours of the *Engliſh*, be diverted from it. But of thoſe nations to the ſouthward, and of their ſtrength and intereſt, the beſt accounts will naturally come from *Virginia* and *Carolina*.

I come now, in obedience to the laſt part of your lordſhips commands, on this ſubject, humbly to offer my ſentiments of the methods which may be taken, in order to prevent the inconveniencies, unto which his majeſty's plantations, on the continent of *America*, and the trade of *Great Britain*, may be ſubjected by ſuch a communication between the *French* ſettlements.

Tho' it may be juſtly ſaid that we exceed the *French* in the improv'd value of our ſettlements, upon this continent; yet from the above account it is plain, that we come far ſhort of the induſtry which they uſe in cultivating a neceſſary correſpondence and friendſhip with the natives, without which our farther progreſs to the weſtward will ſoon be circumſcrib'd; and we ſhall likewiſe be under daily apprehenſions of loſing what we already poſſeſs. But ſince this friendſhip and correſpondence is, by experience, no otherwiſe to be acquir'd than by trade, it will neceſſarily follow that this trade ought by all means to be encourag'd and extended with our utmoſt care and diligence. And that this may be done to the publick advantage, as well as to that of particulars, it will be proper to conſider the nature of this trade with reſpect to *Great Britain*, to the colonies where it muſt be carry'd on, and to the *French*, who are our rivals in it.

The advantage of trading with the natives.

The trade itſelf conſiſts in the exchange of a very few ſimple commodities, *viz.* they take from us the woollen manufactures of *Britain*, gun-powder, ſhot, fire-arms, and trinkets; for which, we receive, in barter, furs and skins, and this being almoſt a total exchange of *Britiſh* produce or manufacture, thro' the hands, and by the navigation and labour of *Britiſh* ſubjects in thoſe colonies, ſuppoſe it only for an equal quantity, in value of goods, which are either wanted at home, or may be juſtly placed to *Great Britain*'s credit upon the balance of trade with foreign countries, it will unavoidably follow, that *Britain* muſt gain in proportion to the magnitude or extent of the trade in general; and therefore we may conclude,

To Britain in general.

clude, that it ought not only to be encouraged, but eſtabliſh'd upon an equal foot, throughout all theſe colonies, as they are inhabited by *Britiſh* ſubjects, carrying on one *Britiſh* intereſt, without any diſtinction made, or regard had to their particular ſettlements or ſocieties, as ſeparate governments.

To the colonies in particular.

With reſpect to the colonies, this trade will enrich particulars in proportion to the quantity they deal in, and the profit it brings, which of late years, has been ſo conſiderable, that it has tempted the trading intereſt of ſome colonies, to purſue that gain, with an unreaſonable deſire of cruſhing their neighbours: But this practice is by all means to be diſcourag'd from *Great Britain*, as highly deſtructive of the publick intereſt, both with reſpect to trade, and the advancement, as well as ſecurity of the *Britiſh* dominion on this continent.

Laſtly, If this trade could be carry'd on, with a publick ſpirit, and juſt regard to a national intereſt, as appears to be abſolutely neceſſary, for maintaining what we have already got, the *French*, who cannot furniſh theſe commodities, compar'd with us, either in quantity or value, could have no more hopes of diverting the *Indians* from trading with us, and conſequently depending firmly upon us. We ſhould not, then, have the traders of *New York* jealous of, and uneaſy at the profits gain'd by the traders of *Virginia*; nor theſe again of the improvements which may poſſibly be made in *Carolina*: But every colony would find a ſolid and certain advantage by an union among them, according to their ſituation, power, and ability to advance their trading ſettlements, weſtward upon the lakes and adjacent rivers; where thoſe vaſt nations of *Indians* would ſoon perceive, by our united intereſt, power, and traffick, that we were far preferable to our rivals the *French*, and every way much fitter to be choſen for their friends and allies. And in order to carry on this great deſign, I humbly conceive it will be proper, that a complete body of inſtructions be carefully compos'd, to be ſent to all the governors on this continent; where, amongſt other things, it may be directed, *viz.*

Rules offer'd for trading with the natives.

I. That, in order to prevent the *Indians* being impos'd upon, and abus'd by looſe and over covetous Perſons, trading promiſcuouſly amongſt them, which was the chief unhappy cauſe of the late deſtructive war in *South Carolina*; the governor ſhall uſe his utmoſt endeavours, with the advice of the council and aſſembly, to put the *Indian* trade, carry'd on by the inhabitants, under ſuch wholeſome and juſt regulations, as that the traders may not have it in their power to cheat and impoſe upon the *Indians* in any ſort, without being made accountable for it, under high penalties. Provided always, that no reſtriction ſhall be made to prohibit or interrupt any of his majeſty's ſubjects, in other of his colonies, from trading as freely with any foreign *Indians*, as the inhabitants of that colony can or may do themſelves. And in caſe they ſhall diſcover any abuſe to have been committed upon any *Indian* whatſoever, by any perſon or perſons, inhabitants in, or belonging unto any other of his majeſty's colonies, complaint ſhall be forthwith made to the governor of that colony, whereunto the offender belongs, and he ſhall cauſe reſtitution to be made, and juſtice to be done according to the nature of the offence.

II. That all poſſible encouragement be given towards carrying on a fair trade with the *Indian* nations, ſo that it may be extended as far weſtward upon the lakes and rivers behind the great mountains, as the ſituation and ability of the colony will permit: And when any proper place ſhall be diſcover'd for the building of a fort, and ſettling a garriſon, in order to protect the trade, a report thereof ſhall be made to your lordſhips, with the circumſtances and reaſons for ſo doing.

III. That the governor ſhall, with all his induſtry and might, endeavour to make treaties and alliances of ſtrict friendſhip with as many *Indian* nations as he poſſibly can: always taking ſpecial care to ſtipulate and ſecure peace, not only between them and the colonies under his direction, but alſo between them and all the *Engliſh* colonies, and likewiſe with all the *Indians* under any league of friendſhip with any of the ſaid colonies. And that this may be the more effectually done, his majeſty may pleaſe to direct and order, in a more eſpecial manner, by publick proclamation, or otherwiſe, as ſhall ſeem meet, that all perſons travelling from the ſettlements of any of his majeſty's colonies, into the woods, in order to diſcover and trade with any *Indian* nation, or nations whatſoever; if ſuch perſon ſhall happan accidentally to meet or encounter with any other his majeſty's ſubjects, travelling from any other of his colonies or ſettlements, upon the ſame deſign of trade, or diſcovery, then, and in that caſe, ſuch perſons ſhall be obliged, and are ſtrictly commanded, under the higheſt pain of his royal diſpleaſure, to treat one another with civil humanity, and kindly aſſiſtance, without giving one the other, upon either part, the leaſt interruption or hindrance in their ſaid reſpective deſigns of friendly intercourſe, and traffick with the *Indians*; but, on the contrary, by their open and free behaviour, as well as diſcourſe,

courſe, to convince the *Indians*, as much as in them lies, that all the *Engliſh* ſubjects upon this continent, howſoever diſtinguiſh'd into governments, yet are but one people, under one great king, who has commanded them, his ſubjects, to take all opportunities to ſhew his love and affection to all the *Indian* nations; and that which ſoever of them will make any league of friendſhip, with any one of his governments in theſe parts, are thereby entitled to his majeſty's protection, and to the friendſhip, as well as aſſiſtance of all the other governments, and of the *Indian* nations in alliance with any of them.

IV. That, if any *Indian* nation, in league of friendſhip with any of his majeſty's colonies, ſhall, in breach thereof, preſume to make war upon, plunder, or in any other ſort moleſt any other *Indian* nation, who at the ſame time ſhall be in friendſhip with, and under the protection of any other of his majeſty's colonies; then that colony, unto which ſuch offenſive *Indians* are bound by treaty, ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours, by threatnings as well as promiſes, to oblige the ſaid *Indians* to make reaſonable ſatisfaction for their breach of faith, to the contentment of the party aggriev'd: And in caſe of meeting with any difficulty in bringing ſuch *Indians* to reaſon, the governor ſhall repreſent the ſame to his majeſty forthwith, in order to receive farther direction therein.

V. To the end that all the governors of his majeſty's plantations on the continent, be each of them, for their better direction, particularly acquainted with the ſtate of every other government relating to the *Indians*, let every governor be order'd, upon his making any alliance or treaty with any *Indian* nation whatſoever, immediately to communicate the nature, import, and date of ſuch treaty unto all his fellow governors upon the continent.

Such a correſpondence and harmony being once eſtabliſh'd, the trade might be eaſily ſecur'd and protected, by erecting four ſmall forts, *viz.* the firſt upon lake *Erie*, near to the above-nam'd *Indians* the *Miamis*: the ſecond on the lake *Ontario*, near to the *Iroqueſe*: the third on the head or higheſt fountain of *Potowmack* river, which divides the colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*: and the fourth towards the head of *Suſquehannah* river, which runs thro' *Penſilvania* into the bay of *Cheſeapeak*.

The two firſt of theſe forts would not only ſecure all the *Indians* on this ſide *Carolina* to *Canada*, which are ſettled to the eaſtward of the lakes, but alſo open a trade with the above-mention'd great and numerous nations to the weſtward, whoſe communication by water would render the traffick eaſy. And becauſe the diſtance between the *Engliſh* ſettlements in theſe colonies, and the lakes, is too great, without the refreſhment as well as ſecurity of a middle ſtage or reſting place, the other two ſorts would effectually anſwer that end to all the traders belonging to any of the colonies northward of *Carolina*.

I humbly conceive, that each fort will require a company, or garriſon of 50 men in the king's pay, to be under the direction and command of the governors, his majeſty's commanders in chief, in the reſpective colonies, *viz.* that upon lake *Erie* to be under *Virginia*; that upon lake *Ontario* under *New York*; that upon *Potowmack* under *Maryland*; and that upon *Suſquehannah* under *Penſilvania*.

To conclude, I cannot foreſee any thing, which would interrupt the execution of this ſcheme, but the emulation in trade, that is kept up among the *Engliſh* colonies. For which reaſon, it ſeems neceſſary, that ſome method be projected, whereby each colony ſhall be obliged to bear its proportionable ſhare, of the expence which the crown of *Great Britain* will be at, in building forts weſtward among the *Indians*, and ſubſiſting garriſons. For, if this were done at the publick charge, equally for the protection of all, none would have any pretence to be diſtinguiſh'd particularly in their claim to this trade. And if *Great Britain* do not imitate the *French*, in making their correſpondence with the *Indians* a national concern, whereby the government and maintenance of all forts and garriſons ſhall remain in the hands of the crown, the ſucceſs is very much to be doubted, from the variety of interruptions, which we may continually expect to meet with from amongſt ourſelves, as well as from the *French*, who have but one intereſt principally in view, and ſteadily purſue it with great application.

But, from the little knowledge and experience which I have of the *Engliſh American* colonies, I do not expect that this project, however juſt in itſelf, will generally pleaſe; wherefore I ſhall not preſume to inſiſt farther, or to put any other value upon it, than that I have, according to my duty, without prejudice or partiality, faithfully endeavour'd to obey your lordſhip's commands: And it is with great ſubmiſſion, that I beg leave to ſubſcribe my ſelf,

Rt. Hon.

Your lordſhips moſt humble

Feb. 16. 1718-19. *And moſt obedient Servant.*

P. S.

P. S. Leſt it ſhould, at any time, be repreſented to your lordſhips, that, in imitation of the *French*, a ſociety may be incorporated, and a company erected for carrying on the trade upon this continent, with the *Indians*; I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that ſuch a privilege or immunity would certainly become a very heavy burden upon, and a great diſcouragement to the planting, as well as trading intereſt of every one, and of all theſe colonies, who, from the taſte they have of *Engliſh* liberty, are naturally averſe to all monopolies, and will hardly ever be reſtrain'd by the maxims or examples of a *French* government. Beſides, any reſtriction upon the inhabitants of theſe colonies, wou'd altogether deſtroy the intent and deſign of the above ſcheme, which is founded upon reaſoning after this manner, *viz.*

That under a good regulation of government, the relative advantages which ſubſiſt between any ſtate and its colonies abroad are reciprocal. For,

As the ſtate has, unqueſtionably, a right, and moſt certainly ought to regulate the trade of its colonies, for publick advantage; ſo the colonies have at leaſt an equal, if not a preferable claim to the ſubſiſtence and ſmaller profits which ariſe from that trade, to thoſe who muſt be employ'd in carrying it on.

That, where any publick intereſt will be moſt effectually carry'd on, by the united ſtrength of many adjacent colonies, ſuch an union ought carefully to be eſtabliſh'd with equality among them; and every thing tending to weaken or obſtruct this union, is to be conſider'd as prejudicial to the publick.

That the *Indian* nations, upon this continent, are not to be gain'd otherwiſe than by trade; and this trade cannot be manag'd to any purpoſe, without the mutual aſſiſtance and concurrence of all the *Engliſh* colonies. But, from the different conſtitutions, and particular intereſts of thoſe colonies, ſuch a regulation is not to be obtain'd without the authority of *Great Britain*. Wherefore the above ſcheme, in obedience to your lordſhips commands, is humbly offer'd by,

Right Honourable, &c.

Having inſerted this appendix for the ſake of the report, I ſhall only detain the Reader a little longer out of reſpect to my friends the *Jeſuits*, by giving a ſhort account of their ſettlement in *Paraguay*, which was omitted in our firſt diſcoveries of that country. What we are to ſay, upon this ſubject, is taken from a ſmall treatiſe in the end of Monſieur *Frezier's Voyage to the South Sea*, tranſlated from the *French* and printed in *London*, 1717; which altho' it does not appear to belong to that author, at leaſt it is not in the *Paris* edition of his book, yet we have ſufficient reaſon (from other accounts, by perſons of undoubted credit) to believe the report given of that ſettlement in this ſupplment to *Frezier's* Book, which is as follows.

Some account of the SETTLEMENT *of the* JESUITS *in the* Spaniſh Indies.

OF all the ſettlements that have been made in the *Indies*, ſince the conqueſt of that vaſt country by the *Spaniards*, there neither has been, nor [probably] ever will be any ſo conſiderable, as that which the jeſuits have form'd there. The firſt beginning of this ſettlement was only of 50 families of wandring *Indians*, whom the jeſuits were at the pains of collecting together, and fixing upon the banks of the river *Japſur*, in the heart of the country; but it has increas'd in ſuch a manner, that it contains, at preſent, above 300000 families, poſſeſs'd of the fineſt part of all the continent, ſituated 200 leagues ſouth from the *Portugueſe Pauliſts*, and ſeparated from them by the river *Loruguay*, which falls into the great *Parava* and *Japſur*, and theſe again diſcharge themſelves into the river of *Paraguay*. This laſt takes its courſe, according to the diſcoveries of the jeſuits, in 1702 and 1703 (which are the beſt that ever were made) from the foot of the mountains of *Potoſi*. The air there is temperate, the land fertile, the *Indian* inhabitants laborious and tractable; and there muſt undoubtedly be plenty of gold and ſilver mines. Thoſe *Indians* might be brought with eaſe to ſubmit themſelves, could a method be found to improve and cultivate them. The jeſuits have not been able to extend their miſſion that way, for want of fathers; otherwiſe they would receive an augmentation of more than 60000 families, and 300 leagues of ground.

The ſituation of the jeſuits colony.

To reſume the thread of our account, and the ſituation of the jeſuits country; It is, as above obſerv'd, 200 leagues ſouth of the *Pauliſts*, 200 north of the province of *Buenos Ayres*, 180 from that of *Tucuman*, and 100 from *Paraguay*: theſe three provinces are ſeparated from the kingdoms of *Chili* and *Peru* by the chain of mountains call'd the *Cordilleras*, and were of themſelves a kingdom before the conqueſt of the *Indies*.

The country of the miſſion is fruitful, being water'd with a great number of rivers, which form iſlands in many places. They have plenty of timber and fruit trees; excellent *pulſe*, *bread corn*, *flax*, *indigo*, *hemp*, *cotton*, *ſugar*, *piemento*, *hypicacuana*, *galapa*, *machecacuana*, a root

root call'd *Iautrabanda*, and many other ſimples of great uſe in pharmacy; particularly the herb *Paraguay*. The *Savannas* or meadow lands are full of horſes, mules, cows, bulls and flocks of ſheep; and more than all theſe, their gold and ſilver mines are very conſiderable. 'Tis true, the good fathers will not own it; but there are too many proofs of it, to leave any room to doubt.

The people are good-natur'd and quiet, hardy and laborious, and are brought up to all ſorts of Trades. They are at preſent divided into 42 pariſhes from one to ten leagues apart: and in every pariſh there is a jeſuit, who has the ſupreme command, and is obey'd with the exacteſt regard and awe. He puniſhes the leaſt fault, if he pleaſes, with the utmoſt ſeverity.

The ſubmiſſion of the Indians.

The ordinary chaſtiſement there, is a certain number of laſhes with a whip, in proportion to the nature of the crime. The caciques and others who are in the beſt poſts of the government, whether civil or military, are not exempted from it; but, which is very particular, he that has been ſeverely whip'd, comes and kiſſes the father's ſleeve, acknowledges his fault, and thanks him for the correction he has receiv'd. Thus does one ſingle man command 10000 families, more or leſs: and 'tis certain, there never was known a more ſubmiſſive people, or a more perfect ſubjection.

The ſame method of governing has been introduced into all the pariſhes of the miſſion. But that is not all: this intire ſubmiſſion is attended with ſuch a contentment of mind, (which the jeſuits have taken care to preſs upon the *Indians*, in conſideration of another life, whereof they pretend to give them ſhares in this) that the *Indians* are very happy with bare food and raiment, and do not repine at the good fathers reaping all the benefit of their labours: for which purpoſe, they have large ware-houſes in every pariſh, whither the *Indians* are oblig'd to carry proviſions, ſtuffs, and generally every thing, without exception, they not having the liberty ſo much as to eat a chick of their own brood; ſo that all thoſe *Indians* may juſtly be reckon'd as ſo many ſlaves to the jeſuits for their bread: and that verſe of *Virgil* cannot be more properly apply'd than to them,

Sic vos non vobis, fertis aratra, boves.

Let it be conſider'd, at the ſame time, what vaſt advantage thoſe ſovereign fathers muſt needs make of the labour of ſo many hands, and what a trade they drive to all parts of the *Indies*, with the above-mention'd commodities, particularly with the herb *Paraguay*, of which they vend an immenſe quantity; there being none but what comes from the jeſuits country, or from the province of *Paraguay*. That herb is drank almoſt like tea, the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, as well maſters as ſlaves, uſing it morning and evening. It is computed that the ſale of that herb, at firſt hand, comes to above a million of crowns a year, and the jeſuits have the beſt part of it; which, with the other commodities they vend at equal advantage, and with the gold duſt which the *Indians* go and gather up in the waſhes where the water has been, after the rivers have ſunk below their banks again, brings in to the jeſuits the revenue of a ſovereign. For the forming a truer idea of this matter, be it ſuppos'd, that each family of the *Indians* does not produce to the jeſuits above 50 livres a year, all expences born; why, even at this rate the general produce of 300000 families will appear to amount to five millions of crowns; but this hint is ſufficient to convince any one, that they get a great deal more. However, if you will believe thoſe good fathers, their miſſion coſts them a great deal of pains, and brings them but little profit: but this muſt be taken in the ſenſe they generally ſpeak, the interpretation of which is, *nunquam ſatis*.

The jeſuits veſt income.

The gold and ſilver, coin'd and uncoin'd, which the jeſuits ſend by every opportunity into *Europe*, the magnificence of their churches, where maſſy gold and ſilver are glittering on every ſide; and their conſiderable commerce, which is known to all the *Spaniards*, oblige men to form a different judgment.

It may not be amiſs here to give a deſcription of the church and apartment of the father of one of the pariſhes, from the mouths of two *Frenchmen* belonging to the ſhip of Monſieur *de la Solliette d'Eſcaſeau* of *Nantes*.

An adventure of two Frenchmen.

That ſhip being in the port of *Maldonades*, weigh'd anchor, and ſet ſail, when the ſaid two *Frenchmen*, one a captain of arms on board, and the other a ſerjeant, happen'd to be on ſhore, and at ſo great a diſtance, that they came too late for the boat, which was gone off. Not knowing what to do, in this caſe, all the coaſt being deſart, they reſolv'd to advance into the country, tho' they had no ſubſiſtence but what their ſuſees brought them. Having march'd three days, they met *Indians* with beads about their necks, who receiv'd them very kindly, and made a thouſand ſigns of friendſhip to them; for they naturally love the *French*, and diſtinguiſh them from all other nations. They even conducted them to one of the pariſhes belonging to the miſſion, above 200 leagues from the place where they firſt

firſt met, and liv'd by the way upon wild cows, which the *Indians* take at pleaſure, with incredible dexterity, by throwing a nooſe over their heads, at four or five yards diſtance; after which they hamſtring them, and ſtick them in the throat. Our two *Frenchmen* being arriv'd at the miſſion, were well receiv'd by the jeſuit, at whoſe houſe they tarry'd four months, without ever going abroad, and then return'd to *Buenos Ayres* with a detachment of *Indians* which the governor demanded. The account they give is this:

Jeſuits churches. The pariſh Church there is long, and proportionably broad; the principal entry to it is a portico, and an aſcent of ſeveral ſteps, at the top of which are eight ſtone pillars, wrought with a good ſhew of art, which help to ſupport the front of the portico. Over the entrance of the church is a very ſpacious lobby for the muſick in divine ſervice, which conſiſts of 60 perſons, voices and inſtruments. There is alſo a particular place for the women, ſet round with a baluſtrade. The reſt of the church is full of ſeats, where the men place themſelves according to their poſts and ages. The great altar is ſhut in by a baluſtrade of *Indian* wood, curiouſly wrought. On the left of the altar, is a ſeat for the cacique and civil officers; on the right, another for the military. But all in general are placed agreeably to their rank.

The facing of the altar is very ſumptuous. In the firſt place are three large pictures in frames of maſſy gold and ſilver. Above them are carv'd works and baſs relieves in gold; and higher yet, quite up to the roof, is a ſculpture of wood enriched with gold. On the two ſides of the altar are two pedeſtals of wood cover'd with plates of gold engraven, on which ſtand two ſaints of maſſy ſilver. The tabernacle is of gold; the pyx, wherein the holy ſacrament is kept, is made of gold, and ſet round with emeralds and other precious ſtones. The foot and ſides of the altar are adorn'd with cloth of gold laced. In ſhort, the candleſticks and other veſſels of gold and ſilver, with which the altar is ſet off, at ſuch times as the ſervice is perform'd with a great number of wax candles, make a ſhew almoſt beyond imagination. There are two other altars, on the right and left, adorn'd and enrich'd in proportion to the great one; and in the body of the church toward the baluſtrade is a ſilver candleſtick of 30 branches enrich'd with gold, with a great ſilver chain which reaches quite to the roof. By this deſcription, one may form ſome judgment of the riches of the miſſion, if all the 42 pariſhes are upon the ſame foot, as is reaſonable to believe.

And houſes. The presbytery, or father's houſe, conſiſts of ſeveral ſpacious halls adorn'd with a great many pictures and images, in thoſe halls the *Indians* wait, till the father comes out of his apartment to give audience. There are moreover large Warehouſes, to which the *Indians* bring all the fruit of their labours. The reſt of the building contain walks, gardens, and diverſe lodgings for the domeſtick *Indians*; the whole, with the church, making a wall'd incloſure of about 6000 perches ſquare.

The 42 jeſuits, who have each their pariſh to govern, are independent one of another, and are anſwerable to none but the principal of the convent of *Cordoua* in the province of *Tucuman*, who makes a progreſs once a year to viſit the miſſion, guarded by a great number of *Indians*. Upon his arrival, the *Indians* ſhew all poſſible demonſtrations of joy and reſpect. The principal of them do not approach him without trembling, and hanging down the head; and the common ſort are upon their knees with their hands croſs'd, as he paſſes along. During his ſtay, he makes the jeſuit of every pariſh give him an account of all that has been brought into the ſtore-houſes, and of the conſumption thereof ſince his laſt viſit.

Their trade. All the merchandizes mention'd toward the beginning of this relation, are carry'd by water, from the miſſion to *Santa Fe*, which being the ſtaple for them, the order has an attorney general there; and from *Santa Fe* they are carry'd to *Buenos Ayres* by land, where they have likewiſe an attorney. From thoſe two places, they diſtribute their goods into the three provinces of *Tucuman*, *Paraguay*, and *Buenos Ayres*, and into the kingdoms of *Chili* and *Peru*. And we may ſafely affirm, that the miſſion of the jeſuits alone drives a greater trade than all the three provinces together.

The chief buſineſs of the caciques, or civil magiſtrates, is to learn the number of families; to make known to all of them the orders and intentions of the father; to viſit houſes; to examine every one's work according to his abilities, and to promiſe, as a reward, to him who does the moſt and the beſt, that he ſhall kiſs the father's ſleeve, which is held in great veneration by thoſe *Indians*, as being the firſt ſtep towards obtaining the beatitude of the next life.

There are other inſpectors for the country, to whom the *Indians* are oblig'd to declare every thing they get, even to a ſingle egg, which they muſt not diſpoſe of; being to carry all into the magazines upon very ſevere penalties. There are alſo diſtributors, who give out ſubſiſtence to every

very family, according to its number, twice a week. This is done in wonderful order, and in the jeſuit's preſence, to whoſe praiſe be it ſaid, that their labours are endleſs, ſince they are vigilant, in the laſt degree, to prevent their *Indians* from running into any diſorder: for which they are made ample amends by the vaſt profit of the work of ſo many hands.

There were formerly two jeſuits in every pariſh; but ſince their great acceſſions, there can be but one, till they get ſome more over from *Spain*.

The *Indians* do not drink any wine, or other hot liquors: herein the good fathers copy after the law of *Mahomet*, who forbad them to his followers, leſt being inflam'd they ſhould be apt to raiſe commotions, give diſturbance to his deſpotic government, and perhaps ſhake off the yoke he had laid upon their necks.

They marry the *Indians* young for the ſake of procreation: and the firſt catechiſm they teach their children is, the fear of God, and of the jeſuit, the contempt of temporal goods, and a plain and humble life. Theſe, it muſt be own'd, are pious diſpoſitions: but then it is no leſs certain, that the good fathers find their account in ſuch polite inſtructions.

Their forces. The military government is as well eſtabliſh'd there as the civil. Every pariſh is oblig'd to maintain a number of diſciplin'd troops by regiments of horſe and foot, in proportion to its ſtrength: each regiment conſiſts of ſix companies, of 50 men each, a colonel, ſix captains, ſix lieutenants, and a major, who exerciſes them every *Sunday* after veſpers. Thoſe officers, who are bred up to arms from father to ſon, are very expert in diſciplining their men, and in leading them when they march in detachments. It is upon no other occaſion that the pariſhes have a communication, but only to form an army, which the ſenior general officer commands under the direction of a jeſuit who is generaliſſimo. The arms of thoſe *Indians* are fuſees, ſwords, bayonets, and ſlings, with which they throw ſtones to five pound weight, and with great dexterity.

The miſſion together can aſſemble ſixty thouſand men in eight days time. Their pretence for maintaining ſo great a number is, becauſe the *Portugueſe Pauliſts* make incurſions into their country, to take away their *Indians*; but this does not go down with the more knowing *Spaniards*, who are convinc'd that the jeſuits keep ſo many troops on foot, for no other end than to hinder all the world, without exception, from having any communication with their miſſion.

Their precaution in not teaching the *Indians* the *Spaniſh* tongue, and in making it a caſe of conſcience for them not to converſe with the *Spaniards*, when they go to work in the towns for the king's ſervice, is declarative enough of the true deſign of the father jeſuits. The foreigners who are driven by any accident into their miſſions, as the *Frenchmen* above-mention'd, nay the *Spaniards* themſelves (who are oblig'd ſometimes to touch upon them in paſſing to and fro upon the river of *Paraguay*) [whilſt they continue within the bounds of the miſſion] do not ſtir without the walls of the presbytery: or if the *Spaniards* intreat for leave to take a walk in the town, be ſure the jeſuit is always at their ſide; and the *Indians*, being forewarn'd, ſhut their doors, and are never ſeen in the ſtreets upon ſuch occaſions. Whence it is plain, the jeſuits have very good reaſons for uſing ſo much circumſpection with regard even to their own countrymen. They have moreover the precaution to make detachments of 5 or 6000 men, by battallions of 4 or 500, to ſcour the country along the coaſt from St. *Gabriel*'s iſles to the mountains of *Maldonades* and the river they call *Rio de los Patos*, to cut off all communication betwixt thoſe lands and the *Europeans*, or the people of the country, for the ſake of the gold and ſilver mines which are there in abundance. *The caution of the jeſuits to conceal the riches.*

Depredations committed by the Indians of the miſſion. We will here give ſome inſtances of the excurſions of thoſe *Indians* along the coaſt. The ſhip *Falmouth* of St. *Malo* being caſt away near the iſles of *Flores* [lat. 35 deg.] in the year 1706, the *Indians* plunder'd a part of her cargo, which the governor of *Buenos Ayres* oblig'd them to reſtore, and it is actually in the fort. The *Atlas*, which periſh'd in the *Caſtiles* [on the ſame coaſt] in *December* 1708. Her officers, having ſav'd ſome of their goods, and ſails to make tents, were ſtript of all, by the *Indians*, in their march over land to the *Maldonades*, in order to come back by ſea, and take up their ſilver which they happily buried, to the value of 200000 crowns.

There are conſiderable mines at the foot of the mountains of *Maldonades*, twenty-four leagues from the port, and fourteen from *Montevide*, which were diſcover'd by *Pacheco*, an inhabitant of *Buenos Ayres*, and an old miner of *Potoſi*; he gave advice thereof to *Don Alonzo Valdes Inelau*, governor of *Buenos Ayres*, who made a detachment of 15 men under the command of *Don Joſeph de Vermude*, captain of foot and ingineer. Theſe embark'd with *Pacheco*, and croſſing the river [of *Plate*] march'd to the head of the mountains of *Maldonades*, where they ſearch'd the earth and return'd with ſtones from the mines containing gold and ſilver. But the governor, being gain'd by the jeſuits, gave

The jeſuits conceal the mines.

gave out that he had made a proof, and found they would not anſwer the labour. However, *Don Pacheco*, who had reſerved his own, was convinc'd that this was a meer fetch of the jeſuits to prevent a ſettlement on the ſide of their miſſion.

Some pieces taken out of thoſe mines have been brought to *France*, where they may have been try'd to know their value; but they were taken from the very ſurface of the earth by pickaxes only. The aforeſaid *Pacheco*, who is celebrated for the moſt experienced miner that has been in *Peru* theſe many years, affirms, that there is no better earth in the world to ſearch, than that round the *Maldonades*, and the rivers thereabouts, in which he doubts not but gold duſt might as eaſily be found as by the *Portugueſe Pauliſts*, and in as good quantities. The *Indians* of St. *Dominic de Suvillant* have ſeveral times brought ſuch gold to *Buenos Ayres* which they found in the territories of the miſſion. Whence we may conclude, that there is a great deal of it, becauſe this gold was taken by ſtealth by the young *Indians*, who were not ſo ſcrupulous as the others.

In the year 1706 the *Sieur de la Solliette d'Eſcaſeau* of *Nantes*, having caſt anchor in the port of *Maldonade*, was accoſted by the *Indians* of a detachment, who came under a chief upon that coaſt to get cows together to drive them to the miſſion. Monſ. *d'Eſcaſeau* having made them a preſent, they propos'd to him, in return, that if he would advance ſo far into the country, to a place they pointed to him, he ſhould find ſilver mines eaſy to be come at: which proves that thoſe mines do not lie deep in the earth, and alſo that they are plenty.

The jeſuits have always been apprehenſive of the diſcovery of thoſe mines by the *Spaniards*, and will do all that is in their power to prevent the working them, becauſe the making a ſettlement upon that coaſt would prejudice the good fathers, who would be oblig'd to furniſh *Indians* to labour in them. They have even deſtroy'd all the horſes on that ſide to make it the more incommodious for people to ſettle there.

It remains now to make a juſt application of the conduct of the jeſuits in the particulars above recited, and to ſhew that their ambition of ſovereign power, and their inſatiable deſire of heaping up immenſe riches are the only objects they purſue. The method they take in educating and governing their *Indians*, from whom they ſqueeze all the fruit of their labours, leaving them nothing but the neceſſaries of frugal life; the care they take to hinder their communication with the *Spaniards*, their circumſpection when, at any time, either *Spaniards* or foreigners are driven by accident into their miſſion; the number of arm'd men they continually keep a foot; their perpetual ſcouring the coaſt by detachments to prevent people's ſettlement on it; all theſe are plain proofs, that they aim at making themſelves independent, and not only conceal the advantages of the country they are poſſeſs'd of, but even of what they have not in poſſeſſion. Nevertheleſs, that country belongs without all diſpute to the king of *Spain*, as lord and ſovereign of the *Indies*. Nor ought ſuch a number of people to be reduced under any other obedience than his: [eſpecially by his own ſubjects] they ought to be free to have lands, and the diſpoſal of their crops and labour. By this means they would become a colony in form; every man would improve his talent with the gold and ſilver mines of the country; money would be coin'd, and all together would cauſe a circulation of trade there, as well as in other colonies; the king's authority would be acknowledged and his dominion preſerv'd. But nothing of all this. The jeſuits have made themſelves abſolute lords and Maſters over all the reduc'd *Indians*, together with the country they poſſeſs, their fruits and labour; and extend themſelves farther and farther every day without title or permiſſion. The *Indians* have nothing of their own; the jeſuits have all; and thoſe poor people who have a right to be free, having voluntarily ſubjected themſelves, are treated like true ſlaves: and, in ſhort, 300000 families and more, work for 40 jeſuits, and own and obey none but them.

One circumſtance which makes good this aſſertion, is, that when the governor of *Buenos Ayres* receiv'd orders to lay ſiege to St. *Gabriel*, in which a detachment of 4000 *Indian* horſe aſſiſted, with a jeſuit at their head; the governor commanded the ſerjeant major to make an attack at four o'clock in the morning; but the *Indians* refus'd to obey becauſe they had not the jeſuit's orders, and were even upon the point of revolting, when the jeſuit (being ſent for) arriv'd, under whom they ranged themſelves, and executed the order from his mouth. Hence you may judge how jealous thoſe fathers are of their authority with regard to the *Indians*, even to the forbidding them to obey the king's officers, when it is plainly for his majeſty's ſervice.

The capitation tax of a crown a head, which the jeſuits ought to pay the king yearly for every *Indian*, is not only exhauſted by the payment of the *Indians* employ'd in his majeſty's works, but there is hardly a year that the king is not made debtor, for three reaſons equally fallacious.

The firſt is, that the jeſuits do not give in an account of half their *Indians* for the capitation. The ſecond is, that the governor of *Buenos Ayres* who ought once, in the five years of his government, to viſit the miſſions, and take an account of the *Indians*, is prevented by the jeſuits, who making him a preſent of a round ſum of money, the end of his viſit is loſt, and he contents himſelf with the jeſuits own liſt of their families. The third reaſon is, that when a detachment of 500 *Indians* is employ'd in the king's work, they ſet them down 1500, and ſo many his majeſty pays.

Thus is his catholic majeſty ſerv'd in the *Indies*, where his revenue is conſum'd in feign'd employments, fraud, and plunder. Theſe abuſes do, however, deſerve the moſt ſerious attention; ſeeing the king's revenues, which ought to amount at leaſt to 30 millions of livres, (were his majeſty faithfully ſerv'd) are brought to nothing, or to very little, becauſe the governors and treaſurers have a good underſtanding, and only contend who ſhall plunder moſt.

What remains therefore (to anſwer the end of this relation) but to find means of reducing the jeſuits to their duty, to bridle their abſolute power, and to turn ſome part of the profits, which accrue to them from the labour of ſo many hands, to the king's advantage. Nothing can excuſe the jeſuits from ſubmitting to it, unleſs they will give marks of their diſobedience and wicked intent. Tho' after all, we are perſuaded that they will raiſe obſtacles enow, and alledge ſeveral ſpecious pretexts (but eaſy to be anſwer'd) and not ſurrender till the laſt extremity.

I ſhall make no obſervations or remarks upon this narrative. The induſtry of the jeſuits is ſufficiently known to make this account of their great pains ſeem probable, and they are too wiſe a body, and too cloſely link'd to the ſociety, to neglect ſo fair an opportunity of propagating their religion, and at the ſame time encreaſing their common ſtock.

Errata in the Firſt Book.

PAGE 5. col. 2. line 63. for Givia, read Gioia. p. 6. c. 1. l. 5. for Magnetio, r. Magnetis. p. c. ib. l. 23. for of Good Hope, r. Verde. p. c. ib. l. 39. for Chart, r. Part. p. c. ib. l. 50. for give a, r. but. p. 9. c. 1. l. 54. after (from thence) add (went by land). p. c. ib. l. 55. dele and went. p. 11. c. 2. l. 6. for Aſtracan, r. Aracan. p. 24. c. 1. l. 59. for to Hiſpaniola, r. in Hiſpaniola. p. 25. c. 2. l. 48. for Kingdoms, r. Kings. p. 30. c. 2. l. 55. for have, r. having. p. 32. c. 1. l. ult. for was, r. were. p. 53. c. 1. l. 43. after (kept) add ſuch. p. 75. c. 2. l 1. for where, r. were. p. 128. c. 1. l. 64. for impenſat, r. compenſate. p. 153. c. 1. l. 16. for Adetuſado, r. Adelantado. p. 154. c. 1. l. 54. for too and from, r. to and fro. p. 193. c. 1. l. 40. for bare, r. bear. p. 198. c. 1. l. 62. for Deſcado, r. Deſeado. p. 225. c. 1. l. 60. for 10, r. tin. p. 246. c. 1. l. 4. for Towns and, r. Towns. p. 267. c. 2. l. 58. for, for Fatigue, r. with Fatigue.

THE

THE UNIVERSAL TRAVELLER.

BOOK II.

ASIA.

INTRODUCTION.

WHATEVER difficulties are found about peopling *America*, there ſeems to be no room left for diſputing that of *Aſia*. And altho' the books of *Moſes* were not allow'd by the heathen world to have been divinely inſpir'd, it is undoubtedly true that they are the moſt ancient of any hiſtory in the world, and that they were admir'd by all people of learning and ſenſe who, in all ages, have been acquainted with them, and all the hiſtories that ever were written, have copied more or leſs from his account of the creation, and manner of peopling the earth.

It is plain, not only from the ancient poets, but from the graver writings of hiſtorians, that they allow'd mankind to have been derived from firſt parents, who were not born after the common way of generation, but created by GOD. It is likewiſe more than probable that the world began about the time that *Moſes* aſſigns to the creation, from the firſt introduction of arts and ſciences. For, had the earth been peopled many ages before our account of the creation, it is not to be imagin'd that letters ſhould not have been invented ſooner than we find they were. And if they had been, is it poſſible that no hiſtories of any part of the world ſhould ever have been ſo much as alledg'd to have been written before the time that we ſay *Moſes* wrote his? Is there in any part of the earth extant any book, or is it pretended that there was any book before the time which *Moſes* aſſigns for the flood? Or is there mention made of any writing for many years after the *Iſraelites* departure from *Egypt*. In this caſe the reaſoning of *Lucretius* will always hold.

Præterea, ſi nulla fuit genitalis Origo, &c. Lucret. L. V.

Thus engliſh'd by Mr. *Creech*.

But grant the world eternal; grant it knew
No infancy; and grant it never new;
Why then no wars our poets ſongs employ,
Before the ſiege of *Thebes* or that of *Troy?*
Why former heroes fell without a name?
Why not their battles told by laſting fame?

But it is not my buſineſs, as a Traveller, to enter into a diſſertation concerning the authority of ancient writings, nor to defend their account of the peopling the earth, and particularly *Aſia*. However, I hope the *Deiſts* and all others who deny the

the authority of *Moſes*, as an inſpir'd author, will allow me to believe his ſyſtem, till they can ſhew me a better. And as all that we have to ſay upon any part of the world, happen'd long after the firſt peopling of it, we ſhall wave all diſputes, and proceed to give ſuch accounts as we can collect from the beſt authors who have travell'd to the ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, either by ſea or land. And becauſe we find Mr. *Purchas*'s method ſo much eſteem'd as to be follow'd by others, eſpecially by Dr. *Harris* in his *Bibliotheca*, we ſhall purſue the ſame track, only leaving out ſuch things as are trifling or ſuperfluous, and avoiding as much as we can the frequent breaks, or diſtinguiſhing the matter into chapters, where there is not a neceſſity for it.

In the courſe therefore of this ſecond Book, we propoſe to give a ſhort account of all ſuch voyages or travels as we can meet with in the order of time as near as we can keep them, without any conſideration of the geography of *Aſia*, but as far as is requiſite to point out the places we treat of; and then we ſhall give a general view of that part of the world, and its diviſion into kingdoms and empires, with as much of the hiſtory of each of them as is conſiſtent with our deſign And therefore, without farther preface, we ſhall proceed to

CHAP. I.

Of the ENGLISH *Voyages to the* EAST INDIES *before the forming a regular Company for that Commerce.*

IN the laſt book we gave an account of ſome voyages to ſeveral parts of the *Indies*; but thoſe were but ſlightly touch'd, as having been taken notice of only as an introduction to the finding out of *America*, or as occaſional voyages from that part of the world after the diſcovery of the paſſage to the ſouth ſea. But being now about to treat of *Aſia* more particularly, we ſhall begin with the *Engliſh* voyages and travels thither, and of the occurrences which happen'd to them, and their obſervations in the different countries where they ſojourn'd, and through which they travell'd. And altho' we are told of *Sighelmus* biſhop of *Shireborne*'s going, by command of king *Alfred* in the year 883, to viſit the ſepulchre of St. *Thomas* in *India*, who, at his return, gave the *Engliſh* a taſte of thoſe riches, and famous ſpices ſo much talk'd of by the ancients, and ſo well known ſince; yet there being no particular account of his travels thither, (which, to be ſure muſt have been from the *Levant*, croſs the continent of *Aſia* eaſtward of the red ſea, thro' *Arabia* or *Perſia*; becauſe, as we have obſerv'd, in the preceeding book, the paſſage by ſea, round *Africa*, was not found out for ſome ages after that) nor any journal extant of his route, or any remains of his obſervations, we ſhall leave him, after the example of *Purchas* and *Harris*, to *William* of *Malmsbury*,* without pretending to know any more than that he was there. Nor ſhall we ſay more of a nameleſs *Engliſhman* in 1243, who accompany'd the *Tartars*, in their expeditions thro' *Aſia*:* nor of others of our countrymen, who during the *holy war*, may have made ſeveral progreſſes into ſeveral parts of *Aſia*. Latter times furniſh us with ſufficient and authentic accounts of that country, a part of which has been ſo famous ſince the very beginning of time, and the knowledge of hiſtory. We ſhall therefore begin at Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, when the way by the cape of *Good Hope* was well known to the *Engliſh*. So that without reſuming any of the voyages mention'd before, we ſhall come to the latter part of her reign.

* De Geſtis Reg. Angl.

* Math. Paris.

SECT. I.

An unlucky Voyage of Mr. Benj. Wood.

IN the year 1596 Sir *Robert Dudly* fitted out three ſhips for the *Eaſt Indies*, and procur'd the queen's letter of recommendation to the king of *China*. In the preamble of which, ſhe ſtil'd herſelf *The invincible defender of the true chriſtian faith, againſt all who falſly profeſs the name of* CHRIST, and gave that king the title of *The moſt high, and moſt ſerene prince, the moſt powerful ruler of the great kingdom of* China, *great emperor of all thoſe parts of* Aſia, *and of the adjacent iſles; and great monarch of the eaſtern regions.*

The letter itſelf recommended to his protection and favour her loving ſubjects *Richard Allot* and *Thomas Bromfield*, merchants

merchants of *London*, and offer'd to contract a friendſhip and alliance with his majeſty, deſiring free trade and commerce with his dominions, &c. But this letter was never deliver'd, nor did the bearers ever arrive at their deſign'd port: Nor indeed was there ever any account of them or any of their ſhips, but by an intercepted letter, ſome time after, from the licentiate *Alcaſar di Villa Senor*, auditor of St. *Domingo*, dated from *Porto Ricco* in the *Weſt Indies*, *October* 2. 1601, addreſt to the king of *Spain*.

By this letter it appear'd, that three *Engliſh* ſhips, bound for the *Eaſt Indies*, had taken three *Portugal* ſhips, in which they had found a conſiderable treaſure, and particularly a large jewel deſign'd as a preſent for the king of *Spain*; (but, whether by ſtreſs of weather, or by what other accident, is not mention'd) they came upon the *American* coaſt, and of all the *Engliſh* on board, there remain'd alive only four, (the reſt dying, as the letter ſays, of ſickneſs) and they not being to manage their ſhips, put the moſt valuable riches on board their boat, and landed on the iſland of *Utias*, three leagues from *Porto Ricco*; and going to that iſland for water, *George* (one of the *Engliſh*) ſtaid there, and the reſt return'd to *Utias*. This *George* (for we have only an account of their chriſtian names) was found by *Don Rodrigo di Fuentes*, with five more *Spaniards*, to whom he diſcover'd his condition, with that of his companions, and writ a letter to his comrades to deliver themſelves and their effects into the hands of *Don Rodrigo*.

With this letter from *George*, the ſix *Spaniards* went to the iſland of *Utias*, and putting out a white flag, the other three *Engliſh* came to them, and upon *George*'s letter, and the *Spaniards* promiſe of faith and friendſhip, they deliver'd themſelves and their treaſure into their hands. They ſtaid in that iſland ſome time, careſſing the *Engliſh*, and making much of them, having brought proviſions along with them from *Porto Ricco*. But no ſooner had they gotten poſſeſſion of their arms, but they fell upon them, and kill'd *Richard* and *Daniel*; but *Thomas* made his eſcape to the mountains. After this execution, they divided the ſpoil among them, and return'd to *Porto Ricco*, where they poiſon'd *George*, to prevent his diſcovering them. Having now no evidence of their villany to trouble them, but *Thomas*, they ſent back to *Utias* to kill him; but he had made his eſcape out of the iſland, and by a wonderful providence had, by the help of the tide, and his own labour, landed ſafely in *Porto Ricco* upon a piece of timber.

Finding that they were diſappointed in their deſign of making ſure of him, they thought it adviſable to give the government an account of their having gotten a prize in the iſland of *Utias*; and ſo having hidden the large jewel, and the moſt valuable part of the ſpoil, *Don Rodrigo* went to tthe governor, telling him that he had found a ſmall quantity of goods in *Utias*, and ſhew'd ſome ſilks, and a ſmall quantity of ſilver; adding, that he and his companions had been oblig'd to kill three *Engliſhmen* who obſtinately withſtood their taking poſſeſſion of them. This ſtory was vouch'd by his companions, in the moſt ſolemn manner.

But *Thomas* having got ſafe to *Porto Ricco*, as we have ſaid, was brought before the governor, and told the ſtory as above related: Upon which, *Rodrigo* and his accomplices were arreſted, and put in chains. But he being a man of intereſt in the city, made his eſcape out of priſon; and the others having been taught by him, deny'd all that the *Engliſhman* alledg'd, but after ſome ſeperate examinations, they differ'd in ſome circumſtances of their evidence, and croſs queſtions diſconcerted them, ſo that they own'd a great deal more than they had done at firſt, but ſtill pretended that the riches were loſt, one part of the jewels having by negligence fallen into the ſea, and moſt of the treaſure having been ſtol'n. But they all deny'd to have ſeen the large jewel, which *Thomas* ſaid was worth all the reſt; and was enclos'd in a woodden box, which in the ſearch of *Rodrigo*'s houſe had been found empty, and anſwer'd to the deſcription *Thomas* gave of it.

This letter contains a long tedious detail of the particulars of the proceſs againſt them, and of their prevarications, and confeſſions, not worth reciting. In ſhort, this is all the account that ever was heard in *England* of that unfortunate voyage of Mr. *Wood* and the two *London* merchants, their three ſhips having, in all probability, been either founder'd at ſea, or caſt away among the *Antilles*-iſlands, and poor *Thomas*, the only ſurvivor, either died, or was murder'd by the *Spaniards*, as a pirate, altho' there was at that time, open war between *England* and *Spain*, of which *Portugal* was then a province.

SECT. II.

Capt. John Davis's *firſt voyage to the* East Indies.

ALtho' this voyage may ſeem to be ill plac'd amonſt the *Engliſh* voyages, ſince the author, altho' an *Engliſhman*, perform'd it on board of a *Dutch* ſhip;

ſhip; yet ſince it appears by his letter to the earl of *Eſſex*, publiſh'd by *Purchas*, that he undertook that voyage by his lordſhip's order and direction, and for the ſervice of his queen and country, I ſhall not ſcruple to follow the ſame *Purchas* in giving it a place amongſt the other *Engliſh* adventures, eſpecially conſidering, that the account hereafter given of it, was written by captain *Davis*.

In the year 1598, Mr. *Davis* ſet out from *Fluſhing* as chief pilot on board the *Lion*, accompany'd by the *Lioneſs*, *Cornelius Hootman* commodore. They ſet ſail the 15th of *March*, and about the 9th of *June* fell in with the coaſt of *Brazil*, the ſtrong eaſterly winds driving them nearer that coaſt than they intended. They anchor'd near the iſland *Fernando Loranha* in 4 deg. ſ. lat. and were detain'd along that coaſt, from place to place, all the months of *July*, *Auguſt*, *September*, and *October*. Upon the 11th of *November* they arriv'd in the bay of *Saldania*, in 34 deg. about 10 leagues ſhort of the cape of *Good Hope*. In this place they traded with the natives for oxen and ſheep, getting the beſt of them for as much old iron as would give a penny *Engliſh* at home.

The people of this country are ſubject to the king of *Monomotapa*. Here the *Dutch* having diſoblig'd the natives, they fell upon a party of them who were aſhore, and *Davis* gives but a ſcurvy account of the courage of his, then, maſters and companions. However they eſcap'd, and doubled the cape of *Good Hope* on the 27th of *November*. Upon the 6th of *January*, they came up with *Madagaſcar*, and anchor'd in St. *Auguſtin*'s bay, but the natives would not come near them, which, our author ſays, was owing to a piece of cruelty committed by their captain in a former voyage; ſo that they ſuffer'd much for want of proviſions, and ſetting ſail on the 14th they arriv'd the 20th at *Comoro* iſlands, between *Madagaſcar* and the *African* coaſt, in about 12 deg. ſ. lat. Theſe are reckon'd, in this account, five in number, *Mayotta*, *Auſuame*, *Magliaglie*, St. *Chriſtopher* and *Spirito Santo*; but they are not mark'd in our *Atlas*, or at leaſt not by thoſe names; only we have *Comoro* mark'd there.

At their anchoring at *Mayotta*, the people flock'd about them, bringing proviſions aboard, and ſoon after came a meſſage from the king of the iſland, deſiring the captain to go to him; which he did, and was kindly entertain'd, and recommended by him to the queen ſovereign of *Auſuame*, where they were accordingly well treated, but did not ſee the queen.

Having ſpent four months, from their firſt coming to *Madagaſcar*, among theſe iſlands, they proceeded on their voyage, and about the 20th of *May* fell in with the *Maldivia* iſlands, which are ſaid to be 11000 in number, from the equinoctial line northwards. Here they got an old man for their pilot, who ſpoke broken *Portugueſe*; and indeed they had need of one, who was expert in the navigation of thoſe ſeas, where there was ſuch a multitude of iſlands. Nor did it appear that they were well piloted, for they went a great way about, coaſting by cape *Camorin* to ſail to *Sumatra*, which they might have ſail'd in a ſtrait courſe eaſtward on either ſide of the line.

On the 13th of *June* they came upon the iſland of *Sumatra*, in 5 deg. n. lat. and the 20th of the ſame month they came to an anchor in the bay of *Achen*; where that king's officers came aboard, and meaſur'd the length and breadth of their ſhips, and took the number of their guns and men. After they had done, the captain ſent, by two of his men, who went aſhore with them, a preſent to their king, of a looking-glaſs, a drinking glaſs, and a bracelet of coral. Thoſe meſſengers return'd the ſame day, cloth'd after the manner of the country, by the king's order, in white callicoe, bringing the acceptable news of peace and welcome, and what was moſt pleaſing to the *Dutch*, an account of great plenty of rich ſpices. In the ſame bay, there were ſeveral ſhips riding, ſome from *Arabia*, and *Pegu*, lading with pepper; and four *Portugueſe* veſſels from *Malacca*, whoſe buſineſs was to prevent the *Dutch* traffick with *Achen*, as they afterwards found out.

Two days afterwards, the king ſent a nobleman aboard the *Lion* as an hoſtage for the captain, whom he requir'd to go aſhore; which he did, and was kindly treated, and dreſs'd after the *Indian* manner, and the king gave him a *Cryſe* of honour, which was a ſort of dagger, the handle of which was made of a metal, eſteem'd in that country more than gold, and ſet with rubies. It was death to wear this badge, unleſs by the king's gift, and ſuch a privilege it is to have it, that the perſon ſo dignify'd commands every thing. The captain boaſted ſtrange things of the king's civility towards him; but withal he ſaid, that his majeſty had ask'd him ſeveral queſtions about *England*, to which it appear'd he had anſwer'd not much to the honour of it (as it might be expected from our good allies:) and when the king ask'd, *If they were Engliſh*; he anſwer'd, *No, but of Flanders*. But he had the mortification to hear the king ſay, That he had heard often of *England*, but

but had never heard of *Flanders* in his life.

Soon after the captain carry'd their merchandiſe aſhore, and had a ware-houſe aſſign'd them for it; but he order'd the author Mr. *Davis*, and another *Engliſhman* to keep aboard, and by no means to appear to any of the people of *Achen*. But thoſe officers, who had been aboard at firſt, and had ſeen thoſe two, (whoſe habit and manner were different from the *Dutch*) had made report of it to the king, and therefore the next time the captain had an audience, he was ask'd whether thoſe two were *Engliſh*; which the captain own'd they were, but ſaid they had been bred in *Flanders*. However the king deſir'd to ſee them. He likewiſe made a contract with the captain, to ſerve him with his ſhips in a war with the king of *Jor*, (on the ſouth part of *Molacca*) promiſing him, for that ſervice, a lading of ſpice, to which he agreed.

About the middle of *Auguſt*, the king chang'd his countenance, with regard to the captain, and told him, he believ'd he would give him the ſlip, as ſoon as he had laded his ſhips; and the captain aſſuring him he had no ſuch deſign, the king ask'd, why he had not brought the *Engliſh* aſhore? the captain, upon this, ſent for *Davis*, and his countryman *Tomkins*. The next day Mr. *Davis* had a long conference with the king, and gave him an account of the affairs of *England*, of the wars which the queen had maintain'd, with ſuch glorious ſucceſs, againſt the king of *Spain*, much to the aſtoniſhment of the king of *Achen*, who having had no account of *Europe*, but from the *Portugueſes*, then ſubjects of *Spain*, had been made to believe that the monarch of *Spain* was king of all *Europe*. He ſeem'd to be pleas'd with the account *Davis* gave him, and order'd him to be dreſs'd in his preſence in a rich oriental habit, ſome part of it white wrought with gold, and a tunick of red ſilk, with a turbant; and then he ſate down with his majeſty and drank *aquavitæ* with him for ſome hours.

The king ſent for *Davis* afterwards, and he was carry'd to court upon an elephant, and had ſeveral honours ſhew'd him, to the great mortification of his *Dutch* captain. But our author, having contracted a friendſhip with a *Chineſe* merchant at *Achen*, gave great umbrage to the *Dutchman*, who therefore commanded him aboard.

But upon the 1ſt of *September*, there was a great alteration in their affairs. The king, under colour of getting his forces ready for the *Jor* expedition, had mann'd many barks and gallies, which caſt anchor near the *Dutch* ſhips, and after a while, many of the king's chief officers came aboard the *Lion*, and an equal number aboard the *Lioneſs*, accompany'd with a party of ſoldiers, and proviſions of ſeveral kinds, in ſhew of making merry with the *Dutch* before they ſhould get their ſailing orders. The *Dutch* ſeeing ſuch a number of arm'd boats making towards their ſhips, prepar'd themſelves to fight, but the *Achens* pretending the greateſt friendſhip, were ſuffer'd to board them, and they ſate down to eat and drink together; which having done for ſome time, the *Europeans* began to gape and ſtare upon one another like ideots, ſo that ſome few of them who had not taken ſo large a quantity as their companions had done, perceiv'd that there had been foul play us'd, and that their victuals and drink had been poiſon'd, and that in effect all who had taken a large doſe of it, were unman'd, and could not help themſelves; ſo that when, upon a ſignal given, the *Indians* fell upon them (as had been agreed before) there were but very few in either ſhip, capable of reſiſting them. However, thoſe few got to their arms in the *Lion*, and made ſuch a brave ſtand, that after having kill'd many of the infidels, they drove them out of their ſhip, and purſu'd them towards the ſhore, their gallies, dreading the artillery, cut their cables and quitted the road; ſo that the *Lion* ſail'd up to the other ſhip, which by that time was made prize of. But the *Lion* plying the *Indians* with their ſhot, and with ſtones from the round-tops, forced them likewiſe out of the other ſhip, and after a terrible ſlaughter, remain'd conquerors, altho' they loſt 68 of their number, what by the fight at ſea, and the murder of all who were aſhore, except eight perſons, whom the king made ſlaves: the occaſion of the murder aſhore was the indignation the king had for the ill ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, and eſpecially for the death of one of his near kinſmen, and one of his chief officers, of which he had an account by ſome who had ſwim'd aſhore from one of the ſhips.

After this baſe treatment, the *Dutch* did not think it convenient to ſtay longer there, but weigh'd anchor, and went immediately to *Pidor*, on the north eaſt of the iſland; and they had not been there two days when eleven gallies full of *Portugueſes* came up with them, who coming, as they imagin'd, with a deſign to take their ſhips, the *Dutch* fir'd upon them, and ſunk one of them, and put the reſt to flight. And the ſame afternoon, a *Frenchman*, one *La Fort*, (whoſe father liv'd in *London*) being one of the eight taken at *Achen*, came aboard with a meſſage from the king of *Achen*, requiring their beſt ſhip for ſatisfaction, and reproaching them for having murder'd his

ſubjects

ſubjects in their drunken revels. But the *Dutch* ſlighted the meſſage, and thought fit to leave the iſland; ſailing over towards the coaſt of *Malacca*, they water'd at the iſlands of *Pulo Botum*, in about ſix degrees of latitude.

By their precipitate leaving of *Achen*, they had loſt all their merchandiſe, except ſome pepper which they had taken on board. The pepper is in great plenty in *Sumatra*, there being gardens of it a mile ſquare, growing like hops, from a planted root and winding about a ſtake fix'd in the ground to ſupport it, and the pepper hangs in cluſters of about 40 pepper corns in each cluſter. The iſland abounds with elephants, horſes, oxen, buſalo's, goats and wild hogs. There are likewiſe gold and copper mines, with ſtore of gums and drugs of different kinds, and good indigo, and plenty of rubies, ſaphirs and garnets.

The houſes are built upon poles about eight foot from the ground, ſo that one might paſs from ſtreet to ſtreet under the houſes thro' the city of *Achen*. The king, whoſe name was *Aladin*, was ſaid to be 100 years old, but was a vigorous man, tho' very fat. He had in his youth been a fiſherman, but for his dexterity in managing the royal galley in which the then king was, being engag'd in war with ſome of his neighbours, he had rais'd him to the office of admiral, and continuing his favour to him, gave him a near kinſwoman of his own in marriage. That king had only one daughter, whom he marry'd to the king of *Jor*, who had a ſon by her. This child was ſent to *Achen* to be bred under his grand-father, being heir to his kingdom. That king dying ſuddenly, *Aladin*, who was then general both by ſea and land, undertook the charge of tutor to the young prince, but having been oppos'd in it by the nobility, he made good his claim by force of arms, and cut off above 1000 of the chief men of *Achen*, and the young prince too having periſh'd in the quarrel, *Aladin* made himſelf be proclaim'd king in right of his wife, and carry'd his point partly by conſent and partly by force. This was the ground of the quarrel between him and the king of *Jor*, which had laſted above 20 years.

We ſhall not trouble the reader with the account of this king's gormondizing, it being ſcarce poſſible to continue ſuch a conſtant courſe of eating as our author ſays *Aladin* did, and yet was in good health at 100 years of age. But there was one thing very remarkable in his military government, which was, that he would not truſt any man with his fleet, (which conſiſted of a good number of galleys, ſome of which had on board 400 men, and all of them row'd with oars of four foot long without reſting on the galley) but made a woman his admiral; as his chief counſellors were likewiſe women. He had a great number of cannon, but they were fir'd lying upon the ground, without any carriages. *A woman admiral.*

The people of *Achen* boaſt their deſcent from *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, and are well acquainted with the genealogy of the old teſtament. Their religion is that of *Mahomet*, and they have their prieſts, and one prophet much reſpected by the king. The people of that place are much given to trade, and there are among them artiſts of all kinds. Their commerce is with the people of *China*, *Bengal*, *Pegu*, *Java*, *Coromandel*, *Guzarat*, *Arabia*, and *Rumos*, which laſt is in the *Red Sea*. Our author ſaw two pieces only of their coin; the one of gold, call'd *Mas*, as big as a penny, and very common; the other of lead, call'd *Caxas*, 1600 of which make their *Mas*, which he reckons near the value of 10 pence *Engliſh*. *Trade of* Achen.

We are told that the king of *Achen* makes a ſolemn proceſſion once a year to the great church, to ſee whether the meſſiah be come, he and his nobles riding upon elephants, and one elephant, richly capariſon'd, is led for the meſſiah to mount; but not finding him in the church, the king rides home upon the elephant deſign'd for the meſſiah, and the day ends in feaſting.

Upon the death of their captain, the *Dutch* open'd the firſt of their ſeal'd orders mark'd A. which appointed *Quymans* to ſucceed *Hootman* in the command of the ſhips; but he having been kill'd at *Achen*, they open'd the ſecond ſign'd B. by which *La Fort*, who had eſcap'd by having been ſent the meſſage, formerly mention'd, was appointed commodore, ſailing the other two, and accordingly he took his poſt. Having ſtaid ſome time at *Pulo Botum*, they return'd to *Achen*, to ſee if they could recover their companions, but finding ten galleys ſent out armed againſt them, after having diſpers'd them, they quitted that bay, and made towards the iſlands of *Nicobar*, between *Sumatra* and the gulf of *Bengal*. Here they traded with the natives, giving them linnen cloth for hens, fruit, and ſome ambergreaſe. Having furniſh'd themſelves with ſuch proviſions as they could get, they proceeded towards the iſland of *Ceylan*, and, in that courſe, they took a ſhip of *Coromandel*, bound for *Achen* with rice; but after having taken what rice they had occaſion for, and the captain had paid a reaſonable price for it, they diſmiſs'd the prize, and not being able to agree about their manner of ſtaying in the *Indies*, they ſet ſail for *Europe*, and paſſing by the cape of *Good Hope* in *March* *The Dutch arrive at* Nicobar.

March 1600, they anchor'd the 13th of *April* at St. *Helena*, where they fought a caravel, but were glad to get off from her, altho' ſhe had but ſix guns mounted. Afterwards they ſail'd to the iſle of *Aſcenſion*, and ſo home, arriving at *Middleburg* the 29th of *July*, having been out two years and four months.

SECT. III.

MILDENHALL's *travels to the* Eaſt Indies, *with an account of ſome things which paſs'd in* Perſia *and the* Mogul's *country.*

MR. *Mildenhall*, of the city of *London*, merchant, ſet out in *February* 1599, on board the *Hector* of *London*, which carry'd a preſent for the *Grand Signor*. Having ſail'd to the *Levant*, and being arriv'd at *Zante*, an iſland in the *Ionian* ſea, he there quitted the *Hector*, and hir'd a ſettee for *Chio*, and ſo to *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*, at which laſt place Mr. *Mildenhall* ſtaid from *October* 1599, till *May* 1600, from which he went to *Scanderoon*, and from thence to *Aleppo*. From *Aleppo* he went with a caravan, or ſociety of different nations to the number of about 600, there being no *Engliſh* with him, but one Mr. *Cartwright*, whom he calls a preacher, from thence our traveller went by many days journey to *Bir*, an ancient city in *Arabia Deſerta*, on the *Euphrates*, and to ſeveral other cities in *Aſia*, of which he tells nothing remarkable except how many days he was in travelling between *Bir* and *Candahar*, a city of *Perſia*, the right to which was long diſputed by the *Mogul* and the king of *Perſia*. But having no farther account of his travels in that country, but only a letter from him written from *Caſbin* in *Perſia* in *October* 1606, we can know nothing of what he did for about three years, for, except that ſhort journal already given from *Aleppo*, which took him up 22 weeks from the 7th of *July* 1600, there is no account of what became of him till 1603, that he gives the relation of his expedition to the *Mogul*'s court, and is in ſubſtance as follows.

Having diſpatch'd letters from *Lahora* to the great king of *Mogor* and *Cambaia*, deſiring leave to come to his court about ſome buſineſs of importance from the court of *England*, he had a favourable return, and that prince ſent orders to the governor of *Lahora* to treat him civilly, and to ſend a guard of horſe and foot along with him to *Agra*, where the court was kept. Having perform'd that journey in 21 days, he arriv'd at *Agra*, where there was a houſe appointed for him. On the third day after his arrival, he had an audience of the *Mogul*, and preſented him with 23 fine horſes, which he had bought at a great charge, ſome of them having coſt him 60*l.* a-piece. He alſo gave his majeſty jewels, rings, and ear-rings, with which he ſeem'd well pleas'd, and Mr. *Mildenhall* was diſmiſs'd, for that time, with great civility. About three days after he was call'd before the council, and deſir'd to give an account of his Buſineſs. He told his majeſty, by his interpreter, that he was come from the queen of *England*, upon the fame of his majeſty's great kindneſs to chriſtians; that his miſtreſs deſir'd his friendſhip and alliance, and that her ſubjects might have free trade and commerce with his dominions, as the *Portugueſes* and other nations had. But becauſe there had been war which was ſtill kept up between the nations of *England* and *Portugal*, his ſovereign deſir'd that her ſubjects might be permitted to treat the *Portugueſes* as enemies, in any of his majeſty's ports or towns where they ſhould happen to meet them; and that his majeſty would not take it amiſs if they made prize of any of their ſhips or goods, in his dominions, for the uſe of the queen.

Mr. Mildenhall comes to the court of the gr. mogul.

His propoſals to the Mogul.

After Mr. *Mildenhall* had thus delivered his embaſſy, the particulars of which the ſecretary had taken in writing by the king's order, he had leave to withdraw to his houſe, the king telling him, that he would conſider his demands, and in a ſhort time give his anſwer. In eight or ten day, the king ſent him in money to the value of 500*l.* But the king having conſulted with two jeſuits who liv'd in *Agra* in great credit, theſe, upon ſeeing Mr. *Mildenhall*'s demands, told the king that the *Engliſh* were a ſet of thieves, who practis'd the ſea only for piracy; that if his majeſty gave them encouragement, they would ſoon poſſeſs themſelves of his beſt ports, and do him ſubſtantial miſchief. They ſaid they were ſorry to give him ſuch a bad account of chriſtians, but their ſtrict regard to truth, and the obligations they were under to his majeſty, put them under a neceſſity of adviſing them to be upon their guard with the *Engliſh*, and to grant them no favours.

The Jeſuites *give the* Mogul *a bad impreſſion of them.*

Theſe fathers manag'd their affairs ſo with the chief officers about the king, by conſiderable bribes, which in a long acquaintance in *Agra* they knew well how to beſtow, that the face of affairs were quite alter'd with regard to our ambaſſador; but they were cunning enough not to let him into all the ſecret; but gave him good words, and after ſome time, the king order'd ſome articles to be drawn in favour of the *Engliſh* nation, granting them a free trade with his ſubjects, and ſuch privileges as were uſual upon ſuch occaſions; but the main point which Mr. *Milden-*

Mildenhall had inſiſted upon, *viz. Liberty to proſecute the war with the Portugueſes*, was paſs'd over in ſilence. This made the ambaſſador go to court frequently to ſolicit that article, but he was ſtill put off with good words, and was at laſt privately inform'd (by ſome few friends he had gain'd, by his generoſity, among the courtiers,) who they were that obſtructed his diſpatch. But the jeſuits were ſtill too cunning for him, and had by their addreſs, and by *Portugal* gold block'd up his way to the king's ear, or at leaſt to a favourable hearing; for altho' the king ſent for him, and chid him for not coming more frequently to him, he could obtain nothing but fair words, and empty promiſes. At laſt the jeſuits brib'd his interpreter, ſo that he pick'd a quarrel with him, and deſerted him. This accident troubled him not a little, becauſe he was out of a capacity of managing his affairs either with the king or his miniſters: but being a man of good underſtanding, and ſpirit, and having been ſufficiently inform'd before, of the ill offices the jeſuits had done him, he reſolv'd to exert himſelf to be in a condition to counterplot them if it were poſſible. In order to this, he took a maſter for the *Perſian* tongue, and apply'd himſelf ſo cloſe to the ſtudy of it, that in ſix months time, he not only underſtood all that he read or heard, but, by conſtant practice with his maſter, whom he kept in his houſe, he could expreſs himſelf tolerably well.

The jeſuits decoy his interpreter away.

Having attain'd this accompliſhment, he went to court, and having obtain'd an audience of his majeſty, he complain'd of the injuſtice had been done him by the miſrepreſentations of the jeſuits, telling him, with a becoming aſſurance, but with a decent reſpect to the king, that his majeſty had been impos'd upon by thoſe people, whom he could eaſily confute in his majeſty's preſence; and he inſiſted upon his being confronted with them before him, or elſe that he might have leave to depart to his own country to complain to his ſovereign of the injuries they had been the occaſion of to him.

Mr. *Mildenhall* preſs'd this matter in ſuch a decent manner, that the king was touch'd with it, and promis'd to give him an opportunity of arguing the matter with the fathers in his preſence the *Sunday* following; and he was as good as his word; for, upon the day preſix'd, the jeſuits were call'd to court, and, upon the ambaſſador's appearing, he charg'd them with having repreſented the *Engliſh* nation as thieves and robbers, and gave ſuch an account of his own country, which the fathers could not contradict, that it was evident to the king and all the council, that they had been impos'd upon by the jeſuits. Then Mr. *Mildenhall* ſhew'd the advantage which might accrue to the *Mogul* by an alliance with *England*, and boldly ask'd the jeſuits what preſents they had made to his majeſty in the twelve years that they had been there, telling the king, that if he anſwer'd the end of his embaſſy, every perſon who came from *England* by order from the queen his miſtreſs, would bring a conſiderable preſent to the king; beſides great advantage to his ſubjects by taking off ſuch goods as the country produc'd, for which they would bring equivalent commodities; and he aſſur'd his majeſty that he ſhould find the *Engliſh* as fair traders as any *Europeans* he had had occaſion to trade with. And as a proof of what he aſſerted, he deſir'd his majeſty to inform himſelf whether there was not an *Engliſh* miniſter conſtantly reſiding at the *Ottoman Port*, who was receiv'd there with as much honour as any ambaſſador whatſoever, and who brought as many preſents to the *Grand Signor* as any other reſident.

He gets the better of them.

This repreſentation had ſuch influence upon the king, and upon his ſon, who openly declar'd for Mr. *Mildenhall*, that the jeſuits having nothing to object againſt it, and their friends among the miniſtry not daring to interpoſe, the *Mogul* ordered his ſecretary forthwith to draw out an order, comprehending all the articles contain'd in the firſt memorial given in by the *Engliſh* ambaſſador. And thus was the trade open'd to the *Mogul*'s country, by the addreſs and ſteady behaviour of this one LONDON MERCHANT: *and may all ſuch always have ſucceſs, when they ſtick up for the* HONOUR *and* INTEREST *of* THEIR COUNTRY, *againſt the* PROJECTS *of all ſets of people, without exception, who oppoſe the* LIBERTY *and* COMMERCE *of* BRITAIN, *and who* (*like the jeſuits at* Agra) *endeavour, by* BRIBERY *and* CORRUPTION, *to make the honeſt endeavours of publick ſpirited* Britons *uſeleſs to their country.*

The jeſuits being thus expos'd by this honeſt *ſturdy* fellow, loſt their intereſt; and Mr. *Mildenhall*, who had nothing at heart, but the encouragement of *Trade* and *Navigation*, (which every man who conſiders the true intereſt of *Britain* will ſteadily purſue,) as ſoon as he had obtain'd what he had labour'd with ſuch aſſiduity, and thro' ſo many difficulties, took his leave of the court, after having receiv'd his articles ſign'd and ſeal'd to his own ſatisfaction: and if the trade of that country was not purſu'd as it ought, and might have been afterwards, it was not his fault.

It is not to be wonder'd at, that Mr. *Mildenhall* had not had an account of queen *Elizabeth*'s death, and the acceſ-

ſion

ſion of king *James* to the throne, becauſe there was ſo little communication between *Europe* and the *Mogul*'s country, except by the *Portugueſes*, that he might either not know it, or not think it prudent to take notice of it, if he did. After he had diſpatch'd his buſineſs, he retir'd to *Perſia*, from whence he writ the letter, of which the account above given is the ſubſtance.

SECT. IV.

Mr. WILLIAM ADAMS's *voyage to* Japan.

WE chuſe to follow *Purchas*, as Dr. *Harris* likewiſe does, in inſerting this voyage among the *Engliſh* voyages, (altho' it was perform'd in a *Dutch* bottom) for the ſame reaſon that we gave for that of Mr. *Davis*. The account of it, written by Mr. *Adams* in two letters, is in ſubſtance as follows.

The *Dutch* having fitted out five ſhips in the year 1598, took Mr. *Adams* for pilot of their admiral ſhip, in order to ſail to the *E. Indies*. What paſs'd in their voyage upon the coaſt of *Brazil*, in the *Magellanic* ſtraits, and upon the *Chili* coaſt, we ſhall not much inſiſt upon, being unwilling to bring our readers back again to *America*, without having ſomething to entertain them with, which would make amends for their trouble. We ſhall therefore only ſay, that after having trifled away many months upon the coaſt of *Brazil* and *Paraguay*, ſo that the winter came upon them before they enter'd the ſtraits, the ſouth winds, together with the ſnow which fell about the beginning of *April*, detain'd them in the ſtraits the whole winter, where they ſuffer'd much by cold and hunger, inſomuch that many of their men died. Towards the end of *September*, when the weather became more mild, they got into the ſouth ſea, but their fleet was ſo diſpers'd that the admiral ſhip was left alone, and (as they had agreed in caſe of being parted) ſtay'd upon the coaſt of *Chili*, in 46 deg. ſ. lat. 28 days to wait for the reſt, trading with the natives, (whom they found a good-natur'd people,) for proviſions in exchange for knives, bells, *&c.*

But ſeeing no appearance of any of their companions, they ſail'd from thence to the iſlands of St. *Maria* in 37 degrees; but notwithſtanding all their endeavours to bring the inhabitants to peace, they unexpectedly fell upon 30 of their men (who had gone aſhore to trade with them in a friendly manner) and kill'd them every man. But here they found another of their ſhips, who had arriv'd before them, and had ſhar'd the ſame fate with the others, having met with ſuch a reception aſhore on the *Mocha* iſland that many of their crew had been ſlain by the natives, and the captain with many others were wounded with darts and arrows. Theſe two ſhips having conſulted what was fit to be done, concluded that both the crews ſhould go aboard one of the ſhips, and that the other ſhould be burnt; but becauſe they could not agree among themſelves which of the two ſhould be preſerv'd, their firſt conſultation came to nothing, and each kept his own ſhip, altho' they had ſcarcely men enow in a condition to work one.

Having a good deal of cloth aboard, they determin'd to ſail for *Japan*; for altho' they might have ſold it to good advantage in *Chili* and *Peru*, the fear of having their ſhips made prizes by the *Spaniards*, made them think of quitting that coaſt. In this courſe, after they had paſt the line about *Chriſtmas*, they proceeded to the latitude of 28 degrees; and the 23d of *February* they had a moſt violent ſtorm, which ſeparated the two ſhips ſo that they did not meet again.

But here I muſt take notice of an inconſiſtency, which both *Purchas*, and *Harris* from him, have fallen into, without any apology for it. At the beginning of this account, they make Mr. *Adams* chief pilot of the fleet, and the former * ſays expreſly, that he was aboard the admiral ſhip; and yet they bring him in, telling of his meeting with the admiral which they had loſt in the ſtraits of *Magellan*; and here again, that in this ſtorm, they loſt the admiral ſhip, and ſaw her no more. Whether they had chang'd pilots in the voyage, or that there is ſome other miſtake in the account, I do not know, but I thought proper to take notice of it, altho' it is not material as to the account of the voyage, whether Mr. *Adams* perform'd it in this ſhip or that. But to return to our ſubject.

* Pur. Pil. Vol. I. B. III. c. 1. § 5.

The ſhip wherein our author was, arriv'd at 32 degrees of north lat. where they had ſight of land upon the 19th of *April*, 1600; this was the iſland of *Bongo*, on the ſouth of *Japan*. When they caſt anchor there, they were ſo weak, that there were not above ſeven able to ſtand upon deck; ſo that the natives coming about them, they could not hinder them from boarding them. By good luck for the *Dutch*, thoſe iſlanders were good-natur'd people, and they convers'd by ſigns, for they did not underſtand one another's language. But ſome days after their arrival, a jeſuit came aboard them from *Langaſack*, the place where the trade of *Macao* in *Japan* was carry'd on, and, according to the uſual civility of thoſe of that ſociety, he offer'd his ſervice to them as their interpreter; for which they were much bound

bound to him, for doing them all the miſchief in his power. But the king of *Bongo* (who was tributary to the emperor of *Japan*) treated them kindly.

The emperor having heard of them, ſent five galleys to carry them to *Japan*. They ſet ſail from *Sakai*, eighty leagues from *Bongo*, where being arriv'd, Mr. *Adams*, who was beſt able to travel, went to *Oſaca*. At his firſt audience, the emperor ask'd him very pertinent queſtions about his country, and the ſtate of *Europe*, and particularly concerning the war between *England* and the *Portugueſes*. Mr. *Adams* anſwer'd diſtinctly to all the particulars; letting him know that the king of *Spain*, to whom *Portugal* was ſubject, had been the aggreſſor, and that his ſovereign, queen *Elizabeth* had defended herſelf againſt all the force of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and had defeated the great *Armada* ſent againſt her, and maintain'd the war for many years with good ſucceſs. This account which *Adams* gave, in the beſt manner he could, ſeem'd to pleaſe the emperor; and when he was ask'd the reaſon of his coming ſo far from his own country; he made anſwer, that the *Engliſh* ſought the good-will and friendſhip of all nations; and as their country produced manufactures and commodities fit for foreigners, they deſir'd only liberty of trade, and of exchanging the goods of their nation for thoſe of the kingdoms they had commerce with.

They go to Japan.

Mr. Adams *has an audience of the emperor.*

Tho' the emperor ſeem'd to reliſh his converſation, yet he was ſent to priſon, but very well us'd; nor could he hear any news of the ſhip, and was under ſome apprehenſions of being fix'd to the croſs, which was as common in that country as the gallows in *England*. But there was no inſult offer'd him, except his confinement, in which he remain'd ſix weeks.

The Portugueſe *miſrepreſent the* Engliſh.

In the mean time the Jeſuites and other *Portugueſe* who were in the city endeavour'd to give the emperor and his miniſters the worſt impreſſion they could of the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, telling them that they liv'd by rapine, and that if his majeſty ſhould allow them to ſettle in his dominions, they would hinder all other ſtrangers from trading with his ſubjects, and therefore they adviſ'd him to put them to death, that their countrymen might be deterr'd from troubling his ports any more. But the emperor, it ſeems, had more of the ſpirit of chriſtianity, without profeſſing it, than thoſe who were profeſſors, and ought to have been teachers of chriſtianity; he told them it was contrary to reaſon and juſtice, for him to put people to death, who had done no crime in his country; that whatever wars there might be between their country and *Portugal*, that did not concern him, and ſince the people of the different nations laid the fault upon their enemies, it was not an eaſy matter for him to determine which of them was in the wrong; nor indeed was it his buſineſs, ſince he was not choſen umpire of the diſpute between them: he therefore utterly refus'd to put the ſtrangers to death.

but fail in their deſign.

This diſcouraged the *Portugueſe*, who were jealous of other nations getting footing in *Japan*. But the emperor was fix'd in his reſolution, and ſending for Mr. *Adams*, after a long converſation with him, he releas'd him; and he return'd to his ſhip, where his companions received him with all the joy which their preſent bad condition would allow, having heard that he was put to death ſome weeks before. For, notwithſtanding the emperor's juſtice, their ſhip had been plunder'd, and every thing that was valuable, even to our pilate's mathematical inſtruments, had been taken from them. But all this had been done by the inſtigation of their enemies the *Portugueſe*, unknown to his majeſty, and he was no ſooner appriz'd of it, but he order'd all to be reſtor'd to them; and becauſe the goods had been ſo diſpers'd that they could not be all recover'd, the emperor order'd 50,000 Rials, in ready money, to be deliver'd to them, in lieu of what they had loſt. And his majeſty being to remove from that part of the iſland towards *Quanto*, which is on the eaſt coaſt of it, Mr. *Adams* receiv'd orders to ſail thither, which was 120 leagues from *Sackey* near *Ozaca*, where the emperor had his court when Mr. *Adams* had his former audience. But having been delay'd by contrary winds, the emperor got thither by land before their ſhip arriv'd; this place was not far from *Edo*, or, as it is call'd in the Atlas, *Yendo*, another royal city, where the emperor had his court when their ſhip arriv'd at *Quanto*.

The Ship removes to Quanto.

Soon after they arriv'd here, which in our maps, lies in the 36th degree n. lat. Mr. *Adams* was ſent for to court, and was deſir'd by the emperor, to build him a ſhip after the model of theirs, and altho' he declar'd, that he had no skill in that art, his majeſty inſiſted upon his trying the experiment; ſo that he was obliged to exert himſelf, and by giving his inſtructions to ſuch workmen as were appointed to follow his direction, in a ſhort time he had a ſhip ready to be launch'd, of about 80 tuns, to the great ſatisfaction of the emperor, who being very fond of improving himſelf, and very curious in asking queſtions how they had come to that country from *Europe*, Mr. *Adams* ſhew'd him his chart, and pointed out the progreſs of his voyage; where ſeeing that they had (as he thought) ſail'd thro' dry

land

land to paſs the *Magellan* ſtreights, *Adams* ſhew'd him that it was no more ſtrange than ſailing between *Japan* and *Bongo*, only allowing the greater breadth.

This converſation gave the emperor a great deſire to know more of navigation, and having a great inclination for the mathematicks, Mr. *Adams*, to ingratiate himſelf with him, and thereby to procure liberty to return to his own country, offer'd to be his preceptor; but he was out in his politicks; for, altho' he became indeed a prime favourite, the liking the emperor took to him, made his return impracticable; the emperor being determin'd not to ſuffer him to leave *Japan*. His majeſty had made the *Dutch* captain and all his crew come aſhore, and diſpos'd of them in different places, allowing every one of them ſuch penſions as they could ſubſiſt upon. And Mr. *Adams* had ſuch intereſt with him, that he obtain'd leave, after having ſtaid there ſeveral years, to let the captain depart with a paſs to another part of the iſland, where they heard there were ſome *Dutch* ſhips arriv'd. But Mr. *Adams* remain'd there ſtill, and built another ſhip of 120 or 130 tuns: nor was there any news heard of him in *England*, till he got leave to ſend the letter out of which this account was compil'd by *Purchas*, and was dated at *Japan* in *October* 1611, and addreſs'd thus: *To my unknown Friends and Countrymen, deſiring this letter, by your means, may come to the hands of one or many of my acquaintance in* Limehouſe, *or elſewhere in* Kent, *in* Gilkingham *by* Rocheſter. This was the firſt *Engliſhman*, who was known to have been at *Japan*, and therefore his account of the voyage deſerves a place in our *Traveller*, altho' he does not give ſuch a deſcription of the country, as might have been expected from him if he had return'd to *England*, after having ſtaid there ſo many years. All that is known more of him is, that he dy'd in that country ſome little time before the year 1621, as was told ſome *Engliſh* who went thither that year. His letter ſays little more than that *Japan* lies between the degrees of 35 and 48 n. lat. but in the *Engliſh* Atlas it is between 34 and 40, and by *Varenius* between 31 and 38. But we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of this matter hereafter, when we ſpeak of the diviſion of *Aſia*.

SECT. V.

The ſecond voyage of captain Davis *with Sir* Edward Michelburn.

AS we induſtriouſly avoid repetitions as much as poſſible, we ſhall not give any Journal of the voyage of Sir *Edward Michelburn* and capt. *Davis*, therefore we ſhall only ſay, they ſail the 5th of *December* 1604, from the *Iſle of Wight* on board the *Tyger* and the *Tyger*'s Whelp, the one a ſhip of 240 tuns, and the other a pinnace, bound for the *Eaſt Indies*. They took their courſe towards the cape of *Good Hope*, finding nothing extraordinary except a ſtrange glittering on the ſea in the night-time, about the middle of *February*, in ſouth lat. of 7 deg. ſo that after the moon was ſet, they ſaw to read with the light which proceeded from the flames that the ſea caſt forth.

About the 7th of *May* they found themſelves to the ſouthward of the cape, about 10 leagues, and ſo they directed their courſe eaſtward till they were clear of the ſouth point of *Africa*, and then north eaſt; paſſing by *Madagaſcar* on the ſouth ſide, they came to the iſland of *Diego Roiz* in 19 deg. 40 min. ſ. lat. and 98 of longitude according to our author, but by the *Atlas* (which takes the longitude from *London*) 63 degrees, and from thence to that of *Diego Grazioſo* in 7 deg. 30 min. ſ. lat. and upon the 11th of *July* 1605 they paſs'd the line, and the 19th made the land of *Sumatra*, and came to an anchor at an iſland he calls *Bata*. They had loſt ſight of the pinnace at the cape of *Good Hope*, and ſeeing a ſmall bark riding by the ſide of this iſland, they were in hopes it might be the ſame, but not being ſo near as to diſtinguiſh, they ſent a boat next day, who ſaw three barks lying in the road, when they hail'd them, there being ſome on board the ſhips, who ſpoke *Portugueſe*, they deſir'd the *Engliſh* to come aboard, telling them they had hens aboard. But they would not truſt them ſo far, but told them they would go back to their ſhip for money, and come for their hens next day. Accordingly, the next morning, they arm'd themſelves and man'd the long boat; but before they came to the place, the three ſhips were gone.

Departing from this iſland, they made the bay of *Preaman* in the iſland of *Sumatra* almoſt under the line, where, to their great joy, they found the pinnace riding at anchor. As ſoon as they had ſaluted one another, and receiv'd the mutual careſſes of the captain and other officers who came aboard Sir *Edward*'s ſhip, and that he likewiſe was come to an anchor, Sir *Edward* ſent captain *Davis* aſhore with a preſent to the governor of *Preaman*, and to diſcover the rate of pepper. But the captain found all things in confuſion at land, occaſion'd by a war commenced between the two ſons of the king of *Achen*, and the occaſion of which was this: * *See Davis's firſt Voyage.*

The old king of *Achen* formerly mention'd *, having two ſons, had made the

youngeſt of them king of *Pedir*, which his brother reſenting, conſpir'd againſt the old gentleman, and under colour of his father's dotage, uſurp'd the government, and made war upon his brother. This made trading in his dominions very precarious, ſo that the *Engliſh* weigh'd anchor, and going thro' the *Sunda* ſtreets, ſtood in for *Bantam* on north eaſt of the *Java* iſland. In this courſe they took a ſmall veſſel of 40 tuns, loaden with ſalt, rice, and *China* ware, but finding that ſhe belong'd to *Bantam*, where there was a ſmall *Engliſh* factory, they let her go without taking any thing from them.

In paſſing the ſtreights of *Sunda*, they ſtop'd at *Marrah*, where they water'd, and took in freſh proviſions. Upon the 28th of *October*, they came to an anchor within three leagues of *Bantam*, and the next day the *Engliſh* merchants there came aboard, and told them that the *Engliſh* fleet had ſail'd about three weeks before; and that the *Dutch*, who were endeavouring to engroſs the trade of that iſland, had given a moſt ſcandalous character of the *Engliſh* to the king of *Bantam*, both in reſpect to their honeſty and courage, telling him that as an inſtance of their cowardice, the *Engliſh* durſt not come ſo near the city as their ſhips did, for fear of them, but ſtaid three leagues off. Upon this intelligence Sir *Edward* weigh'd anchor, ſending his boat with a cavalier meſſage to the *Dutch*, telling them, *That he was coming to lie by their ſides, and if they offer'd to fire one ſingle ſhot at him, or to ſhew the leaſt ſign of an affront either to him or his nation, he would ſink every ſhip they had, or ſink himſelf in the attempt.* They made no anſwer to this menace; and altho' they had five ſhips, and one of them above 400 tuns, Sir *Edward* lay by them very peaceably, and whilſt he ſtaid at *Bantam*, there were few of the *Dutch* that car'd to go aſhore, altho' they had boaſted great things of their courage before his arrival.

Having ſtaid ſome time in this bay, rather to ſhew the natives the courage of the *Engliſh*, by which he hop'd to bring his countrymen of the factory in credit with thoſe of *Bantam*, than for any advantage to himſelf; he took leave of the *Engliſh* merchants, and weigh'd anchor the 2d of *November*, and ſet ſail for *Patana*, near *Malacca*, ſubject to the king of *Siam*. In this courſe, they were much put to it for want of a pilot who was acquainted with thoſe ſeas: And therefore ſeeing three praws or ſmall veſſels near the ſhore, and conſequently too ſhallow for either of their ſhips to come within ſpeech of them, Sir *Edward* order'd the long boat to be well man'd, and ſent to deſire a pilot from them to *Patana*, for which they promis'd a good reward. But they believing themſelves ſtrong enough for the boat's crew, refus'd to give them any of their men, ſo that the *Engliſh* were forc'd to attack them all three, and after a ſtrong reſiſtance they boarded one of them, but her men got all aſhore; another of them held them in play the whole night, but yielded next morning, and the general coming aboard her in the ſhallop, took two of her crew for pilots, and diſmiſs'd the prize, paying them more than the value for ſome rice and other things he had occaſion for. Theſe praws had been at *Palimbam* in *Sumatra*, and were going back to *Java*, where they liv'd.

They leave Bantam,

and take two pilots out of a ſmall veſſel of Java.

Having ſail'd, with contrary winds, above a month among iſlands, which their pilots ſaid they did not know, upon the 12th of *December* they came up with *Pulo Laor*, and there meeting with a junk or ſmall bark belonging to *Panhange*, laden with pepper, rice, and tin, for *Bantam*; from this junk the general took a Pilot, and diſmiſs'd the others he had taken before, paying them for their pains, altho' they were very ignorant. But the currents upon thoſe ſeas were very troubleſome; for in thoſe parts the ſea always runs ſouthward from *November* to *April*, and northward from *April* to *November*, ſo that all the ſhips from *China*, *Patana*, *Jor*, and other places to the northward, come to *Bantam* and *Palembam* with the northerly monſoon, and return with the ſoutherly. And our author ſays, the current and wind was ſo ſtrong here, that in three weeks time they could not get one league a head.

Whilſt they were upon the *Molacca* coaſt, as it were, wind bound, they had very near loſt both their ſhips and themſelves by a deſperate crew of *Japaneſe*. Thoſe people having been a pirating on the *China* coaſt, had loſt their ſhip, by the ignorance of their pilot, near the iſland of *Borneo*; but not daring to go aſhore arm'd on that iſland, becauſe it is death for a native of *Japan* to be ſeen with arms upon any of the neighbouring iſles or continent, (ſuch was the opinion of their deſperate bravery) ſo that having only their boat left them, they kept by the ſhore of a deſolate iſland near *Borneo*, till they ſpy'd a junk paſſing by, and then manning their boat, (for they had ſav'd moſt of their goods, and eſpecially their arms) they attack'd the ſmall veſſel, and eaſily carried her, murdering all that were aboard, intending to go to *Japan* with all their companions. But the wind being contrary, unluckily for the *Engliſh*, they happen'd to come to the ſame bay with them. The *Engliſh* ſhips hail'd them, and ſeeing them well dreſs'd, and that they

The Engliſh in great danger.

they all look'd like gentlemen, they made no ſcruple to go aboard, where they found 90 perſons, of which not one had the appearance or behaviour of a tar; and after ſome converſation with them, they were invited aboard the *Engliſh*, and they entertain'd one another two or three times. But the *Japaneſe* finding their Junk incapable of performing the voyage to *Japan* with ſo many aboard, laid a plot to get, at leaſt, one of the *Engliſh* ſhips, if not both. In order to this, when ſome of the *Engliſh* went aboard their junk, the next day after this conſultation, about 20 of the *Japaneſe* went arm'd as they us'd to be, aboard the pinnace, and altho' captain *Davis* had been advis'd to make them lay aſide their arms, and to put a guard upon them, he, having no apprehenſion of any treachery, had neglected the caution, and after they had ſtaid a while, at a ſignal agreed upon among themſelves, thoſe who were aboard the pinnace took to their arms, and murder'd captain *Davis*, and at the ſame time bolted out of the cabin where they had been entertain'd; but the alarm having been given before the maſt, the *Engliſh* took to their arms, and the *Japaneſe* having no arms but ſwords and ſome targets which they had pick'd up in the cabin, the *Engliſh* puſh'd them with their pikes, and kill'd ſeveral of the forwardeſt of them; but the *Indians* were ſo deſperate, that when the pikes were through their bodies, they preſt, like cats, to come at the perſon who had run them through. Notwithſtanding their obſtinacy, the ſhip's crew forced them back into the cabin, and finding they could not carry off the ſhip, they reſolv'd to periſh with it, and therefore ſet fire to the beds, and made good the entry for ſome hours together, ſo that the *Engliſh* were oblig'd to plant two of their guns, charg'd with chain and caſe ſhot, againſt the cabin door, by which they cut them to pieces, and of all the *Japaneſe*, there was but one ſav'd, the reſt being cut to pieces, without their once deſiring quarter; and that one was preſerv'd by throwing himſelf out of the cabin window: but, as if he had thought it a diſhonour to ſave himſelf in the ſea, when his companions were ſlain aboard, he came back to the ſhip, and ſurrender'd himſelf, telling them that their deſign was to cut all their throats, and carry the ſhip to *Japan*, and he deſir'd they would kill him.

A deſperate fight with the Japaneſe.

Whilſt this was going on in the pinnace, the *Engliſh*, who were aboard the junk were treated after the ſame manner, the *Japaneſe* having fallen upon them according to agreement; ſo that they were all cut to pieces except ſuch as could ſwim, who finding themſelves overpower'd, had thrown themſelves overboard, and recover'd the *Engliſh* ſhips. Having thus got clear of this danger, but with the loſs of a conſiderable number of their men, the general order'd the *Japaneſe* to be hang'd; but the rope broke, and he fell into the ſea: whether he was hang'd, drown'd, or eſcap'd to land, they could not tell.

About the middle of *January* ſhe met with two *Chineſe* veſſels, which they took after ſome reſiſtance, finding them laden with ſilks of different kinds, and 50 tuns of ſilver. But the general would not let his people touch the ſilver, in expectation of meeting with the *Chineſe* fleet, which would have been a richer prize, and whatever ſilks they took, they gave them the value of them, and ſo diſmiſs'd them. But ſoon after, having been inform'd by ſome *Dutch* ſhips, that the *Engliſh* merchants at *Bantam* were like to ſuffer by their having taken the two *Chineſe* ſhips mention'd, and that the king of *Java* took it much amiſs, Sir *Edward* reſolved to give over purſuing his own private intereſt, rather than hurt the publick; and therefore, altho' he had hitherto made but a poor voyage of it, he returns home in *June* 1606.

They return to England.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The forming of the East India *company and the* Engliſh voyages *for the uſe of the* ſociety.

HItherto we have only taken notice of the voyages of private undertakers, altho' ſome of them made uſe of the queen's name, without queſtion by her conſent; but they were ſuch as perform'd their voyages and travels at their own charge. We now come to conſider the *Eaſt India* voyages as the act of a *form'd ſociety*. And therefore it will be proper to give ſome account of their patent, and the nature of their incorporation as a ſociety.

In the year 1600, a great number of *London merchants*, with the earl of *Cumberland* at their head, petitioned queen *Elizabeth* for a patent to form themſelves into a *ſociety* for carrying on the trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and accordingly procured a patent dated the 31ſt of *December*, that year, in favour of the ſaid earl of *Cumberland*, and 215 therein named after him, to erect themſelves into a corporation for the ſaid *Eaſt-India* trade, by the name of, *the Governor and Company of merchants of London, trading to the* Eaſt-Indies, allowing them to have a ſeal at their pleaſure to be uſed by any of the company in all affairs and writings relating to the company; with power to chuſe their governor on the firſt of *July* yearly after Alderman *Thomas Smith*, made governor by the patent, as likewiſe 24 of their number for a committee to meet at any convenient place, and to be choſen yearly after the firſt 24 named in the patent, together with a power to chuſe a deputy governor; all which were to take an oath of faithfully performing their duty towards the company, and in caſe of death or miſdemeanor they might meet to fill up the vacant place.

The Q's patent for the E. India Comp.

Their ſeal

The ſons and apprentices of the patentees free of the company.

This patent likewiſe made the ſons of any of the perſons named in it, free of the ſociety at the age of 21. as alſo their apprentices, factors, and other ſervants employed in the company's ſervice. It gave them alſo a power of making laws for their ſociety by the majority of the company aſſembled in any convenient place, with this only reſtriction, that they ſhould not be contrary to the laws of *England*, and to puniſh all offenders againſt ſuch laws by fines or corporal puniſhment, with the above reſtriction. Moreover, their goods exported were free of cuſtom for four years, and 12 months time allowed for paying the cuſtoms of goods imported by the company, that is, ſix months for the firſt moiety of the duty, and ſix more for the other moiety, this to continue for 15 years, which was the term of the whole patent. And further, it was provided, that during the ſaid term of 15 years, if any goods miſcarried or were loſt to the company, that upon proof made of ſuch loſs, before the court of chancery, they ſhould have an order from the lord chancellor to have the ſame value of goods paſt at the Cuſtom-houſe, duty free. It was likewiſe granted by this patent, that whatever goods were imported by the company, and had paſt the cuſtom-houſe, might be exported to any other place for 13 months after, without paying any new duty. It was alſo permitted to carry out 30,000 l. in foreign coin or bullion, provided that they made 6000 l. of it, to be coin'd anew at the mint; and this to continue during their ſaid patent. Six ſhips and ſix pinnaces were allowed to ſail very year upon the company's account, well arm'd with ordnance, and having 500 mariners on board, who were to be *Engliſh* men; and this number to be free from any trouble or preſs-warrants, except there was a neceſſity to arm the *Engliſh* fleet, and that it cannot be done without thoſe ſix ſhips and the ſeamen mentioned in the patent.

Several immunities granted them.

The patent alſo forbids all other perſons, not free of the company to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, under the penalty of forfeiting ſhip and goods, and impriſonment during pleaſure, the one half of the value of the forfeiture to the crown, and the other to the company, and before their releaſment they were to enter into a bond of 1000 l. to meddle no more in that trade, without the conſent of the company, which, by the patent, they were authoriz'd to give to any perſons, they thought proper. The company were alſo impowered to diſfranchiſe any perſon or perſons named in the patent, who did not pay his quota agreed upon for carrying on the trade.

All others forbidden to trade to the E. Indies.

But it is ſpecified in the body of the patent, that the company ſhall bring, during the ſaid term of fifteen years,

years (the firſt voyage excepted) an equal quantity of bullion or other ſilver in foreign coin, as they ſhall from time to time export from *England*, and that no money either coin'd or uncoin'd ſhall be ſhip'd on board for exportation but at the ports of *London*, *Dartmouth*, or *Plymouth*: But the ſilver imported may be unloaded any where in *England*, having been firſt enter'd by the proper cuſtom-houſe officers, before it be ſhip'd for exportation, or unloaded when imported.

But this patent expreſly forbids the company to diſturb the trade of any other chriſtian prince or ſtate in friendſhip with *England*. And laſt of all, it provides that a new patent ſhall be granted after the expiration of the 15 years, if it appears to be for the advantage of the crown, and the benefit of the kingdom: On the contrary, if it be found to the prejudice of either, it is declared void after two years.

Theſe letters patent, dated the 31ſt of *December* and counter-ſign'd HUBERD, having paſs'd the great ſeal, the company ſet immediately to the *Eaſt India* trade in good earneſt, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

SECT. I.

Mr. LANCASTER's voyage (*being the firſt upon the account of the* Eaſt India Company.)

G. Lancaſter *ſails with four ſhips*

THE firſt employ'd, by the company, for the *Eaſt India* ſervice, was Mr. *James Lancaſter*, to whom, at their requeſt, the queen gave her commiſſion as commodore of the *Eaſt India* fleet, conſiſting of four ſhips, and a tender, *viz.* the *Dragon* of 600 tuns, commanded by Mr. *Lancaſter*; the *Hector* of 300 tuns, commanded by captain *Middleton*; the *Aſcenſion* of 260 tuns, by captain *Brand*, and the *Suſan*, by captain *Heyward*. Theſe four ſhips, with the *Gueſt*, a tender, having on board, in merchandiſe and money, 27,000 *l.* value, and proviſions for 20 months, and having among them 480 men, ſet ſail from *Tor* bay the 2d of *April* 1601. In the beginning of *May* they reach'd the *Canaries*, where they made no ſtay, but directing their courſe ſouthward, they ſail'd along the coaſt of *Guinea*, having ſometimes calms, and then all of a ſudden, guſts of wind, which in ſpite of all their care tore the ſails and rigging before they could ſtrike them, and ſo put their ſhips in danger. About the 20th of *June* they got within two degrees of the line, where they took a *Portugueſe* ſhip, which gave them an account of three galleons ſail'd from *Lisbon* to guard the *Eaſt India* trade from other nations. Having pillag'd this ſhip, and provided their fleet of wine, oyl, and meal from the *Portugueſes*, they proceeded in their voyage, and paſs'd the line on the laſt day of *June*. About the 20th of *July*, they got into the ſ. lat. of 19. deg. where they unrig'd their tender, and broke down the higher timbers of her for firing, having no more occaſion for her.

They take a Portugueſe ſhip.

But their having come ſo late in the year towards the line, made their navigation between that and the tropic of *Capricorn* very tedious, and unwholſome; ſo that many of the crew fell ſick in all their ſhips: and the general having appointed *Saldania* for the place of rendevouz, held on his voyage, and being arriv'd at the latitude of 30 degrees, they met with refreſhing ſouth weſt breezes, which chear'd their men not a little; but between that and the cape of *Good Hope*, the eaſterly winds plagu'd them again, ſo that the merchants on board were forced to help to work the ſhips, there being not ſo many ſeamen aboard free from ſickneſs, as were able to do it. At laſt they arriv'd at *Saldania*, within 30 leagues of the cape; but the other three ſhips, who arriv'd ſoon after, could not ſo much as drop their anchors without help from the admiral. Having brought all his ſhips into this bay, the general went aſhore, carrying a parcel of knives, and other things of iron, as preſents to the natives to beſpeak their friendſhip; and order'd ſails and ropes to be brought aſhore to make tents, eſpecially for the ſick men; and finding the natives tractable enough, he traded with them for proviſions, uſing a very natural method to be underſtood, having no interpreter, for he made ſome of his people mimick the lowing of oxen, and bleating of ſheep, to let them underſtand that he wanted thoſe animals, and when they had brought them to his camp, he ſent ſome perſons to chuſe as many as he had occaſion for, and laid down, in lieu of them, knives, and other things, till they were ſatisfied.

Great ſickneſs aboard.

They arrive near the cape.

and trade with the natives.

But having heard of the treachery of the *Africans* towards the *Dutch*, and others, the general was unwilling to truſt them too far, and therefore order'd about 40 of his men to keep guard, and when the natives brought their cattle to a place appointed for ſale, his guard drew out under arms, at a convenient diſtance, whilſt four or five, appointed for the purpoſe, went to barter with them, which proceeding keeping them conſtantly in awe, they continued good friends. The price of a cow or an ox was commonly two pieces of an iron hoop, of eight inches long; and, for a ſheep, one piece of the ſame length; and as they bought them, they left them to graze near their tents, except what they had immedate occaſion to kill. When they had gotten

a good quantity, the natives, probably, being afraid of their having a deſign to ſettle there, gave over bringing any more to market, and when the *Engliſh* made the uſual ſign for more, the *Africans* pointed to thoſe they had already bought.

By the time they had ſtaid there about two months, being from the end of *Auguſt* to the 24th of *October*, the ſick recover'd wonderfully. Their diſeaſe ſeem'd to be a ſcurvy, for the cure of which, the general gave them two or three ſpoonfuls of lemon juice faſting, and kept them from ſalt meat; ſo that altho' about 150 had dy'd in the other ſhips during the voyage, not above four or five miſcarried after their landing in this country.

They leave Saldinia. Upon the 24th of *October*, the general order'd them to ſtrike their tents, and go aboard, and on the 29th they ſet ſail, and the firſt of *November* they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and ſpent all that month and the beſt part of *December* between that and the iſland of St. *Maria*, on the north eaſt coaſt of *Madagaſcar* or St. *Lawrence* iſland. In this courſe they obſerv'd the compaſs to vary 16 degrees. They ſtopt ſome days at *S. Maria* iſland and upon *Chriſtmas* day they anchor'd at *Antongile* bay in the lat. of 15 deg. near *S. Maria*, and landing on a ſmall iſland in that bay, they found ſome writing there upon trees, by which they underſtood that ſome *Dutch* veſſels had been there, and that near 200 of them had dy'd by ſickneſs.

and land in Madagaſcar. The general landed ſome of his men in the iſland of *S. Lawrence*, now commonly known by the name of *Madagaſcar*, but finding the natives a cunning people, and that they kept their goods at a high price, he gave orders that all his men ſhould ſell by weight and meaſure, and unleſs the natives would come to their terms, they ſhould not trade with them; by this method they ſoon brought them to reaſon, and bought their commodities at an eaſy rate.

Here ſeveral of their men dy'd of a flux, of which number were the chaplain, the maſter's mate, and ſome others, and by the careleſsneſs of one of the gunners, as the captain of the *Aſcenſion*, and the gunner's mate, were going aſhore to bury *The capt. of the* Aſcenſion *kill'd.* the dead, they were unhappily kill'd by a ball left in one of the guns, which was diſcharg'd for that ſolemnity.

Upon the 6th of *March* they left *Madagaſcar*, and ſet ſail for *India*, and came up with an iſland in 10 deg. ſ. lat. which is call'd *Rogue Pize*, from which ſuch a fragrant ſmell came, that they had a great mind to have gone aſhore upon it, but finding no anchoring ground, they only coaſted along the ſide of it, where they ſaw abundance of fiſh and fowl, ſome of which they kill'd, and found them very delicious. But being come into ſix deg. of lat. they found themſelves all of a ſudden ſurrounded with rocks, which gave them great uneaſineſs for ſeveral days. However, ſending their pinnace ſtill before them to ſound the depth of the water by good providence they got out of that difficulty, finding a free paſſage towards the north; and now they began to feel the effects of the monſoons, which hinder'd their progreſs to *Sumatra*, and forcing them to the northward of the line 7 deg. they landed at *Sembrero*, a ſmall Sembrero *iſland.* iſland, 12 leagues north of *Nicobar*. In this iſland the people go naked, except a linen cloth round them, and ſo twiſted that it covers their nakedneſs. But their prieſts are cloathed from head to foot, and ſo cloſe to their bodies as if their cloaths were glu'd to them: upon their heads they have a pair of horns hanging backwards, painted of different colours, as their faces likewiſe are, and a tail ty'd behind hanging between their buttocks. This dreſs they wear becauſe they ſay their idol appears to them in this figure.

The iſland produces plenty of large ſtrait trees fit for maſts of ſhips. But there is a plant, ſeveral of which, they ſay, they brought to *England*, and for the curioſity of them it muſt not be omitted.

A ſtrange plant. It is a ſmall twig riſing thro' the ſand, at the ſea ſide, and by degrees grows to a ſmall tree. If any one attempts to pull it up, it ſhrinks into the ground, unleſs you take a good hold of it, and pull hard: when pull'd up by the root, there is a worm in it, ſo cloſely united to the root, as if the worm were all the root it had. They obſerv'd by pulling this tree at all ages and ſizes, that the worm diminiſh'd in proportion as the tree grew in bigneſs, and when the worm is intirely conſum'd, the root fixes itſelf by ſtrings and fibres ſpread in the ground below as other vegetables do. But one quality it has, which is very remarkable, that when it is full grown, if the leaves and bark of it be ſtript off, the wood of the tree by being dry'd turns into ſtone, almoſt like white corral.

Departing from this iſland *May* 29. *The* Engliſh *arrive at* Achen. they came to an anchor *June* the 5th in the bay of *Achen*, which they had often long'd for. Here they found ſhips of ſeveral nations, and amongſt others a *Dutch* veſſel, from which ſeveral came aboard them, and gave them hopes of a good reception, by telling them that the king of *Achen* ſpoke extremely well of queen *Elizabeth*, and of the *Engliſh* nation, and that he was well inſtructed in the hiſtory of her war with *Spain*, with which he ſeem'd to be very much pleas'd. Upon this

this information, the general ſent ſome gentlemen of his company to pay his compliments to the king, and to beg leave for himſelf to go aſhore to pay his duty to his majeſty, letting him know that he had letters from the queen his miſtreſs to the king, which he muſt deliver himſelf if his majeſty would permit him, and give him a ſafe conduct.

The gentlemen ſent by the general, acquitted themſelves handſomely of their commiſſion, and much to the king's ſatisfaction, for which he order'd a ſplendid entertainment to be made for them, and then diſmiſs'd them with all the marks of honour that he could ſhew them, making the chief of them be cloath'd, after his country manner, with callicoe wrought with gold, and bid them tell their general, that he might come to him with as much ſecurity as to his own queen, but if he wanted hoſtages he would ſend them.

Upon their return, which was the ſame day, (for their ſhips were not above two miles from the city) the general prepar'd every thing for going aſhore, and accordingly, the next day he went with a gallant retinue of about thirty perſons to the city; at his landing he was met by the *Dutch* merchants, and, as they had agreed before, was conducted to their houſe, for he would not accept of one of his own till he had ſeen the king. He had not been long there till a nobleman came to him from his majeſty, to welcome him in his name, and to demand his letters. The general receiv'd him with much civility, and thank'd his majeſty for the honour he did him, but excus'd himſelf from ſending his ſovereign's letter, becauſe, as an ambaſſador, he was to deliver it out of his own hand to the king. At his deſire, the general ſhew'd him the ſuperſcription, which he look'd at, and carefully ſurvey'd the ſeal, and took a note of both.

The general is kindly receiv'd by the king.

Upon the return of this nobleman to court, the king order'd ſix large elephants, and a great retinue, accompany'd with drums, trumpets, and ſtreamers, to attend the ambaſſador. The largeſt elephant was about 14 foot high, and the caſtle upon his back was cover'd with crimſon velvet, and in the middle a great baſon of gold, and a piece of ſilk, exceeding richly wrought, to cover it, this being to put the queen's letter in. The ambaſſador mounted another of the elephants, and ſome of his retinue rode upon the others, and ſome of them walk'd a-foot. At the gate of the palace the nobleman deſir'd him to ſtop till the king's farther pleaſure was known, and going from him, return'd immediately, deſiring him to enter. The general having quitted his elephant, went into the palace, and as ſoon as he was admitted into the king's preſence, he ſaluted him after the manner of the country, and having made the queen's compliments, he began to entertain him with his buſineſs; but his majeſty ſtopt him, telling him, that upon his miſtreſs's account, who was worthy of all honour, he ſhould be treated by him and his ſubjects as an ambaſſador of ſo great a princeſs deſerv'd; but as he muſt have undergone great fatigue in his voyage, he deſir'd he would refreſh himſelf before he enter'd upon buſineſs. The general then gave him the queen's letter, which he took and deliver'd to one of his nobles. Then the ambaſſador order'd the queen's preſent to his majeſty to be uncover'd, which conſiſted of a baſon of ſilver with a fountain in the middle of it, weighing 205 ounces; a great ſtanding cup of the ſame metal; a rich looking-glaſs; a head-piece with a plume of feathers; a caſe of daggers finely adorn'd; a rich embroider'd belt; and a fan of feathers. Theſe were receiv'd by one of the nobles in the king's preſence; but he himſelf took the Fan, and made one of his women fan him with it.

The Q. of England's preſent to him.

After this, the general was order'd to ſit down upon the carpet, and a great entertainment was ſerv'd. All the diſhes were either of pure gold, or elſe of *Tamback*, a metal greatly eſteem'd by the *Indians*, being a mixture of gold and braſs. The king ſate in a kind of throne rais'd about a fathom from the floor, and often drank to the general in *arrack*, in which the ambaſſador pledg'd him once, but afterwards, excuſing himſelf for not being able to drink ſuch ſtrong liquor, he had leave to mix it with water, or drink pure water. And after the dinner was over, the king as a ſpecial mark of his favour order'd his women to dance before the general. He likewiſe gave him a rich ſuit and two cryſes or daggers with rich handles; and thus he was diſmiſs'd with an order given to the nobleman who conducted him, that he ſhould fit up any houſe the general ſhould pitch upon for his reſidence; but he choſe to go aboard till he found how his majeſty lik'd the queen's letter: which being the firſt of that kind we have had occaſion to meet with, we ſhall give it at large.

ELIZA-

ELIZABETH, *by the Grace of* GOD, *Queen of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Defendreſs of the* chriſtian *faith and religion.*

To the great and mighty king of Achen, *&c. in the iſland of* Sumatra, *our loving* brother, *greeting.*

Queen Elizabeth's *letter to the king of* Achen.

" THE eternal GOD, of his divine " knowledge and providence, has " ſo diſpos'd his bleſſings, and good things " of his creation, for the uſe and nouriſh- " ment of mankind in ſuch ſort, that " notwithſtanding they grow in diverſe " kingdoms and regions of the world, yet " by the induſtry of man (ſtirred up by " the inſpiration of the ſaid omnipotent " creator) they are diſpers'd into the moſt " remote places of the univerſal world: " to the end that even therein may ap- " pear unto all nations his miraculous " works, he having ſo ordain'd that the " one land may have need of the other: " and thereby not only breed intercourſe " and exchange of their merchandiſe and " fruits, which do ſuperabound in ſome " countries, and want in others; but al- " ſo ingender love and friendſhip betwixt " all men, a thing naturally divine.

" Whereunto we having reſpect (right " noble king) and alſo to the honourable " and truly royal fame, which hath hi- " therto ſtretch'd, of your *Highneſs's* hu- " mane and noble uſage of ſtrangers, " which repair into that your kingdom, " in love and peace, in the trade of mer- " chandiſe, paying your due cuſtoms: " We have been moved to give licence " unto theſe our ſubjects, who with com- " mendable and good deſires, ſail to viſit " that your kingdom; notwithſtanding " the dangers and miſeries of the ſea, na- " tural to ſuch a voyage, which (by the " grace of GOD) they will make, be- " ing greateſt that is to be made in the " world, and to preſent traffick unto your " ſubjects. Which their offer, if it ſhall " be accepted by your *Highneſs*, with " ſuch love and grace as We hope for, of " ſo great and magnanimous a *Prince*; " We, for them, do promiſe, that in no " time hereafter, you ſhall have cauſe to " repent thereof, but rather to rejoice " much. For, their dealing ſhall be true, " and their converſation ſure: and We " hope that they will give ſo good proof " thereof, that this beginning ſhall be a " perpetual confirmation of love betwixt " our ſubjects on both parts, by carrying " from us ſuch things and merchandiſe as " you have need of there: ſo that your " *Highneſs* ſhall be very well ſerved, and " better contented, than you have hither- " to been with the *Portugals* and *Spa- " niards*, our enemies, who only, and " none elſe of theſe regions, have fre- " quented thoſe your, and the other king- " doms of the eaſt: not ſuffering that the " other nations ſhould do it, pretending " themſelves to be *Monarchs* and abſo- " lute *Lords* of all thoſe kingdoms and " provinces, as their own conqueſt and " inheritance, as appeareth by their loſty " title in their writings. The contrary " whereof hath very lately appear'd unto " us; and that your Highneſs, and your " royal family, fathers and grandfathers, " have (by the grace of GOD, and their " valour) known not only to defend your " own kingdoms, but alſo to give wars " unto the *Portugals* in the lands which " they poſſeſs; as namely in *Malaca*, in " the year of the humane redemption " 1575, under the conduct of your vali- " ant captain *Ragamacota*, with their " great loſs, and the perpetual honour of " your *Highneſs's* crown and kingdom.

" And now if your *Highneſs* ſhall be " pleaſed to accept into your favour and " grace, and under your royal protection " and defence, theſe our ſubjects, that " they may freely do their buſineſs now, " and continue yearly hereafter: This " bearer, who goeth chief of this fleet of " four ſhips, hath order (with your *High- " neſs* licence) to leave certain factors, " with a ſettled houſe of factory in your " kingdom, untill the going thither of " another fleet, which ſhall go thither " upon the return of this. Which left " factors ſhall learn the language, and " cuſtoms of your ſubjects, whereby, the " better and more lovingly to converſe " with them.

" And the better to confirm this con- " federacy, and friendſhip betwixt us, We " are contented, if your *Highneſs* be ſo " pleaſed, that you cauſe capitulations " reaſonable to be made: And that this " bearer do the like in our name; which " We promiſe to perform royally, and en- " tirely, as well herein as in other agree- " ments, and arguments which he will " communicate unto you; to whom We " do greatly deſire your *Highneſs* to give " entire faith and credit; and that you " will receive him and the reſt of his com- " pany, under your royal protection, fa- " vouring them in what ſhall be reaſon " and juſtice. And We promiſe on our " behalf to re-anſwer in like degree, in " all that your *Highneſs* ſhall have need " out of theſe our kingdoms. And We " deſire that your *Highneſs* will be plea- " ſed to ſend Us anſwer by the bearer of " this our letter, that we may thereby " underſtand of your royal acceptance of " the friendſhip and league, which we " offer, and greatly deſire, may have a " happy beginning, with long years to " continue.

This

This was her majeſty's letter, which the general had taken care to get tranſlated into *Arabic* by a *Jew* whom he had brought out of *England* with him. Upon his next going to court, he found the king perfectly pleas'd with the letter, for he told him he would take ſuch order that his miſtreſs's pleaſure ſhould be follow'd in every point: and that he had commanded two of his counſellors to confer with the ambaſſador in thoſe other things which he had to propoſe; and aſſur'd him he would agree to every thing that was reaſonable and honourable: and after the ambaſſador had been nobly entertain'd, as at firſt, he was diſmiſs'd.

The perſons appointed to manage the treaty with him were the chief prieſt or biſhop of their religion (who was a man every way qualify'd for it) and an old counſellor. The general ſent to them both to know when they would meet to treat of the affair referr'd to them, and a day was fix'd for the conference.

At the time of meeting, the general made his demands, and they argu'd upon them; but, not to give an unneceſſary detail of their conference, they agreed upon the following conceſſions to the *Engliſh*.

Priviledges granted to the Engliſh.

1. Freedom of trade to all the ports belonging to his majeſty for all *Engliſh* ſhips, without paying any cuſtom for goods imported or exported.

2. That the ſubjects of *Achen* ſhould in all dangers and difficulties aſſiſt the *Engliſh* both with ſhips and men to ſave their ſhips and goods.

3. That the *Engliſh* ſhould have power to make wills, and bequeath their effects in *Achen* to whom they ſhould think fit.

4. That all bargains or contracts between the *Engliſh* and the ſubjects of *Achen* ſhould be good and valid, and that the king's ſubjects ſhould be oblig'd to fulfil them.

5. That the *Engliſh* who were guilty of any miſdemeanour among themſelves, might be puniſh'd by their own officers, without being oblig'd to have recourſe to the magiſtrates of *Achen*.

6. That the *Engliſh*, upon due complaint made to the civil magiſtrate, for any injuries done them by the *Indians*, ſhould be aſſur'd of having juſtice done them by his majeſty's judges.

7. That no *Engliſh* goods ſhould be arreſted or ſtop'd in any port belonging to his majeſty, nor ſhould any price be put upon them but by themſelves.

8. That the *Engliſh* ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience, and have the free exerciſe of their own religion.

When the commiſſioners had agreed to theſe and other articles debated between the general and them, they were drawn up in form, and approv'd by the king. After which the *Engliſh* proceeded to load their ſhips with pepper; but it being ſcarce at *Achen*, they ſent the *Suſan* to *Priaman* on the ſouth part of the iſland, under the care of Mr. *Henry Middleton*, as captain and merchant.

But the *Portugal* ambaſſador, then at *Achen*, was very diligent in obſtructing the *Engliſh* affairs, and in order to prevent their trade, propoſed to the king to ſettle a factory of his countrymen in the city, and deſired leave to build a fort at the mouth of the harbour, under colour of having their goods preſerv'd from fire, to which they might be ſubject in *Achen*; but the king ſeeing his deſign, anſwered with an air not very agreeable to the ambaſſador, " that his maſter ſeem'd to have " ſo great regard to the ſafety of *Achen*, " by deſiring to fortify it at his own charge, " that one would think he deſign'd to give " his daughter in marriage to his ſon. But " that he needed not to give himſelf that " trouble, for he could fortify it, when " there was occaſion for it, without his " aſſiſtance; and as to the ſaving their " goods, he would lend them a houſe at " the ſame diſtance from the city, within " the land, where they might be ſafely " kept. " And from that time, the king received the ambaſſador ſo coldly that he ſoon retir'd from court.

The Portugueſe Ambaſſador endeavour to obſtruct their Intereſt.

But altho' they found they were not able to put the *Engliſh* in diſgrace with the king, they endeavour'd to do them miſchief another way, which came to the general's ears after the following manner. A *Portugueſe* captain of a ſhip who had come from *Bengal* to *Achen*, and liv'd in the ambaſſador's houſe, had an *Indian* in his ſervice, a cunning fellow, and by his maſter's order came as a ſpy into the *Engliſh* quarters, under colour of ſelling hens. The general having information of his having been, more than ordinary, curious in taking notice of every thing, ſent for him, and telling him, it was pity that ſuch a man as he could not find a better employment than ſelling of hens. The *Indian* made anſwer that ſuch was his preſent maſter's pleaſure, for he was not at his own liberty to chuſe his trade. *And what would you do* (ſaid the general) *for that perſon who would give you your freedom? I would venture my life for him*, ſaid the *Indiam. Well* (replied the general) *I will do it, if you will be honeſt.* Then he ask'd him what the *Portugueſe* ſaid of him and his fleet; to which the *Indian* replied, that they had ſent ſome *Chineſe* ſpies aboard the fleet; that they had taken an account of the number of guns and men

aboard each of them, and had drawn draughts of every thing, and that in a few days, the ambaſſador intended to ſend to *Malacca* for forces to come and ſurprize his ſhips in the port. Altho' the general laugh'd at this advice before the *Indian*, yet the next time he ſaw the king, he did not neglect to tell him of it, deſiring his majeſty to ſend orders to the other ports of his kingdom, to ſtop ſuch ſtrangers as ſhould take ſhipping there without paſsports; and the king promiſing to do it, he being ſecretly adviſed by his *Indian*, of the departure of two of the ambaſſador of *Portugal*'s ſervants and of the port they were to embark at, gave the king notice: And the matter was ſo order'd, that no ſearch was made till their ſhip was going over the bar; and then the governor of the town ſent a frigate after them, under colour of ſearching for contraband goods, and ſeeing the two *Europeans*, they as'd who they were, and they anſwering they came from *Achen*, and that they belong'd to the *Portugal* ambaſſador; the officer pretended they had ſtolen ſome goods from their maſter, and therefore he muſt ſend them back to *Achen*. Thus ſeizing all their papers, he brought them aſhore, and ſent them and their papers under a guard to the king.

The king of Achen *his kindneſs to the* Engliſh.

The *Engliſh* general was ſoon appriz'd of what had been done, who gave his majeſty humble thanks for his favour; but hearing that the ambaſſador deſigned to leave the city, he farther beg'd of the king to ſtop him for a week till he got before him, ſince he intended to go to *Priaman* and *Bantam* to load his other Ships. This the king likewiſe complied with, and, by ſeveral pretences, kept him 20 days, till the *Engliſh* ſhips had ſail'd, ſo that the *Portugueſe* at *Malacca* had no intelligence of their ſailing, nor any hint to ſecure their ſhipping.

They ſail to the ſtreights of Malacca,

The general, before his departure, preſented Mr. *Starky* and Mr. *Styles* to the king, as the perſons whom he was to leave behind him to carry on the trade at *Achen*, to whom his majeſty promis'd his protection. After which the general ſet ſail, and going within twenty leagues of *Malacca*, he came to an anchor in the ſtraights undiſcover'd. On the 3d of *October* they ſpy'd a large ſhip, to which they gave chaſe, and altho' ſhe prov'd to be a ſhip of 900 tuns, they ſoon became maſters of her. In this ſhip they found 900 packs of calicoes and pintado's, beſides a great deal of other merchandizes; ſo that with what goods they had brought from *Achen*, they loaded all their ſhips, and might have loaded more if they had had them. After which he return'd to *Achen*, having eſcaped narrowly a waterſpout which fell not far from their ſhips, which would have gone nigh to have ſunk them, had it fallen upon them; for it fell perpendicular like the caſcade of a river, and made the ſea boil at a ſtrange rate, with the violence of it.

and take a Portugueſe *ſhip.*

The general, at his return to *Achen*, heard from his friends the noble treatment they had receiv'd from the king; and therefore pick'd out of the ſpoils of the *Portugueſe* he had taken ſuch things as he thought were fitteſt to be preſented to his majeſty, and having demanded an audience, went to court, where he was chearfully receiv'd, the king expreſſing his ſatisfaction at his good ſucceſs againſt their common enemy. The general now intending to depart for *England*, had a long conference with the king, and having thank'd his majeſty for all the favours he had receiv'd from him, which indeed had been done him with the beſt grace imaginable, and having again recommended his countrymen to his protection, he ask'd his majeſty's commands to his miſtreſs, and receiv'd the following letter written in *Arabic*, and was tranſlated by Mr. *Bedwel*.

The king of ACHEN'S *Letter to the queen of* ENGLAND.

The king of Achen *his letter*

" GLORY be to GOD, who has magnify'd himſelf in his works, glorify'd his dominion, ordain'd kings and kingdoms, exalted himſelf alone in power and majeſty. He is not to be utter'd by word of mouth, nor to be conceiv'd by the imagination of the heart: He is no vain phantome: No bound may contain him, nor any ſimilitude expreſs him. His bleſſing and his peace is over all his goodneſs in the creature. He has been proclaim'd by his prophet heretofore, and ſince that often, and now again by the writing at this preſent, inferiour unto none. For this city, which is not ſlack to ſhew their love, hath manifeſted it in the entertainment of that ſociety, which filleth the horizons with joy, and has confirm'd it to the eye by a ſign, which brings knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their requeſt is juſt, with purpoſe for exchange, and they themſelves of honeſt carriage, and their kindneſs great in doing good in general to the creatures, helping the creature in proſperity and adverſity jointly, giving liberally unto the poor, and ſuch as ſtand in need of their abundance, preſerving the creature to their uttermoſt with a willing mind; which for them now is extended unto *India* and *Arach* *; ſending forth the chiefeſt men of diſcretion and note, calling alſo the beſt of the creatures to council herein.

* Carmania.

" This

" This is the *Sultana* which doth rule " in *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Holland* " and *Friſeland*: GOD continue that " kingdom, and that empire long in po- " ſterity.

" And becauſe that he which has ob- " tain'd the writing of theſe letters from † Achen. " the king of the kingdom of *Aſhley* †, " who does rule there with an abſolute " power. And for that there came unto " us a good report of you, declared and " ſpread very joyfully by the mouth of " captain *James Lancaſter* (GOD con- " tinue his welfare long) and for that you " do record that in your letters there are " commendations unto us; and that your " letters are patent privileges; Almighty " GOD advance the purpoſe of this " honourable conſociation, and confirm " this worthy league.

" And for that you do affirm in them, * Spain. " that the ſultan of *Afrangie* * is your " enemy, and an enemy to your people, " in what place ſoever he be from the firſt " until now; and for that he has lift up " himſelf proudly, and ſet himſelf as " king of the world, yet what is he be- " ſides his exceeding pride and haughty " mind? In this therefore is our joy in- " creas'd, and our ſociety confirm'd: for " that he and his company are our ene- " mies in this world, and the world to " come: ſo that we ſhall cauſe them to " die, in what place ſoever we ſhall meet " them, a publick death.

" And moreover you do affirm, that " you deſire peace and friendſhip with us. " To GOD be praiſe and thanks for the " greatneſs of his grace. This therefore " is our ſerious will, and honourable pur- " poſe truly in this writing, that you " may ſend from your people unto our " ports to trade and to traffick; and that " whoſoever ſhall be ſent unto us in your " highneſs's name, and to whomſoever " you ſhall preſcribe the time, they ſhall " be a joint company, and of common " privileges. For this captain and his " company, ſo ſoon as they came to us, " we have made them of an abſolute ſo- " ciety: and we have incorporated them " into one corporation and common dig- " nities: and we have granted them li- " berties, and have ſhew'd them the beſt " courſe of traffick. And to manifeſt un- " to men the love and brotherhood be- " tween us and you in this world, there " is ſent by the hand of this captain, ac- " cording to the cuſtom, unto the famous * London. " city *, a ring of gold, beautify'd with " a ruby, richly placed in his ſet, two " veſtures woven with gold, embroider'd " with gold, encloſed in a red box of † China. " *Tziu* †.

Written in *Tarich* § of the year 1011 § i. e. *by computation of time.* of *Mahomet*. *Peace be unto you.*

This letter (which, I dare ſay, was better in the *Arabic* than it ſounds in the *Engliſh*) the king deliver'd to the general, together with three pieces of cloth richly wrought with gold of curious workmanſhip; and a fine ruby in a ring: as alſo a ring with a ruby for himſelf. And all things being prepar'd for their departure; the general went with a dozen of the beſt people about him to take his laſt farewell of him. The king, among other things, ask'd him if the *Engliſh* knew any thing of *David*'s pſalms, to which he anſwering in the affirmative, the king told him that he and his nobles would ſing a pſalm for their preſervation, which they did in their language; and after they had done, the general and his people, at his majeſty's deſire, ſung one after the *Engliſh* manner, and ſo took their leave. *The* Engliſh *leave* Achen,

Upon the 9th of *November* 1602, the three ſhips ſet ſail from *Achen*, and after two days ſailing, the general diſpatch'd the *Aſcenſion* directly for *England*, being determin'd to go to *Bantam* in ſearch of the *Suſan*, ſent thither beforehand, as has been obſerv'd.

The general then on board the *Dragon* accompany'd with the *Hector*, purſu'd his courſe towards *Bantam*, but along the coaſt of *Sumatra* they fell among rocks or ſmall iſlands very dangerous for ſhips, but by good providence they eſcap'd without any damage, and arriv'd at *Priaman*, 15 min. on the ſouth of the line, *November* 26. Here they found the *Suſan*, which had provided good ſtore of pepper, and ſome cloves. After ſhe was laded, the general diſpatch'd her likewiſe for *England*, and ſail'd with the other two ſhips for *Bantam*, (which, as we have ſaid, is in the iſland of *Java*,) having letters from the queen of *England* to that king.

Having coaſted the whole ſouth weſt ſide of the iſland of *Sumatra*, they enter'd the ſtreights of *Sunda* the 15th of *December*, and in two days more enter'd the road of *Bantam* upon the north end of *Java*. As ſoon as they came into the road, they ſaluted the city with all their guns out of both ſhips; and the next day the admiral ſent captain *Middleton* aſhore with a meſſage to the king, who was well receiv'd, and a nobleman ſent back with him to bid the admiral welcome, and to invite him aſhore. Upon this meſſage the general taking about 16 of his people with him, went aſhore, and under the conduct of the noble *Indian* went to court, where he was introduced to the king, who was not above 10 or 11 years of age. After he had deliver'd his letters, and a preſent of plate, the king refer'd him to the protector of the kingdom for an anſwer; which was ſo favourable, that having *and arrive in* Banam *bay.*

ying had a houſe aſſign'd him, he brought his people and their goods aſhore, and began to traffick with the inhabitants.

The Javans great thieves.

But they found the *Javans* the greateſt thieves in the world, and therefore having complain'd of two or three ſeveral theſts committed by them in the night, they got an order from the protector to kill any of the citizens that ſhould be found about their houſe after ſuch an hour; and they were forced to put it in execution, and kill'd four or five before they could keep their goods, and then they traded to good purpoſe, and by the middle of *February* they had laded their ſhips with pepper.

The Engliſh ſail homewards.

The general having ſent a pinnace to the *Molucca* iſlands to ſettle a factory and trade there againſt the next return from *England*, and having appointed a factory at *Bantam*, took leave of the king and the protector, and ſet ſail the 20th of *February*, for the cape of *Good Hope*; but in the end of *April* and beginning of *May* they had two ſevere ſtorms; and the laſt ſo violent, that the admiral's ſhip loſt her rudder, and drove at the mercy of the wind, ſo that they were ſometimes within four leagues of the cape, and then the wind changing, they were driven five degrees to the ſouthward. At laſt they made a rudder of the mizen maſt, but it was with great difficulty that they got it hung, nor did it keep long when it was; ſo that the crew aboard the *Hector* (which in this diſtreſs had kept cloſe by the admiral's ſhip) adviſ'd the general to take all his men aboard the other ſhip, and to leave his own to drive where ſhe would, but he would not hear of it; on the contrary he writ a letter to *England*, and gave ſecret orders to the new captain of the *Hector* (for *Middleton* had dy'd at *Bantam*) to make the beſt of his way home. But captain *Sander Cole* ventur'd to diſobey that order, nor would he leave his admiral in ſuch diſtreſs, but coming aboard him with the beſt ſwimmers and divers that were in his ſhip, they got the rudder faſtned after ſuch a manner, that they made a ſhift to get to *S. Helena* by the 5th of *June*, where they ſtaid to fix the rudder better, and kill'd a great number of wild goats and hogs. *July* the 5th they ſet ſail, and without any remarkable occurrence, by good providence they arriv'd in the *Downs* the 11th of *September* 1603.

The admiral's ſhip in danger.

They arrive in England.

SECT. II.

A deſcription of Java Major, *and of the firſt* Engliſh factory *ſettled there, from* February 1602, *to* October 1605. *Written by Mr.* Edmund Scot.

JAVA *Major* is a large iſland in the *Indian* ſea only divided from *Sumatra* by the ſtreights of *Sunda*. It lies almoſt eaſt and weſt, the longeſt way 146 leagues; but it is very ill repreſented in our maps, if it is half ſo broad, from ſouth to north, as 90 leagues. It lies between 7 and 9 deg. of ſouth. lat. It is a mountainous place, altho' thoſe mountains are not ſo high but that people travel over them either a foot or a horſeback. But towards the ſea the ground is low and marſhy, where their chief towns ſtand, and for that reaſon are unwholeſome, eſpecially to ſtrangers. Their moſt conſiderable towns are *Chiringin*, *Bantam*, *Jacatra* (now *Batavia*) and *Jorlan*; all which lie on the north ſide of the iſland. *Bantam* was once the place of greateſt trade for pepper, even before *Achen*, becauſe all the merchants brought it from other places to this city; but after the *Dutch* got footing in the iſle, they ſpoil'd the trade of *Bantam*.

The city was about the time mention'd, *viz.* in 1602, about a league in length, and very populous; they had three markets there every day, one in the morning and two in the afternoon: and thoſe, eſpecially that in the morning, are as much frequented as annual fairs are in *England*, altho' upon enquiry, the *Engliſh* found there was *more cry than wool*, their merchandiſe being but very inconſiderable.

This town was divided in two. One for the *Javaneſes*, and the other for ſtrangers, this latter being moſtly inhabited by *Chineſes*, was call'd the *China* town. The houſes of the *Javan Bantam* were built for the moſt part of canes, the people being naturally ſo idle and lazy, that they made any ſort of buildings ſerve their turn, rather than work to make better. But the *Chineſes*, who were more induſtrious, made theirs of brick; which, altho they were not very beautiful, were more laſting, and leſs obnoxious to fire. This town is divided from the other by a river which ebbs and flows, ſo that good large veſſels may come into the heart of the town; and if the people had but common ſenſe, the place is as fit for trade as any in the *Eaſt Indies*, there being the moſt ſafe and convenient harbours of any that can be ſeen any where. In this *China* town the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had their houſes, which they made all of brick.

The king of *Bantam* is an abſolute prince, and was at the time we ſpeak of the greateſt king of the iſland. But altho' they us'd martial law againſt offenders with a good deal of rigour, the *Javans* were naturally and univerſally ſo given to theft and robbery, that hanging half the country was not ſufficient to cure them of that vice, unleſs they could have reform'd their other bad quality of idleneſs and lazineſs. And one part of their law

Murder encouraged in Java, by their way of puniſhing it.

law was ſo far from being likely to reform them, that it rather was the occaſion of the crime. For, the puniſhment for murder was a fine to the king; but as this was no ſatisfaction to the friends of the deceas'd, they generally took revenge of the murderer and his relations, which brought new fines into the treaſury; ſo that the more murders there were, the corrupt miniſtry was the richer, which was ſuch an encouragement to that crime, that they frequently cut off a whole family for the killing of one: and this was done after the *Italian* manner, by a ſtiletto in the dark, or by a ſet of bravo's at great diſadvantage; for bloody revengeful people ſeldom fight upon equal terms, or give their enemy fair play for his life.

Adultery is puniſh'd by the death of both the guilty perſons, when it can be prov'd. A man may have only three wives, but as many women ſlaves to attend them as they pleaſe; but they are oblig'd to keep ten for each wife; and thoſe ſlaves they uſe for concubines at pleaſure. This multitude of ſlaves keeps them perpetually poor, ſo that their pride and lazineſs hindring them from following any buſineſs, they ſteal and rob to maintain their families.

On the other hand, the *Chineſes*, who live among them, are of a quite contrary diſpoſition. They think it no affront to be reckon'd ſlaves to the *Javans*, ſince they have the planting, dreſſing, and gathering the pepper, which is the ſtaple commodity of the whole iſland; but they take care to make their beſt of it, whilſt they ſooth the ridiculous pride of their maſters, which is ſo intolerable, that if a *Javan* has his ſeat a quarter of an inch higher than another of equal rank, it is ſufficient ground of quarrel, and occaſions perhaps a ſcore of murders.

The religion of the Javans.

The *Javans*, who are a ſort of *Mahometans*, have but little religion. They ſay there is no occaſion to worſhip GOD, becauſe he is good, and will not do hurt to his creatures; and therefore moſt of their religious worſhip is addreſs'd to the deviſ, to bribe him to be civil to them. But yet our author is of opinion, that they might be brought to chriſtianity, if pains were taken with them; ſince they found that they did not ſeem averſe to any of the principles of it, except what reſtrain'd them from luſt, to which all the eaſtern countries are much addicted.

That of the Chineſe ſaves.

The *Chineſes* are for the moſt part of no religion; only ſome of them believe tranſmigration of ſouls, and that the wicked when they die ſhall have their ſouls ſent into ſome deſpicable creature as a puniſhment for their crimes. But it would ſeem that they are not fix'd in this principle, or elſe it would reſtrain them from practices which according to that doctrine muſt confine their ſouls to toads or worſe animals.

This was the diſpoſition of the different people of *Bantam* when general *Lancaſter* left Mr. *Starky* with eight others of his company to manage the factory with the allowance of the young king and the protector, as we have ſaid before. The general had likewiſe ſent a pinnace to *Banda* with thirteen of his company to ſettle another factory, under the conduct of Mr. *Thomas Keith* as maſter, and Mr. *Tudd* merchant; but after two months being toſs'd at ſea, the monſoons being contrary to them, they return'd to *Bantam*.

We obſerv'd in the laſt ſection of this chapter, that the *Engliſh*, by licence from the government of *Bantam*, had been obliged to ſhoot four or five of the thieves who attempted to break into their houſe at night: And this ſtuck in their ſtomacks with ſuch reſentment, that, after the general's departure, they in revenge attempted ſeveral times to ſet fire to their ſtore-houſe, where the bulk of their goods were kept, by ſhooting fiery arrows in the night; but this having, by good providence, been obſerv'd by one of the *Engliſh*, their houſes being all of brick, they could only fire the roof, and that, by the alarm given, was prevented, and a watch was kept all night for two years after, altho' it was a great fatigue for ſo few men.

The Javans endeavour to burn the Engliſh ware-houſe.

Upon the 21ſt of *March*, 1603, the town was ſet on fire by an accidental ſhot, and among others the *Dutch* ware-houſe was burnt, where the *Engliſh* had ſome goods. The fire came near the *Engliſh* houſes, and a rabble of the *Javan* thieves came about them, but the factory being upon their guard, they forc'd them to retire.

Soon after this, Mr. *Starky* and Mr. *Morgan*, their two chief merchants, died. And the *Javans*, not daring to attempt the *Engliſh* houſes, ſet fire to ſome of the *Chineſe*, who were indebted to the *Engliſh*, and hurt them by making their debtors inſolvent. But the admiral of *Bantam*, who had always befriended the *Engliſh*, ſent them a guard of his people, which was a great relief to them.

The admiral of Bantam their friend.

But a new protector having been choſen for the young king, he grew jealous of the *Engliſh* applying to the admiral, and therefore under-hand deſign'd to do them miſchief, but Mr. *Scot*, the author from whoſe journal *Purchas* took this account, went to the protector with a preſent, who promis'd them his protection. However they were ſtill upon the watch againſt the thieves, and had ſeveral ſcuf-

fles with them, but by their good care and courage they kept their houſes ſafe from them. In this continual alarm, they were kept a long time, and were rais'd, and took to their arms upon ſeveral occaſions; and even ſometimes their very dreams, of being attack'd by the *Javans*, made ſome get up half aſleep and run to arms, in which they were in danger of hurting one another. But the *Javans* were ſo much afraid of the whiſtling of a bullet, that one ſhot from the *Engliſh* quarter made them run as if an army had been coming againſt them. But the *Engliſh* were ſo alarm'd with fire, that altho' they could ſleep ſound when the drums beat at their bed's ſide, the leaſt whiſper of fire, altho' mention'd but occaſionally, would make them leap out of bed and get to arms, ſo that they agreed, not to name the word fire, in the night, without having good reaſon for it.

Dutch *diſoblige the people of* Bantam; *is reſented to the* Engliſh.

To make their affairs worſe, the *Dutch*, who had affected to call themſelves *Engliſh*, had diſoblig'd the people of *Bantam*, by their rude unmannerly behaviour, and by making drunken quarrels; inſomuch that the *Engliſh*, when they walk'd the ſtreets, could hear both *Javans*, and the *Chineſes* (with whom they had always liv'd in friendſhip) ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the *Engliſh*; which they were ſurpriz'd at; and finding, upon inquiry, the reaſon of it, they conſulted together how to diſtinguiſh between them and the *Dutch*, which they agreed to do after this manner.

The Engliſh *contrivance to diſtinguiſh themſelves.*

The queen's coronation day being the 17th of *Nov.* and they not knowing of her death, reſolved to ſolemnize the day, by putting on their beſt cloaths, and having ſcarfs of white and red taffata, and to diſtinguiſh the merchants from the common men, they had their ſcarfs edg'd with gold fringe. They likewiſe ſet up their flag with S. *George*'s croſs upon their chief houſe, and marching one by one in their own bounds, (becauſe they were but 14.) they fir'd their pieces in volleys. This brought the *Sabinder* or governor of the city to ſee them, accompanied with ſome of the chief nobility, who having ask'd them the meaning of it, they told them the reaſon. *Why then*, ſaid the *Sabinder*, *do not the Engliſh of the other houſe do as you do?* To this they anſwer'd, that they were not their country men, nor had any thing to do with *England*, nor were govern'd by a monarch, and that both their laws and cuſtoms as well as their language were different from ours; and if they had done any thing to diſoblige the city, it was not chargeable upon them or their nation. This ſatisfy'd the governor and his People who commended them for their loyalty. In the afternoon they march'd in proceſſion thro' the city, that the Inhabitants might take notice of them, and know them from the *Dutch*. And ever after that, as they paſt the ſtreet, they could hear the very children as they ran after them, calling out, *Oran engrees bayk. Oran Hollanda Jahad. The* Engliſhmen *are good*; *but the* Hollanders *are ſtark naught.*

There had been ſeveral *Dutch* captains at *Bantam* during theſe tranſactions, and nine or ten Ships under the command of admiral *Warwick*, who behav'd himſelf with civility towards the *Engliſh*. But upon his departure, ſome other *Dutch* veſſels coming thither, after they had taken a rich carrack laden with raw ſilk, musk, and other coſtly wares, near the iſland of *Mackow*: Theſe brib'd the protector of *Bantam* ſo high, that they had much greater intereſt with him than the *Engliſh* had.

Dutch *bribe the new protector.*

In *February* 1603 Mr. *Wallis* one of the *Engliſh* died, and ſeveral more fell ſick, which they attributed to the heat of the Pepper in milling and ordering it, ſo that they were forced to employ the *Chineſe*'s in that work; whom they found to be great cheats, and therefore they always had an overſeer to watch them that they did not ſpoil the pepper: For they had found out that they ſold pepper to the *Dutch* at the ſame rate they themſelves had bought it; and yet it was obſervable that they were fonder of dealing with them than with the *Engliſh*; but the miſtery ſoon came out, which was that the *Engliſh*, who underſtood that commodity better than the *Dutch*, would not buy, at any rate, pepper that was ſpoil'd, whereas the *Dutch* bought all that was offer'd them; ſo that the *Chineſe* having mix'd theirs with water and dirt, they made a good bargain by taking the ſame price for equal weight of the bad, which they had at firſt paid for good pepper.

The Chineſes *at* Bantam *great cheats.*

But the protector being very cold to the *Engliſh*, at laſt ſent to Mr. *Scot* to borrow 1000 reals of eight, in the king's name; altho' he had put him off in the like demand for himſelf before, yet conſidering now the intereſt the *Dutch* had in him, he was fain to let him have 500, to prevent giving the *Hollanders* the pleaſure of ſeeing an open rupture between that miniſter and the *Engliſh*.

About this time there came ſome *Dutch* in a junk from *Jor*, who had ſtolen away from thence with their goods, becauſe the *Portugueſe*'s from *Malacca*, had beſieg'd it, threatning to burn the town unleſs the king would either kill the *Dutch* who were there, or elſe give them into their hands; but that prince bravely declared, he would loſe his kingdom rather than do one or the other; and therefore gave them

Generous behaviour of the king of Jor.

private

private intimation, and a veſſel to retire, which they did, and arriv'd ſafe at *Bantam*.

After this manner was the year 1603 ſpent; but as if all their paſt troubles had been nothing, (altho' we have omitted ſeveral unlucky accidents leſt we ſhould tire our readers) there now happened an affair which had like to have put an end to the factors and factory at once.

The Engliſh ware-houſe ſet on fire;

A *Chineſe* next door to the *Engliſh* ware-houſe, who made and ſold arrack, and in ſhort kept a *Gin Shop*, had two out-houſes for his gueſts to tipple in. This fellow, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Javans*, dug a vault in the bottom of one of thoſe houſes, and from thence made a mine under the ware-houſe, and came to the floor of the houſe; but not daring to cut the planks for fear of diſcovery by the noiſe; they agreed to ſet fire to the floor from below. It was good luck that they did not dig quite croſs the floor, for if they had, they would have found a vault ready dug where there were 30,000 reals of plate buried, and a communication between that and the ware-houſe. But having put fire under the planks, the damp earth hinder'd them to take fire ſo ſoon as they wiſhed; but the ſmoak ſoon gave the alarm. But before any notice was taken of it, ſome of the packs in the ware-houſe were a fire; and it was with much ado that they got them out, and by promiſes and threatnings, they made the *Chineſe* labour, till

But ſav'd

they had quite extinguiſh'd the fire; but they had conſiderable loſs.

After all the danger was over, a *Chineſe* bricklayer, who wrought at the *Dutch* houſe, let drop ſome words of the manner, in which it was carried on; by which means the *Engliſh* found out the mine, and purſuing the vent, found ſome of the villains, whom they tortur'd to make them confeſs, and then put ſeveral of them to death, but many of them fled to *Jacatra*. Among the favourers of this plot, there was one of the blood royal of *Bantam*, call'd *Mandelick*, but he was known to be ſuch a deſperate villain, that the government durſt not meddle with him, and altho' he protected one of the chief conſpirators, they could not get him out of his hands; ſo that the *Engliſh* were advis'd by their friend the admiral, not to diſguſt him more, by inſiſting upon his delivering up the delinquent, for he aſſured them that neither the protector nor any of the council would care to fall out with him: For this reaſon they let

A Rebellion in Bantam;

it drop. But ſoon after, this ruffian roſe in open rebellion againſt the king, and was ſupported by many of the gentry; and the protector either fearing his power, or being a man of no courage himſelf was forced to call in the king of *Jacatra* to ſuppreſs *Mandelick*, but he having fortified himſelf after their manner, kept in ths hold, and refus'd the challenge ſent him to fight; ſo that the admiral came to the *Engliſh* houſe, to deſire their aſſiſtance to fire his wooden fortreſs, with their guns. To affect this, the factory deſir'd a quantity of ſalt-petre, brimſtone, and camphire to be given them, of which they made powder, and they employ'd the *Chineſe* to make chain ſhot, and croſs ball ſhot for them, according to their direction. This being told to *Mandelick*, put him in great terror. For, it was obſerv'd by all ſtrangers coming to *Bantam*, that the *Javans* were more afraid of the handful of *Engliſh* who were there, than of all the power of the government, or the greater number of the *Dutch*, inſomuch that when the *Dutch* did not dare to reſent any affront of the inſolent *Javans*, not by giving one of them a box on the ear, the *Engliſh* reveng'd any injury done to them, not only by frequent and hearty drubbings, but by ſhooting them when they came near their habitation at unſeaſonable hours, and ſometimes by hanging up ſome of the ring-leaders of them before their gates for a terror to others. This method of proceeding had given the *Javans* ſuch dread of the *Engliſh*, that when *Mandelick* had intelligence of the preparations making againſt him in their quarters, he capitulated with the protector, and obtain'd leave to retire out of the kingdom with thirty of the moſt obnoxious of his party.

But quitted for fear of the Engliſh.

In the mean time, the *Dutch*, who always kept fair with them in every thing but matters of traffick, ſpirited up the protector to forbid the *Chineſes* to ſell any pepper to ſtrangers; but to blind the *Engliſh*, ſome of the chief of the *Hollanders* came to dine at the *Engliſh* houſe the very day that the proclamation came out; and, among other diſcourſe, told them that the protector ow'd them 10000 ſacks of pepper: but Mr. *Scot*, who was ſufficiently inform'd of the trick, deſir'd them to ſpare themſelves the labour of endeavouring to impoſe upon him with ſo unlikely a ſtory, becauſe he knew well that they were too wiſe to let the protector be ſo much in their debt: by this reply, he gave them to underſtand, that they were no ſtrangers to the occaſion of the proclamation.

A Dutch trick.

The next day, the *Engliſh* apply'd themſelves to an old woman, who upon the reputation of her wiſdom, or for ſome other reaſon, had great intereſt with the protector. Mr. *Scot* complain'd to her, (whom the admiral and the ſabindar call'd the queen of *Bantam*) of the injuſtice done them. She immediately ſent for the protector, and having ask'd him, before them,

The Engliſh complain of it.

them, about the 10000 ſacks of pepper, he pretended they were for the king's uſe; but they told him that the *Dutch* had own'd that they were for them, which he being not able to deny, the queen told him, he muſt not hurt the *Engrees*, and ſo they parted. And ſuch was the hatred the *Chineſes* and better ſort of *Javans* bore to the *Dutch*, that they ſold their pepper upon truſt to the *Engliſh* rather than take the *Hollander*'s ready money.

They have an account of Q. Elizabeth's death.

Towards the end of *November*, 1604, by the arrival of a *Dutch* fleet, the *Engliſh* had an account of the death of queen *Elizabeth*, and of the acceſſion of king *James* of *Scotland* to the united crowns of the two kingdoms, without any ſtruggle or diſturbance, which gave them great joy mix'd with grief for the demiſe of the queen. And not long after, a fleet of *Engliſh* came into the bay, to their great joy; but this fleet being the ſecond to the *Eaſt Indies* ſent by the company, we ſhall refer it to a new ſection, and in this, ſhall only give a ſhort deſcription of the ſolemnity of the king of *Bantam*'s coronation and circumciſion, mentioned by Mr. *Scot* in his journal.

The king of Bantam's coronation.

Towards the end of *June*, 1605, the *Javans* having, for ſome time before, made great preparations for this ceremony, a large ſcaffold was erected on the green before the palace, and rail'd in quite round. Upon it were plac'd three ſeats, one in the middle, rais'd two foot higher than the other two, for the king, the others, one on each ſide for the two neareſt relations to the crown.

The *Javans* being bunglers in the managing of fire arms, borrow'd ſome of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to grace the ſolemnity; but the *Dutch* taking upon them by reaſon of their numbers had the impudence to take place of the *Engliſh*, which they not ſuffering, they went to loggerheads, and the *Engliſh* behav'd themſelves ſo well, that they did not yield their rank, and the *Javans* entertain'd a great opinion of their courage that durſt attack the *Dutch* at ſuch diſadvantage in point of number. The evening after their firſt diſpute about precendency, Mr. *Scot* ask'd one of their merchants, what was the meaning of their pretending to take the rank of the *Engliſh*? and whether he thought that they durſt ſhew any ſign of ſuch an intention at home? he bid him remember how deſpicable a people they would have been if *England* had not ſaved them from being ſlaves to the *Spaniards*.

As the ſhows exhibited here, continu'd a whole month, to give time for all the nobles and tributary kings to bring their preſents to the young king, there was, every day, ſomething new to be ſeen. The king's guards were placed round the rails, and when they were drawn up, made a good appearance; but, in their march did not keep rank as other nations do, but march'd one after another as cloſe as they could, with their arms pois'd, intermix'd with drums of a metal they called *Tombaga*, which made a noiſe like pots or kettles, and being of different ſizes, had ſome reſemblance to a ring of bells of different tones. Their enſigns were fixt to long poles bending at the top like a bow, the colours being about a yard broad hung down with a long pendent.

Every day, after the guards were placed, the king was brought out in a very comical manner, riding aſtride upon a man's ſhoulders, as our boys ſometimes carry one another. When his majeſty was ſeated in his chair upon the ſcaffold, the guards paſs'd by before him, after their awkward manner, and then came the preſents carry'd by women, and after every tenth woman, a female officer to keep them in order. The preſents brought by thoſe people, are generally not above the value of a ſhilling, but they are brought in ſolemn pomp.

But after them came the preſents of the nobles, which are made up of rich veſtments for the king's own wearing, and theſe too are carry'd by women, and cover'd with a rich paraſol or canopy over it, as is the heir of the family who ſends the preſent. He is the youngeſt ſon, (according to their law) and as he approaches the king's preſence, he makes his obeyſance, and the officers having receiv'd the preſent from the women, and carry'd them into the palace, the heir takes his ſeat upon a mat appointed for that purpoſe. And thus the nobility make their preſents according as they are ready, without regard to degree or quality.

The Engliſh preſent to the king.

The *Engliſh* thinking themſelves obliged to exert themſelves in ſhewing their reſpect to the king, and yet not being in a condition to make a very coſtly preſent, endeavour'd to make up by the neatneſs and propriety of it, the want of riches. Having therefore caus'd a pomgranate tree to be dug out of the ground with the earth about the roots of it, and the fruit and leaves in their prime, they had it ſet in a frame, which was made ſo wide that they placed green turf round the tree, and ſome white conies tied to the tree, (thoſe conies having been a preſent from the *Engliſh* general to Mr. *Scot*, who was at that time at the head of the factory) theſe nibbled at the graſs growing out of the turf: and the *Chineſes* had made them artificial ſerpents, ſo like the life, that any

any one would have thought they had been ready to devour the little animals about them. In the boughs of the tree, they had tied little birds of different ſorts, which ſung ſweetly; and upon the branches hung ſeveral pieces of cloth, fit for the king to wear, with pieces of *Engliſh* ſtuff which he might beſtow among his courtiers; together with a Damask riding cloth, and a caſe of piſtols richly adorn'd, the holſters having great ſilk ſtrings, with taſſels of gold, hanging at them.

This preſent dreſs'd up in the beſt manner they could, was carried by 30 *Chineſe* boys (becauſe they had no women); and a beautiful boy, dreſs'd very richly, went along with it to make the compliments of the factory to the king, and to excuſe the meanneſs of the preſent from the ſmallneſs of their number, and their diſtance from their own country. The king's childiſh fancy was much taken with the oddneſs of the preſent, and he ſhew'd himſelf well pleas'd with it and the offerers of it. But as they were preſenting it, the *Engliſh* diſcharg'd ſome very curious fire-works, which his majeſty was delighted with, but the women ſcream'd out, for fear they ſhould have ſet the palace on fire.

Our author tells us, the *Dutch* likewiſe made a preſent, but does not deſcribe it, only he gives us to underſtand that it was more valu'd by themſelves than by any body elſe. And one thing is very remarkable, that they were aſham'd of the government of their country, and therefore brag'd much of their king (meaning the *Grave Maurice*) calling him at every word *Raia Hollanda*, a vanity, for which their (now) *Hogan Mogan States* of *Holland* would hang them up: But they were not ſo *High* and *Mighty* in thoſe days. Thanks to their own induſtry, and other people's negligence, that they have made ſuch a figure ſince. But whatever difference there was between *England* and *Holland*, as to the power they could boaſt in *Europe*, at the time we now ſpeak of, they were ſo much ſuperiour in number to the *Engliſh* at *Bantam* (they being above 100, and the *Engliſh* no more than 13,) that they thought themſelves their betters, which the others, few as they were would never allow.

Dutch vanity.

But the moſt magnificent preſent was that of the king of *Jacatra*, which was brought with great ſtate on the 23d of *July*. The *Engliſh* went to ſee the ſhew, and took their ſtation on one ſide of the king's ſcaffold; but the *Javans* ſent to them to ſit down, (which was a poſture of reſpect in that country, contrary to the *European* cuſtom), but they refus'd to comply with their deſire, and ſtood by by the rails. As ſoon as the king of *Jacatra* appear'd, the young king's guards, which were doubled that day, ſtarted up, and took to their arms: It was told Mr. *Scot*, who wonder'd at ſo unuſual a proceeding, that it was not from any apprehenſion they had of any violence to be offer'd by thoſe of *Jacatra*, but from the other tributary kings there preſent, who were enemies to that king. As ſoon as he came before the rails, he made his obeyſance to the king of *Bantam*, and ſate down, as it appear'd, out of fear to feel a ſtillettoas he paſt by the other little kings his enemies; for altho' our author ſays he was a man of courage, he knew he was not proof againſt a back ſtab. He, therefore, ſent a meſſage to the king, to know his pleaſure, who ſent two of his nobles to him, to bid him advance; which he did, under the eſcorte of thoſe two, and was receiv'd by the king with great civility.

The king of Jacatra's preſent.

After he had taken his ſeat, the preſent paſs'd by the ſcaffold, carried by women. It conſiſted of ſtrange fowls, ſome alive and real, others artificial; beaſts of different ſorts, among which one was very furious, call'd *Matchan*, ſomewhat bigger than a lion, ſpotted white and red, with many black ſtreaks, going quite round from the ridge of his back, under his belly. This animal will leap 18 foot to ſeize his prey; and is ſo ravenous that ſeveral perſons in and about *Bantam* have been torn in pieces by them; and the king and court go to hunt them with great ſolemnity. This *Matchan* was inclos'd in a cage, and drawn upon a ſledge by buffalo's. After this beaſt, came an artificial repreſentation of a giant of about 30 Foot high, and another figure repreſenting a devil. But the moſt curious part of the preſent, was a large garden full of herbs and flowers, with a pond in the middle, out of which they took different kinds of fiſh before the young king. After this came in ſeveral tumblers and vaulters who perform'd the exerciſes. And laſt came the king of *Jacatra*'s ſon in a chariot drawn by buffalo's, who made a ſpeech in his father's name to the young monarch.

When all the preſents were made, which took up a whole month, the young king was carired to the moſch in great ſtate, where they perform'd the ceremony of his circumciſion, and that finiſh'd the ſolemnity of that king's coronation.

SECT. III.

The ſecond voyage for the company, under general Middleton.

THE firſt adventurers, under the direction of admiral *Lancaſter*, having ſucceeded ſo well, the company were encourag'd to try a ſecond expedition in the ſame bottoms. Accordingly in *March* 1604, they fitted out their four ſhips, mention'd in the firſt voyage, now commanded by admiral *Hen. Middleton*, who made the voyage, with ſome difficulty, by reaſon of ſickneſs among his people, and in the month of *December* arriv'd in *Bantam* road, to the great joy of the *Engliſh* factory, ſome of which went immediately aboard, where they found the admiral himſelf and moſt of his men in a very ill ſtate of health.

Admiral Henry Middleton *ſails for* Bantam.

As ſoon as he was able, he went aſhore, and being accompany'd with all the merchants and other gentlemen who were in a condition to quit the ſhips, was carry'd to court, and deliver'd king *James*'s letters to the king of *Bantam*, notifying his acceſſion to the throne of *England*, and confirming the friendſhip and traffick enter'd into between the two nations of *England* and *Java*. The preſent ſent by king *James* to the young king conſiſted of one large ewer, two ſtanding cups, one ſpoon, all of ſilver gilt, and ſix muskets with every thing belonging to them; all which were kindly receiv'd.

The *Engliſh* having call'd a council on board the admiral, it was agreed that the *Dragon* and the *Aſcenſion* ſhould ſail for the *Molucca*'s and there take in their lading, and return to *Bantam*, but that the *Hector* and the *Suſan* ſhould take in the pepper ready in the ware-houſe, and make the beſt of their way to *England*. But the men in the firſt two ſhips were not in a condition to depart till the 18th of *January*, by reaſon of ſickneſs: and when they ſail'd they were but in a ſorry condition.

And from thence to Ternate.

They kept together till they went to *Amboyna*, where they parted, the admiral going to *Ternate* and the *Aſcenſion* to *Banda*, the former being within the firſt degree of north latitude, and the other between the 4th and 5th ſouth latitude.

See Dr. Harris's Bibl. V. I. p. 75.

When the admiral arriv'd near *Ternate*, the firſt thing remarkable that he ſaw was a fleet of ſmall ſhips purſu'd by a great number of gallies. One of the ſhips coming up to the *Dragon* beg'd his aſſiſtance againſt their purſuers. The admiral enquiring who they were, and what gallies purſu'd them? was anſwer'd by a *Dutch* merchant on board the flying ſhip, that the king of *Ternate* was there in perſon, and ſeveral of his nobility were in that and the other ſhips; that the gallies belong'd to *Tidore*, and would cut all their throats without his aſſiſtance.

Quarrels between the kings of Ternate *and* Tidore.

The admiral taking the king and the *Dutch* on board, who were heartily frighten'd, made head againſt the gallies, but in ſpight of all he could do, the furious *Tidorins* boarded one of the *Ternatines*, and put every man of them to the ſword. The occaſion of this quarrel (as they were inform'd by the *Dutch*) was this.

The *Portugueſes* having had poſſeſſion of both thoſe iſlands a long time before, and having a mind to monopolize the trade of all the *Molucca*'s, were diſoblig'd at the king of *Ternate* for receiving any *Dutch* ſhips, and allowing them to trade there (for the *Portugueſes* had behav'd themſelves ſo inſolently, that all the iſlanders in the *Eaſt Indies* would have gladly join'd with any force to get rid of them:) But there having been an old grudge between the kings of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, the *Portugueſes* ſtir'd up the latter to attack the other, and join'd their forces with them for that purpoſe. The *Dutch*, on the other hand, join'd the king of *Ternate*, and ſo they went to war, but they of *Tidore* coming unexpectedly upon their enemies, had put them to flight.

But notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, their good friends the *Dutch*, being as jealous of the *Engliſh* trade as the *Portugueſes* had been of theirs, procur'd ſuch delays and obſtructions that the admiral ſoon found he had little buſineſs there. And altho' he had a letter from K. *James* to the king, recommending the admiral to him, and putting him in mind of the old friendſhip between the crowns, from the time of Sir *Francis Drake*'s being there, yet the *Dutch* contriv'd it ſo, that all he could do was to procure a letter in anſwer to that he had brought from his maſter. The *Indian* king's was as follows.

The king of Ternate's *letter.*

"HEaring of the good report of your majeſty" [*He ſhould have ſaid of your majeſty's kingdom*] "by the coming of the great captain Sir *Francis Drake*, in the time of my father, which is about 30 years paſt, by the which captain, my predeceſſors ſent a ring unto the queen of *England*, as a token of remembrance between us; which if the aforeſaid *Drake* had been living, he could have inform'd your majeſty of the great love and friendſhip of either ſide; he in behalf of the queen, my father for him and his ſucceſſors. Since which time of the departure of the ſaid captain, we have daily expected his return, my father

Dr. Harris *ubi ſupra.*

"living

" living many years after, and daily ex-
" pecting his return. And I after the
" death of my father have ſtill liv'd in the
" ſame hope till I was father of eleven
The Engliſh miſrepreſented. " children. In which time I have been
" inform'd that the *Engliſhmen* were men
" of a bad diſpoſition, and that they
" came not as peaceable merchants, but to
" diſpoſſeſs us of our kingdoms; which,
" by the coming of the bearer hereof, we
" have found the contrary, whereof we
" greatly rejoyce. And after many years
" of our expectation of ſome *Engliſh* forces,
" by the promiſe of captain *Drake*, here
" arrived certain ſhips, which we well
" hoped had been *Engliſhmen*, but find-
" ing the contrary, and being out of all
" hope of ſuccour of the *Engliſh* nation,
" we were enforced to write to the prince
" of *Holland*, to crave aid and ſuccour
" againſt our enemies the *Portugals*:
" and according to our requeſt, he has
" ſent hither his forces, which have ex-
" pell'd the *Portugals* out of all the forts
" which they held at *Amboyna*, and *Ti-*
" *dore*. And whereas your majeſty has
" ſent to me a moſt kind and friendly let-
" ter by your ſervant captain *Henry*
" *Middleton* that does not a little rejoyce
" us. And whereas captain *Henry Mid-*
" *dleton* was deſirous to leave a factory
" here, we were willing thereunto, which
" the captain of the *Hollanders* under-
" ſtanding, he came to challenge me of a
" former promiſe, which I had written
" to the prince of *Holland*, that if he
" would ſend me ſuch ſuccours as ſhould
" expel the *Portugals* out of theſe parts,
" no other nation ſhould have trade there
" but only they. So that we were en-
" enforced, againſt our liking, to yield
" unto the *Holland* Captain's requeſt for
" this time, whereof we crave par-
" don of your highneſs; and if any of
" your nation come hereafter they ſhall
" be welcome. And whereas the chief
" captain of the *Hollanders* does ſolicit us
" not to hold friendſhip with your nation,
" nor to give ear to your highneſs's let-
" ters, yet for all their ſuit, if you pleaſe
" to ſend hither again you ſhall be wel-
" come. And in token of the friendſhip
" which we deſire of your majeſty, we
" have ſent you a ſmall remembrance, a
" *Bahar* of cloves, our country being
" poor, and yielding no better commodi-
" ty, which we pray your highneſs to
" accept in good part.

TERNATE.

The admiral finding the *Dutch* intereſt ſtronger than his, left *Ternate* and went to *Tidore*, where altho' they had hinder'd their galleys from deſtroying the king of *Ternate* and his new friends the *Dutch*, yet there being at that time peace between *England* and *Spain*, he was civilly receiv'd, and having done his buſineſs the king writ the following letter by him to the king his maſter.

The king of TIDORE *to the king of* ENGLAND.

" THIS writing of the king of
" *Tidore* to the king of *England* is
" to let your highneſs underſtand that the
" king of *Holland* has ſent into theſe
" parts a fleet of ſhips, to join with our
" ancient enemy the king of *Ternate*,
" and they jointly together have over-
" run and ſpoil'd part of our country, and
" determin'd to deſtroy both us and our ſub-
" jects. Now underſtanding by the bearer
" hereof captain *Henry Middleton*, that
" your highneſs is in friendſhip with the
" king of *Spain*, we deſire your majeſty
" that you would take pity of us, that
" we may not be deſtroy'd by the kings
" of *Holland* and *Ternate*, to whom we
" have offer'd no wrong; but they by
" forcible means, ſeek to bereave us of
" our kingdom. And as great kings up-
" on the earth are ordain'd by GOD, to
" ſuccour all them that be wrongfully op-
" preſt, ſo I appeal unto your majeſty
" for ſuccour againſt my enemies, not
" doubting but to find relief at your ma-
" jeſty's hands. And if your majeſty
" ſend hither I humbly intreat it may be
" captain *Henry Middleton* or his bro-
" ther, with whom I am well acquaint-
" ed. GOD enlarge your kingdom, and
" bleſs you and all your counſels."

TIDORE.

But whilſt the *Engliſh* admiral and the other ſhips were abſent from *Bantam*, the one half being gone to the *Molucca* iſlands, and the other towards *England*, as has been ſaid, the factory at *Bantam* met with new troubles. The Protector, at the inſtigation of the *Dutch*, demanded new duties, which they never had paid before, and upon Mr. *Scot*'s refuſing to pay them, as being contrary to agreement, there was an order iſſued out to forbid the porters to carry any more pepper to their warehouſe. So that, leſt they ſhould not be in readineſs for the ſhips againſt their coming back from the *Molucca*'s (for they were under ſome apprehenſions of their being diſappointed there, becauſe a fleet of nine *Dutch* ſhips had ſail'd from *Bantam* three weeks before them,) Mr. *Scot* was forced to compound by paying a part of the cuſtoms demanded, and the protector pretended a great favour was done them in not inſiſting upon the whole.

The protector at Bantam *exacts new taxes.*

A

A ſhort time after the *Hector* and *Suſan* had ſail'd for *England*, (under new captains, for both the old ones died at *Bantam*, and many of their men) there came into the bay a *Dutch* ſhip, which with the aſſiſtance of three others, bound for *Cambaia*, had taken four rich *Portugueſe* prizes. The captain of the *Dutch* ſhip was *Cornelius Syverſon*, a proud boor, who had neither manners, honeſty, nor humanity. Upon his arrival the *Dutch*, who reſided at *Bantam*, gave up all correſpondence with the *Engliſh*: However they made no hoſtile attempt, at leaſt not in a body, altho' ſome particular perſons made brawls and quarrels, of which neither their country nor themſelves had much cauſe to boaſt.

About the 24th of *July*, juſt after the great feſtival mention'd, the *Engliſh* company's admiral return'd from *Ternate* and *Tidore*, and inform'd the factory that, notwithſtanding his diſappointment, and the unkind and even ungrateful behaviour of the *Dutch* and the king of *Ternate*, he had gotten a good part of his loading in cloves; the factory told him they hop'd to make up the reſt of it out of their Warehouſe.

But the *Dutch*, who hate all rivals in trade, altho' they did not dare to aſſault the *Engliſh* openly; us'd them ill upon ſeveral occaſions when they got them at advantage; ſo that one day while the admiral was buſy in the warehouſe, with ſome of the merchants, two of the ſeamen came in all bloody, and told him they had been aſſaulted by a gang of *Dutch*, without any provocation given. Upon this the general got into the ſtreet with only his cane in his hand, and order'd his people to give them a ſound drubbing; which they did, and beat them home to their own quarters, and one was run thro' the body. This brought ſome of the *Dutch* merchants to inquire into the ground of the quarrel; but having found that their people had been the aggreſſors, they drank a glaſs of wine with the admiral, and took a friendly leave of him and the merchants. Several broils of this kind happen'd, and always to the loſs of the *Dutch*, which pleas'd the better ſort of the people of *Bantam*, who wiſh'd heartily that the *Engliſh* would rid the town of them.

Dutch quarrels with the Engliſh.

Soon after the *Aſcenſion* arriv'd from *Banda*, where ſhe had met with little encouragement, by reaſon that the *Dutch* admiral had been there; and both there, and at *Amboyna*, which they had taken, partly by force, and partly by compoſition, from the *Portugueſe*, they had hinder'd the *Engliſh* trade, being now cock-a-hoop by the poſſeſſion of *Amboyna*. The maſter of the *Dutch* admiral, (whether of his own free villany, or put upon it by the merchants, is uncertain) went about among the *Holland* ſhips, (which were ſeven, beſides the admiral, which was newly come from *Banda*,) and excited them to ſend a number of their men aſhore arm'd, and to kill the *Engliſh* wherever they found them, and then they might eaſily poſſeſs themſelves not only of their warehouſe, but of their ſhips. This plot was luckily diſcover'd to admiral *Middleton*, by an *Engliſh* man on board the *Dutch* fleet; ſo that having time to get his men in readineſs aſhore, he ſent a-board to put the ſhips upon their guard; and the *Engliſh* were ſo enrag'd at the treachery of the thing, that if he had but given orders, they had certainly ſunk or burn'd the *Dutch* fleet.

A plot of the Dutch againſt the Engliſh.

When they found the *Engliſh* had taken the alarm, the *Dutch* admiral came with a great guard to the *Engliſh* houſe, and admiral *Middleton* went out to meet him; after ſome talk, the *Dutch* man diſclaiming any ſuch deſign, enter'd the *Engliſh* houſe with the captains and merchant who accompanied them, and there they drank like friends. But one may think that the beſt way for the *Dutch* admiral to have ſhew'd his innocence was to have hang'd up his maſter, who durſt engage in an attempt of that kind of himſelf.

Upon the 26th of *September*, in this year 1605, the city was ſet a fire again, by a *Javan*'s firing a piece either on purpoſe or by accident, which burn'd the *Dutch* warehouſe to the ground, and put the *Engliſh* houſe in danger, but their ſeamen were ſo handy about it, that they ſav'd it. The *Dutch* were conſiderable loſers by the fire; but if it was done deſignedly, there was no proving it, nor if it could have been prov'd, was it an eaſy matter to get reparation.

The Dutch warehouſe burnt.

In the beginning of *October*, admiral *Middleton* being now ready to ſail homewards, went to take leave of the king of *Bantam*. He was well receiv'd, and recommended Mr. *Gabriel Towerſon* to the protector, as the head of the *Engliſh* factory in the room of Mr. *Scot*, who was to go with him to *England*, after having been five years in the *Indies*. The king gave him a preſent for king *James* of two bezoar ſtones, and the following letter.

The king of BANTAM *to the king of* ENGLAND.

" A Letter given by your friend the
" king of *Bantam*, to the king of
" *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*;
" deſiring GOD to preſerve your health,
" and to exalt you more and more, and all
" your counſels. And whereas your ma-
" jeſty

" jesty has sent a general, *Henry Mid-*
" *dleton*, he came to me in good health,
" I did hear that your majesty was come
" to the crown of *England*, which does
" greatly rejoyce my heart. Now *Eng-*
" *land* and *Bantam* are both as one. I
" have also receiv'd a present from your
" majesty, the which I give you many
" thanks for. I send your majesty two
" bezoar stones, the one weighing fourteen
" masses, the other three. And so God
" have you in his keeping.

BANTAM.

These three letters, from the kings of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, and *Bantam*, I have transcrib'd, altho' they do not savour of the *Eastern* stile; but at least they are more intelligible than the king of *Achen*'s epistle to queen *Elizabeth*, given in the voyage of general *Lancaster*, and seem to to contain the substance of what these kings should have written; and so I leave them.

When all things were ready, the admiral having taken leave, in a friendly manner, of the *Dutch*, the admiral of *Bantam*, the *Sabender* and other friends, went aboard on the 6th of *October*, being accompanied with Mr. *Towerson*, who was appointed agent for the factory, and having kept him some hours, weigh'd anchor, and sail'd out of *Bantam* bay, that afternoon, *Towerson* going ashore to his post.

The admiral sails for England.

In their course towards the cape of *Good Hope*, they parted by the foggy weather, and did not meet again till they came to *Saldania* road the last of *October*, whither the admiral came first, having some days before met the *Hector* driving at the mercy of the wind and sea near the cape, with only ten of all her crew alive; and they gave them an account of the *Susan*'s having lost sight of them about three months after they parted for *Bantam*, that was, in the month of *May*, and they never heard of her more.

They being now three ships, set sail *January* 16 from *Saldania*, towards *St. Helena*, which they made *February* 3, and seeing the *Hector*, which arriv'd three days after, had difficulty to get into the road, the other two ships sent out boats to tow her in. And having staid five days at that island to refresh themselves, they afterwards set sail, and on the 6th of *May*, 1606, arrived at the *Downs*, having been abroad two years and one month.

SECT. IV.

The third voyage, for the East India *company*, William Keeling, *commodore.*

IN the year 1607, the company set out their third venture to the *East Indies*, consisting of three ships, the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Consent*, under the command of Mr. *Keeling*. They set sail in *March*, but the *Consent* soon parted from them. The other two ships had such terrible weather, that after they had past the line, four or five degrees, they were driven back, and the master of the admiral ship gave his opinion that they must return to *England*; but the commodore, who could not think of going back, propos'd to Mr. *Taverner*, the master, to make for *Sierra Leona*, in 8 deg. n. lat. where they arriv'd with great difficulty about the 6th of *August*; and staid about five weeks trading with the negroes for elephant's teeth and lemons.

They come to Sierra Leona.

Setting sail from hence, they came to *Saldania* bay about the middle of *December*, where the admiral sent her boat ashore, and they found cut in a rock these words, *captain* David Middleton *in the* Consent, July 24, 1607. by which they found that their companion had had better luck than they.

The Consent *had got to* Saldania 5 *months before the admiral and the* Hector.

Upon the first of *January* they set sail from this bay, and keeping aloof from the shore, till they knew they were past the latitude of the cape of *Good Hope*, they steer'd north-east, and came in sight of the land on the *African* coast, south-eastward, where they landed at several places, which we shall not mention in this book, leaving any account of the coast of *Africa* to the third book of our TRAVELLER.

It was the last of *July* before they arriv'd at *Priaman* in *Sumatra*, of which we have made mention more than once. As soon as they came into the bay, the admiral saluted the town with five guns, and presents past between him and the governor. When admiral *Keeling* went ashore, he was entertain'd by the governor, and allow'd to make bargains with the merchants, for pepper, which he did for 22 dollars and a half the *Bahar*, altho' they ask'd 50. But there was a necessity to have the king of *Achen*'s Licence to take it away: and therefore he set sail the 18th of *September*, and had the same difficulty among the multitude of islands which are in that sea, that we have mention'd in former voyages.

The Dragon *arrives at* Priaman.

The Dragon *arrives at* Bantam.

The 5th of *October* he came into the road of *Bantam*, and ſome of the factory coming aboard, told him there were 13 *Engliſh* there, of which four were merchants, and here the admiral receiv'd a letter from captain *Middleton* of the *Conſent*, of which we ſhall ſay more by and by.

Whilſt *Keeling* was in this bay, the *Siam* ambaſſador din'd aboard of him, and told him how acceptable his preſence would be to his maſter, who of all things deſir'd a correſpondence with *England*. He aſſur'd him likewiſe that he might diſpoſe of 1000 pieces of red cloth in two days time, becauſe they cloth'd their horſes and elephants with it; and that the country abounded with gold and precious ſtones. But the admiral was not, at that time, diſpos'd to go, and therefore told the ambaſſador he would repreſent the matter to his ſovereign in ſuch a light as he doubted not but his majeſty would ſoon ſend him or ſome other perſon with letters to his maſter.

Finding things not ſo much to his liking as he wiſh'd, he ſoon took leave of *Bantam*, and as he was going out of the bay, he ſpy'd the *Hector* coming in, which he had not ſeen ſince they parted, by conſent at *Socatara* an iſland over againſt cape *Gardafu* near the bay of *Babelmandel*. But before we proceed in admiral *Keeling*'s adventures, (altho' Mr. *Purchas* purſues them farther) we think it more methodical to relate thoſe of capt. *Hawkins* after their ſeparation.

The *Hector* *under the command of captain* Hawkins *ſails for* Surate.

The *Hector*, under the command of captain *Hawkins*, at his leaving the admiral, by his order, to ſail for *Surat*, which is in the *Mogul*'s country, about the tropic of *Cancer*, over-againſt the bay of *Ormus*, receiv'd from him letters from king *James* to that *Indian* monarch. He arriv'd at *Surat Auguſt* 20, 1608, and ſent Mr. *Buck* a merchant, aſhore to acquaint the governor with his coming, and to tell him that he had letters from the king of *England* to the king of the country. Upon Mr. *Buck*'s return, three of the governor's ſervants came aboard with him, and deliver'd a civil meſſage from the governor, welcoming him to the country, and deſiring him to come aſhore, where he ſhould be civily treated till they could receive orders from court about his buſineſs.

where the capt. goes aſhore.

Captain *Hawkins* accordingly went aſhore, with a good retinue, but was not admitted to ſee the governor that night, under pretence of his being indiſpos'd; but he was deſir'd to apply to *Mocreb-chan*, who ſeems to have been the Comptroller of the cuſtoms. Upon his being preſented to him, the ambaſſador (for that was the character he took upon him) told him, that he had brought letters to the great *Mogul* from his maſter, and that his buſineſs was to offer his majeſty the friendſhip of the king of *England* his ſovereign, and to deſire free liberty of trade in that country; to obtain which he had brought a preſent from his maſter to the great king, and that his ſhip was laden with ſuch goods from *England* as he was inform'd they had occaſion for. *Mocreb-chan* anſwer'd him very civilly, that he could do nothing of his own head upon that ſubject, but that he would ſend an expreſs to *Cambaya* for inſtructions; and in the mean time, he entertain'd him at the cuſtom-houſe, where he ſtaid that night, and the next day was admitted to the governor, who gave him much the ſame anſwer, but chang'd his lodgings, appointing him and his people a merchant's houſe for their abode, till they ſhould know the vice-roy's pleaſure. The houſe where he lodg'd happen'd to belong to the captain of the ſhip which Sir *Edward Michelburn* had taken.

Mocreb-chan in the mean time ſent to *Cambaya* to a certain lord, who was vice-roy of *Surate*, who in 20 days time ſent him orders to let the captain land his goods, and diſpoſe of them for that time, but as to ſettling a trade or factory, he could ſay nothing without the *Mogul*'s orders, and in the mean time, adviſ'd the ambaſſador to undertake the journey (which was about two mouths travelling) to deliver his letters, and to negotiate his affair.

He trades in Surat.

Upon this licence, they unladed their ſhip, and what in goods which they ſold, and what in money which he brought aſhore, he bought up a great quantity of ſuch commodities as they ſent yearly to *Bantam*. This gave a terrible alarm to the merchants of the city, and traders in thoſe goods. However, the ambaſſador went on, and had well nigh laded his ſhip with goods for *Bantam* and *Priaman*, intending to ſend her under the command of Mr. *Marlow*, and to go himſelf to the *Mogul*'s court.

but meets with trouble from the Portugueſes.

But before he could get the ſhip laded, the *Portugueſes*, by the under-hand dealing of *Mocreb-chan*, had ſent ſome frigates thither from *Guzaret*, and took two barks carrying goods aboard, and without oppoſition ſeiz'd the goods and men. Captain *Hawkins* upon this ſent a challenge to the *Portugueſe* commodore to come aſhore and fight him; but he did not think fit to accept of it.

Soon after he ſent away the *Hector* to *Bantam*, keeping only three or four ſervants, and Mr. *Finch* a merchant who was ill, along with him. *Mocreb-chan*, being well aſſiſted by a *Portugueſe* Jeſuit, came frequently to viſit him, but his plot was to plunder him of his goods, which he frequently

frequently did under ſome pretence or other, and when nothing of value was left, he neglected him. But this was not the worſt of his misfortunes; for the *Portugueſes* had laid a plot to murder him. He was invited by one of the merchants of *Surat* to an entertainment upon his having a ſhip loaded for *Mocha*. There were many others invited, and among the reſt (luckily for poor *Hawkins*) there was a great captain belonging to the vice-roy of *Guzarat*. As ſoon as the company met, three *Portugueſes* in their buff boats came to the tent (40 more being at a little diſtance) they ask'd which was the *Engliſh* captain, and *Hawkins* ſaying in a reſolute tone, that he was the perſon, ſwords were immediately drawn, which the mogul captain perceiving, and ſeeing the treachery of the *Portugueſes*, he drew his ſabre, as did all his followers; ſo that if the buff coats and their attendants had not made quickly to their boats, they had never had another opportunity of attacking an *Engliſh* man at a diſadvantage. Several other plots they laid, of which the jeſuits, and ſome friars they had among them, were great promoters; but by good providence, and Mr. *Hawkins*'s courage and vigilance he eſcap'd them all.

A plot laid for his life.

In the mean time *Mocreb-chan* continued to uſe him ill: He took the preſent from him which was deſign'd for the *Mogul*, and under pretence of ſending it to his maſter kept it himſelf. This, and the danger he was in at *Surat*, determin'd him to propoſe to the governor, that he would give him a guard to *Agra*, where the great *Mogul* kept his court; the governor promis'd him an eſcorte; and *Mocreb-chan* did not oppoſe it, becauſe he was reſolv'd to have him diſpatch'd by the way, and accordingly he hir'd his interpreter and his coachman, the one to poiſon him, and if that fail'd, the other was to ſtab him.

When the day of his taking journey came, which was *Feb.* 1, 1608-9, he left Mr. *Finch*, who was by that time perfectly recover'd, his agent at *Surat*, and ſet out with a good guard of *patans*, who are horſemen much reſpected for their valour; ſo that altho' the *Portugueſes* had contriv'd to have him murder'd by 200 *Cruleans*, as he paſt through that province, their hearts fail'd them, and he made his journey for ſome days without any trouble.

He goes for Agra.

But the ſecret contrivance of *Mocreb-chan*, was not ſo eaſy to guard againſt, and it would have taken effect, in all probability, if it had not been providentially diſcover'd, at *Daita*, by the coachman, who, having got drunk with ſome of the ambaſſador's guard, blab'd it out; and they being honeſt men, warn'd Mr. *Hawkins* of his danger, ſo that having brought the coachman before him, he own'd the deſign, and that he had determin'd to have put it in execution the day following, as he went into the coach before day, as he us'd to do. But he would not diſcover who had put him upon it. After this diſcovery, the truchman, or interpreter, told him that it muſt have been *Mocreb-chan*, becauſe he had likewiſe hir'd him to poiſon him, which he had promis'd, but never intended to perform. The coachman was ſent back priſoner to the governor of *Surat*, by the firſt troop of *patans*, who were reliev'd two days journey beyond *Daita*, by another troop of the ſame kind of horſemen, which ſecond troop brought him on his way to *Brampart*, and the captain of the troop gave him an order to get a houſe he had there, and a recommendation to the vice-roy of *Decan*, with whom, at his arrival at *Brampart*, Mr. *Hawkins* convers'd in the *Turkiſh* language, which they both underſtood.

A plot to murder him on the road.

After having ſtaid ſome time there, occaſion'd by the difficulty of getting his money exchang'd, he took a new guard, which the vice-roy furniſh'd him with, and upon the 16th of *April*, 1609, he arriv'd ſafely at *Agra*, where he took a houſe in a very private manner, intending not to appear till he had put himſelf in the beſt order he could. But news of his arrival being carry'd to court, he was by the *Mogul*'s orders very ſoon found out, and brought to the palace in a ſtate and pomp (as far as the *Mogol* was concern'd) fit for the ambaſſador of a great king. As ſoon as he was introduc'd he deliver'd his letters, together with a poor preſent of his own in cloth, for the king's preſent had been detain'd at *Surat*, of which he inform'd the *Mogul*.

As ſoon as the monarch had receiv'd the letter, he gave it to an old jeſuit to interpret, who ſaid it was not reſpectful enough, ſaying only *your*, without the addition of *majeſty*; but Mr. *Hawkins* being inform'd of this, told the *Mogul*, that he hop'd his majeſty would not believe any thing to the diſadvantage of his king or country, upon the bare aſſertion of a perſon, whoſe country and profeſſion made him an enemy to the *Engliſh*; and as to want of reſpect, his majeſty might believe it falſe, ſince his maſter could not fall into that miſtake, at the time that he was deſiring favours of him. This the *Mogul* ſaid was good reaſoning, and ſo he receiv'd the ambaſſador with a very open countenance; and being told that he underſtood *Turkiſh*, he ſpoke to him in that language, and bid him follow him to another apartment. Here they convers'd very freely, and the *Mogul* told Mr. *Hawkins* that he underſtood the injuſtice done him

him at *Surat*; but that he would do him right.

The Mogul sends to Surat an order to do justice to the Engliſh.

Accordingly the next day he diſpatch'd a courier to *Surat*, with orders to *Mocreb-chan*, to ſatisfy the *Engliſh* agent, under pain of his diſpleaſure. Mr. *Hawkins* writ to Mr. *Finch* along with him, bidding him go with the courier, (whom he had procur'd to be order'd to go directly to him) and deliver the diſpatches to *Mocreb-chan*, who, (as Mr. *Finch* told Mr. *Hawkins* afterwards) appear'd thunderſtruck at the news of his arrival at court, having thought himſelf ſure of his being murder'd by the way.

Mr. Hawkins in great favour with the Mogul.

In the mean time, Mr. *Hawkins* grew into great favour with the *Mogul*, and had he been but ſteady in his counſels and friendſhip, the *Engliſh* had enjoy'd the greateſt privileges in the *Eaſt-Indies* of any nation in *Europe* from that time. He promis'd whatever Mr. *Hawkins* deſir'd with regard to trade, but it was upon condition that he would ſtay at *Agra*, at leaſt till he ſhould ſend an ambaſſador to *England*, by the firſt ſhips that came from thence; and that the king ſhould ſend another reſident to relieve him. And to encourage him to ſtay, he offer'd to ſettle a handſome penſion upon him, which beginning at 500 l. ſterling for the firſt year, he promis'd to augment to 3500 l. a year, and aſſur'd him that his ſtaying there ſhould tend to the great advantage of his king and country, and that it ſhould not be in the power of any of his enemies to make him break his word. Mr. *Hawkins* gave him thanks for his generous treatment, and accepted his propoſals, and receiv'd orders for the ſettlement of the trade at *Surate*.

which raiſes the envy of the nobility, and the ſpleen of the Portugueſes.

But the great countenance ſhew'd him by this monarch created him new enemies. For, beſides the *Portugueſes*, and particularly the jeſuites, he became obnoxious to the nobility, who envy'd his intereſt with their maſter, and therefore join'd with his *European* enemies to ruin him. The firſt contrivance to effect it, was the *Portugueſes* ſending a rich preſent to *Agra* with a petition, devis'd by *Mocreb-chan*, together with a letter of his own to the *Mogul*, ſhewing the inconveniency which would ariſe from his encouraging the *Engliſh*; becauſe it would provoke the *Portugueſes*, who were ſtrong in ſhipping in the *Indian* ſeas, to make prizes of all the ſhips going from or coming to all the ports in his majeſty's dominions; and therefore begging of him, for the good of his ſubjects, and the benefit of trade, that he would diſmiſs Mr. *Hawkins*, and not allow the *Engliſh* any privileges in his ports.

To this the *Mogul*, adhering as yet to his promiſes to Mr. *Hawkins*, return'd ſuch an anſwer as made the *Portugueſes* mad, and put *Mocreb-chan* in fear; ſo that they ſaw no way left but to poiſon *Hawkins*. But he finding one of his *Engliſh* ſervants ſick, and another dying, with all the ſigns of foul play, made application to the *Mogul*, who, upon his complaint, ſent for all the jeſuites then in *Agra*, and told them in a threatning tone, that if his *Engliſh* friend dy'd by any uncommon accident, wherein there could be the leaſt ſuſpicion of unfair dealing, they and their companions, throughout his dominions, ſhould anſwer it with their heads. At the ſame time he adviſ'd Mr. *Hawkins* to take a white maiden out of his palace, to whom he would give a ſufficient number of ſlaves; ſo that he might be out of all fear of poiſon when his victuals and drink ſhould be look'd after by them. To this he made anſwer, that he could not marry any one but a Chriſtian, but added (believing there was no ſuch perſon to be found) that if there were any Chriſtian maiden in his majeſty's dominions, he would obey his commands.

Mr. Hawkins at the Mogul's deſire, marries an Armenian Chriſtian.

The *Mogul*, who at that time had his intereſt and ſatisfaction much at heart, made enquiry, and in a ſhort time found out the daughter of one *Mubarique Sha*, an *Armenian* Chriſtian, who had been a captain of great reputation under the *Mogul*'s father. This lady was propos'd to Mr. *Hawkins*, and his word having been engag'd, he marry'd her, altho' ſhe had gotten no part of her father's riches, but a few Jewels.

The Aſcenſion caſt away at Surat.

Soon after this he had advice from Mr. *Finch* that the pinnace of the *Aſcenſion* having been caſt away upon the coaſt near *Surat*, the men, having eſcap'd, were come there, and reported that the *Aſcenſion* was not far behind them; which Mr. *Hawkins* having told his majeſty, he got ſuch orders ſent to his officers at that port, that the *Engliſh* could not have deſir'd more, if they had had the dictating of them. But before they arriv'd, the ſhip was likewiſe caſt away, but the men ſav'd, and were forbidden to come into the town, by the contrivance of *Mocreb-chan* and the jeſuites. But this being told to the *Mogul*, he ſent a new command to uſe the *Engliſh* well, and to endeavour to ſave as much as was poſſible of their goods, and upon the arrival of ſome of the ſhipwreck'd crew at *Agra*, and ſignifying the ſmall account that was made of thoſe orders ſent to *Surat*, the *Mogul* ſent for *Mocreb-chan* to come to him, which he durſt not refuſe; but before his arrival, he took care to make the *Mogul*'s ſons, and the chief courtiers his friends, by rich preſents ſent to them.

As ſoon as the king was adviſ'd of his approach to *Agra*, he ſent and arreſted all his baggage, which was very rich, for he

he had plunder'd as well his maſter's ſubjects as the *Engliſh*, and had been often brib'd by the *Portugueſes*. When the goods were brought to the *Mogul's* palace, Mr. *Hawkins* was ſent for to ſee them, who told the *Mogul*, that part of them was the preſent ſent by his king to his majeſty, and another part, what he himſelf had deſign'd to have offer'd to him out of his own goods. This purloining of the *Mogul's* effects would undoubtedly have coſt him his head, but for the intereſt he had made in the court, and the envy the courtiers bore to Mr. *Hawkins*: However he was put in priſon, and his goods confiſcated; for beſides Mr. *Hawkins*'s accuſing him of plundering the *Engliſh*, ſeveral of the people of *Surat* made complaints againſt him; particularly one accus'd him of having taken his daughter, a beautiful virgin, under pretence of ſending her to his majeſty, but that he had deflower'd her himſelf, and after a while, had given her to a *Bramman*; this being examin'd and found to be true, the *Bramman* paid for all, having his privities cut off; but, as it often happens, the great offender was skreen'd, and ſuch intereſt was made for him, that the *Mogul* not only pardon'd him, but continu'd him in his ſervice, upon condition, however, that he ſhould pay all his debts, in which number, his majeſty, without doubt, meant Mr. *Hawkins*'s to be included; and *Mocreb-chan* gave him fair promiſes to that effect; and departed for *Goa* by the *Mogul*'s licence, upon his promiſe to purchaſe a fine ruby, and other rarities of the *Portugueſes* there, to preſent to his majeſty.

Mocreb-chan Mr. Hawkins his great enemy put in priſon.

Eſcapes by bribery.

After *Mocreb-chan*'s departure from *Agra*, by his intelligence and intereſt with the premier miniſter, he manag'd his affairs ſo, that Mr. *Hawkins* plainly perceiv'd his intereſt began to decline; for, when he complain'd of ſome hardſhips done him at *Agra*, by their contrivance, notwithſtanding the repeated orders of the *Mogul*, he was referr'd to the chief *Vizir* his mortal enemy: but being oblig'd to comply with it, he went to him and made his complaint; the *Vizir* brow-beat him, and threaten'd to bring an action againſt him, for ten times the ſum he pretended to claim, under colour of his having occaſion'd the loſs of ſo much cuſtom to his majeſty, by hindring the *Portugueſe* trade. *Hawkins* finding the *Vizir* to ſpeak in a haughtier manner than he had ever done before, perceiv'd that he was loſing ground; and as it was an eaſy matter to learn all that was done at court, becauſe there was a great number of ſecretaries, who every day, in their turns, writ all the conſultations and orders made by the *Mogul* or the *Vizir*, he was inform'd that the *Mogul* had ſent an order to forbid the *Engliſh* trade, and that he had engag'd to the *Portugueſe* vice-roy at *Guzarat* to ſend all the *Engliſh* out of his dominions.

This unſteadineſs, in the *Mogul*'s temper, was a great trouble to him, eſpecially conſidering what powerful and vigilant enemies he had. However, as he was not as yet bar'd acceſs to his majeſty, he took the liberty to expoſtulate with him concerning the new order. The *Mogul* told him that the *Engliſh* had been repreſented to him as a dangerous people, who only wanted to get footing in his dominions to diſpoſſeſs him of them. To this Mr. *Hawkins* anſwer'd, that his majeſty had been miſinform'd by the enemies of the *Engliſh* nation, who had ſtuck at no lies to miſrepreſent them; but as he had not an opportunity to undeceive him by the teſtimony of others, he could only ſtake his own life for the integrity of his own intentions, and the honour of his king and country. In a word, he ſatisfy'd his majeſty ſo much, that he gave a new order for the *Engliſh* trade, and for bad every body to ſpeak againſt it. But the *Vizir*, who was well acquainted with the fickleneſs of his mind, and the charms of toys, diſpatch'd a courier to *Mocreb-chan*, who got another petition drawn, and ſome pretty trifles, by way of preſent, which being preſented ſoon after, the *Mogul* chang'd his mind again.

The Mogul's changeable temper.

Mr. *Hawkins* ſaw plainly then that there was no doing any good at a court, where the firſt miniſter is wicked, and either does not underſtand his maſter's intereſt, or is brib'd to betray it. And therefore he reſolv'd to retire, and to take the firſt opportunity of getting to any part of *Europe*, from whence he could be tranſported to his own country. He was under the greater neceſſity of taking this ſtep, becauſe the *Vizir*, being determin'd to undo him, had ſtop'd his penſion, ſo that if he ſtaid longer he muſt have been in danger of ſtarving, and when he complain'd to the *Mogul*, his petition was referr'd to the very man who had injur'd him; and from that time all acceſs to the *Mogul* was deny'd him, and *Abdal Haſſan*, the *Vizir*, huff'd and threaten'd him; and when he deſir'd an anſwer to the king his maſter's letter, the ſaucy miniſter told him in a diſdainful manner, that it was not for the Great *Mogul's* honour to write to a petty prince, or governor of a little iſland. And although Mr. *Hawkins* told him with reſolution enough, that the *Mogul* knew better than to ſpeak ſo contemptibly of the king his maſter, and that it was a ſign he knew very little of *Europe* if he had that opinion of the king of *England*, yet he could not

Hawkins his ill treatment by the Vizir.

not bring the *Vizir* to reaſon, and ſo without any other audience he retir'd to his houſe. And it was well he eſcap'd ſo. And indeed, in all probability, the *Vizir* and Mr. *Hawkins*'s other enemies, in the court, who had baſely truckled to *Haſſan*'s power, were ty'd up by the *Mogul*'s poſitive orders from doing him any farther hurt, or elſe they were capable of any baſe action.

But before Mr. *Hawkins* left *Agra*, *Haſſan* was turn'd out, and he not knowing, or not conſidering, that ſome of the chief courtiers ſtill employ'd were *Haſſan*'s tools, made application to the new *Vizir*, upon his having had accounts from *Surat*, that ſome ſhips from *England* were in thoſe ſeas. But all was to no purpoſe; for, altho' *Haſſan* was gone, his creatures remain'd, ſo that Mr *Hawkins* remov'd bag and baggage from *Agra*. He had, before his departure, great difficulty with his wife's friends, but to ſatisfy them, he was forced to promiſe to leave her at *Goa*, in caſe he ſhould go out of the *Mogul*'s country, and to provide her in ſuch a certain ſum, or value of it in goods.

He leaves Agra. After all things thus ſettled, he took his journey to *Cambaia*, the capital of *Guzarat*. Upon his arrival there, the jeſuites inform'd him of the coming of an *Engliſh* fleet to *Surat* under the command of Sir *Henry Middleton*, and withal, the good fathers told, in a great ſecret, that the vice-roy of *Portugal* was ready to ſail from *Goa* with four great ſhips, and ſeveral frigates to attack them, and deſir'd he would give him notice of it. Mr. *Hawkins*, who knew them too well to believe they would have given him that intelligence if it had been true, eaſily judg'd their intention was to put them in fear, and ſo oblige them to leave that coaſt; but he made ſhow of being perſwaded by their information, and was glad to have an opportunity of ſending an expreſs to Sir *Henry*, and, with the approbation of the jeſuites, he diſpatch'd his only *Engliſh* ſervant that was left, with letters to the admiral. But he had not travell'd two days before he met three of his country men coming to Mr. *Hawkins* from Sir *Henry*.

Having concerted meaſures with them (of whom captain *Sharpey* was one) Mr. *Hawkins* prepar'd himſelf for going aboard; and pretending to the jeſuites that he was going to *Goa*, he order'd his goods to be pack'd up, and taking leave of the fathers, and getting letters from them to their friends at *Goa* he left *Cambaia* the 18th of *January* 1611-2, and keeping along the coaſt, in ten days he arriv'd at the place agreed upon, where he found Sir *Henry* with his fleet, and by the help of his men, all his goods were ſhip'd in a few

Mr. Hawkins departs from Cambaia

hours, and he himſelf with his wife was kindly received by the admiral: and having ſtaid in that bay ſome days, they coaſted along to *Dabul*, in the kingdom of *Decan*, where they took a *Portugueſe* ſhip and a frigate. And the 5th of *March* they left that coaſt and ſail'd to the *Red Sea*, where they arriv'd the 3d of *April* 1612, and found three *Engliſh* ſhips there under the command of captain *Sarris*. There they ſtaid till the middle of *Auguſt*, and then ſet ſail eaſterly, and came to *Tecu* in *Sumatra* in *October*, where the admiral ſhip had like to have been loſt upon a bed of coral, but by good providence eſcap'd, with ſome damage, which oblig'd them to ſtay at *Tecu* till the 8th of *December*, and then they proceeded to *Bantam*.

And gets aboard Sir Henry Middleton.

They arrive at Bantam.

Sir *Henry* not finding traffick ſufficient to diſpatch all his ſhips that year, reſolv'd to ſtay there himſelf, and to careen his ſhip. But Mr. *Hawkins* being eager to get home, ſhip'd his goods on board the *Solomon*, but there being no conveniency for him and his ſpouſe in that ſhip, he went aboard captain *Sarris*, who had come with the fleet from the *Red Sea*. They ſet ſail from *Bantam*, in company with the *Solomon*, the 30th of *January*, 1612-3.

But the account of this whole voyage under the conduct of Sir *Henry Middleton* will be the ſubject of another ſection. We ſhall therefore now go back, and ſee what happen'd to the *Conſent*, which ſail'd under the conduct of captain *David Middleton*, and was appointed one of Mr. *Keeling*'s fleet, as was ſaid in the beginning of this ſection.

The voyage of the Conſent.

The other two ſhips, the *Dragon* and the *Hector* having by I do not know what accident, been detain'd in the *Downs*, till the beginning of *April*, capt. *Middleton* ſail'd about the middle of *March*, and having more favourable weather than they afterwards met with, he arriv'd in *Saldanea* bay the 16th of *July*, and ſtaid there 13 days in expectation of their admiral; during which time they diverted themſelves, being in good health, with going aſhore on *Pengwin* iſland, and killing fowls and ſeals, of which they met with thouſands together. Departing from thence, and watering in the bay of *St. Auguſtin*, they arriv'd at *Sumatra*, and paſſing the ſtreights of *Sunda*, they caſt anchor in *Bantam* road the 14th of *November*.

They come to Bantam.

As ſoon as they were ſeen, Mr. *Towerſon*, mention'd in the laſt ſection to have been left agent there, came aboard of them, and the captain came aſhore with ſome of his people. They immediately brought their iron and lead aſhore, and having taken in ſuch goods as Mr. *Tower-*

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ſon had read y for them, they had ſail'd for the *Molucca's December* 6; and having had the ſingular good luck of a fair wind they arriv'd at the *Molucca's* in the beginning of *January*, 1607-8. And this being *Chriſtmas* time, the reſt of the month was ſpent in entertainments between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, and ſometimes with the *Indian* princes.

And from thence to the Molucca's.

The *Spaniards* would fain have brought captain *Middleton* to have eſpous'd their quarrel againſt the *Dutch*; but he utterly refus'd it, as being againſt his inſtructions. But altho' the *Spaniards* could not admit the *Engliſh* to open trade before they had leave from their camp maſter, yet they took no notice of their trafficking at night with the *Indians*, which continu'd till the beginning of *March*, and then, by the camp maſter's licence they traded openly; but when he found that the captain would not ſo much as make a trip with the *Spaniſh* ſhips for ſhow, without attacking the *Dutch*, the trade was again forbidden, and the *Conſent* weigh'd anchor from the *Molucca's*, and touching at ſome little iſlands by the way weſtward, they came to *Buttone* iſland, call'd in the atlas *Bouton*, in 5 deg. ſ. latitude, a place where the *Engliſh* had never been before.

The king of this iſland ſent a civil meſſage to the captain, ſignifying a deſire to come aboard, which the captain return'd in a handſome manner, and the next day, the king came in his *caricol*, row'd by 100 oars, attended by many others, in all which were above 1000 men in arms. The captain receiv'd him with a diſcharge of his cannon, and took the king and ſome of his nobles aboard, where he entertain'd them after the beſt manner he could, to their entire ſatisfaction; and after they went away, the king ſent him a pilot to bring his ſhip nearer the iſland, to a place where ſhe could be more ſecure. Here they met with a ſhip from *Java*, which traded with them for a conſiderable quantity of cloves; and having gone aſhore and been well entertain'd by the king, they ſtaid there ſome time, and then taking their leave, they ſet ſail for *Bantam*, where they arriv'd the 22d of *May*. And after they had made up the reſt of their lading out of the *Engliſh* warehouſe there, they took leave of their friends about the middle of *July* 1608, and made the beſt of their way for *England*.

The king of Bouton comes aboard.

The Conſent ſails for Bantam, and from thence to England.

SECT. V.

The fourth voyage for the East India *Company, by captain* Sharpey.

IN the year 1608, the company fitted out two large ſhips, the *Aſcenſion* and the *Union*, for a new voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, under the command of capt. *Alexander Sharpey*, as admiral; and capt. *Richard Rowles*, as vice-admiral. They ſail'd from *Woolwich March* 14, 1607-8, and *July* 13 anchor'd at *Saldania* bay, which I find was the courſe then held by all the *Engliſh* ſhips. From thence they went to *Comaro*, a ſmall iſland between *Madagaſcar* and the *African* coaſt. In this courſe, they loſt ſight of the *Union* and of a pinnace which they had put together at *Saldania*. They got ſtore of limes, hens, and cocoa nuts, but no freſh water, and therefore determin'd to ſtop at *Zanzibar*, an iſland upon the *African* coaſt, in 7 deg. lat. but by a miſtake of the maſter, they paſt it, and fell in with *Pemba*, which is in 5 degrees. Here they got water, and the inhabitants were officiouſly civil to them, but with a villainous intention; for after they had ſent their boats aſhore ſeveral days, and had ſhew'd great mutual kindneſs to each other; as they went to bring their laſt casks aboard, above 200 of the natives fell upon the ſeamen, and having ſeiz'd one of them, murder'd him, but the reſt eſcap'd. This peice of treachery they were put upon by ſome *Portugueſes* who were at that time on the iſland. Sailing from thence, they ſaw three *Mooriſh* barks, call'd, in their language, *pangaies*, to which they gave chaſe, and as ſoon as they came up with them, the *Morrs* ſtruck, and were brought aboard the *Aſcenſion* to the number of 50. But ſeeing few men upon deck, they, with one conſent, as if it had been a concert between them before they came aboard, betook themſelves to their long knives, which were conceal'd under their tunicks, and fell deſperately upon the *Engliſh*, and kill'd ſome of them; but they met with ſuch a reception, that not above five of them eſcap'd with their lives. Theſe (as the *Engliſh* heard afterwards) were the chief nobility of *Melinda*, upon the continent, and ſome of them of the blood royal.

The ſhips parted by a ſtorm.

The Aſcenſion comes to Pemba.

After this execution, they did not think it adviſable to ſtay near that coaſt, and therefore having met with a ſhip belonging to *Surat* or *Diu* near *Cambaia*, which gave them an account of captain *Hawkins* and Mr. *Finch*, they ſail'd in her company to the *Red Sea*, and about the 8th of *April*, 1609, they came to an anchor near the city of *Aden* in the bay of *Babelmandel*. This city is under the dominion of the Grand Signor, and is the key of *Arabia Felix*. The captain of the caſtle came aboard the admiral, with a guard, where he was treated, and the admiral went aſhore with him, and was entertain'd by him in the caſtle, from whence he ſent king *James*'s letters to the Baſſa of *Zenan*, about 15 days jour-

And from thence to Aden.

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ney up the country in *Arabia*. Whilſt they were in this road, the pinnace, which had been ſeparated from them in their voyage, came up to them, and ſome of the crew having inform'd the admiral, that the maſter of the pinnace had been murder'd by his mate, and the gunner, he went on board of her, and having found the accuſation true, he made them both be executed as they deſerv'd.

After he had ſtaid about five weeks, they ſet ſail for *Moka*, and paſſing thro' the ſtreights, enter'd the *Red Sea*, and anchor'd before *Moka* the 11th of *June*, where the chief merchants would gladly have ſtaid, that city being the chief mart for the *Indian* commerce, becauſe all goods from the *Mediterranean* ſide came to it; but the general and his maſter determin'd to purſue their voyage to *Cambaia* and *Surat*. And accordingly they weigh'd anchor, with the pinnace in company, and came up with *Zocotara*, the 7th of *Auguſt*, and after ſtaying near that iſland ſome time, the wind being contrary, they proceeded with the firſt favourable gale, and the 2d of *September* got to *Diu* in the province of *Guzarat*, north-weſt from *Surat* on the other ſide of the bay. Here a *Bannian* or *Moor* came aboard, and deſir'd paſſage for *Surat*, and becauſe he told the general that it was a dangerous paſſage, he offer'd to bring a pilot with him, who for ſeven pieces of eight ſhould convey them ſafe; but the maſter diſdaining to be inſtructed in an art he fancy'd he underſtood ſo well, influenced the general to refuſe the offer, ſo that they ſet ſail without that neceſſary aſſiſtance, and the ſecond day, ſtruck upon a rock, and loſt their ſhip. However by good providence, the men were all ſav'd in the two boats, altho' it was ſix days before they got to land.

They arrive at Moka.

When they had thus eſcap'd with their lives, they found they were ſome leagues from *Surat*, and it was well they were, for they were afterwards inform'd, that there were ſome *Portugueſe* ſhips there come with a deſign to have attack'd their ſhip in caſe ſhe had attempted the bar of *Surat*. Here likewiſe they heard, that their pinnace had arriv'd at the ſame place where they landed, but had been ſeiz'd by the *Portugueſes*, the crew having run her aſhore, and deſerted her, when they found themſelves attack'd. Upon this intelligence they held a council what was fit to be done, and they agreed to go to *Surat*, the general deſigning to travel by land to the *Mediterranean*; but Mr. *Jones*, from whoſe journal this account was originally taken, got acquainted with a friar of St. *Paul* at *Surat*, who prov'd a true friend, and got him, with three of his companions, aboard a ſmall bark along with himſelf and carried them to *Goa*: and the *January* after, embark'd them in a ſhip going for *Portugal*, and they landed at *Lisbon* the 3d of *Auguſt*, where he found an *Engliſh* ſhip which brought him ſafe home in *September*, 1610.

The reſt of the crew took different routes; the commodore is but little mention'd after this, but I ſuppoſe he is the captain *Sharpy* ſaid to have come aboard general *Middleton* with captain *Hawkins*. One *William Nicols* travell'd by land croſs the country, in company with three Jews, to whom he gives no reputable character; his deſign was for *Maſulipatam* in the bay of *Bengal*, where he had heard there was a *Dutch* factory. Thither he arriv'd thro' many hardſhips, and had the good luck to be well receiv'd; and ſtaid till he got an opportunity of going to *Bantam*. Some others went a contrary road, thro' *Perſia*, with a deſign to get either to the *Mediterranean*, or towards the *Red Sea*, in which journey, there being little to divert the reader, but only their paſſing thro' ſeveral towns, and cities, ſome of which are nam'd in our maps, and others not, we ſhall not meddle with that journal in this place, referring the geographical deſcription of that country to its proper place.

Having thus ſhew'd the unlucky voyage of the admiral ſhip the *Aſcenſion*, let us follow the *Union* from the time of her being ſeparated from the other near the cape of *Good Hope*. Being out of hopes to join the *Aſcenſion*, they made the great iſland of *Madagaſcar*, known then by the name of St. *Lawrence*; they anchored in the bay of St. *Auguſtine* on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, near the tropic of *Capricorn*, where they ſtaid 20 days, to fit up their main maſt, broken by the ſtorm. From thence they ſet out for *Zanzibar*, which was one of the places of rendezvouz; but, as we have ſaid, the *Aſcenſion*, by miſtake, paſs'd that iſland and went to *Pemba*. At the *Union*'s arrival at *Zanzibar* the natives receiv'd them at firſt with great civility; but, at their ſecond landing, they fell upon them, without any provocation, and kill'd three of them, and took Mr. *Wicham* priſoner. With much to do the reſt eſcap'd to their boat. Upon this treacherous dealing, they left this perfidious iſland, having no way to recover the priſoner, and attempted to coaſt along to *Zocotara*, but ſeeing the monſoons contrary, they were fain to return to *Madagaſcar*, deſigning for the north-eaſt part of it, the bay of *Antogil*, but they could not accompliſh that deſign, and were forced to take up with the north-weſt, and came to a large bay call'd *Canquamorra*, where

The adventure of the Union.

where there ſeem'd to be a fine fruitful country.

Captain *Rowles*, with five more in his company, went aſhore, and were kindly receiv'd by the king of the country, and ſuffer'd to come aboard again without any inſult. But ſoon after, the natives fell upon another boat's crew that went aſhore at the ſame place, and took ſix of them, but the reſt fought their way to the boat, and before they had reach'd the ſhip, they on board ſaw a number of *Praws* or big boats, full of arm'd men, purſuing them to the ſhip. The captain order'd all things to be in readineſs, and had ſcarce receiv'd his men aboard, when the ſhip was ſurrounded by a multitude of the infidels, who came on with ſuch fury, that if it had not been for the great guns, they had certainly boarded them, and cut all their throats. But having fir'd his guns on both ſides, which ſunk ſix of their *Praws*, they ſlacken'd a little of their ardour, and the ordnance being well manag'd, they made ſuch ſlaughter among the *Moors*, that after two hours fight, they were glad to get off, the *Union* ſtill firing upon the thickeſt of them, as long as they were within reach of their cannon.

About a fortnight afterwards, they made a ſecond attempt, but that ſucceeding no better, they retir'd to the ſhore, and drew up by their *Praws*, which made the *Engliſh* conclude that they deſign'd to attack him by night; the captain therefore having ſtaid ſo long in hopes of recovering Mr. *Wicham* and his other men, and finding it in vain, weigh'd anchor, and ſailing as near the ſhore as he could, fir'd a broad-ſide upon their army, which ſtood in order upon the bank, making lanes among them with their ſhot: and having thus reveng'd the loſs ſuſtain'd by them, he ſet ſail for the coaſt of *Arabia*: but after they had ſpent ſome time in endeavouring to reach *Zocotara*, the wind oblig'd them to change their reſolution, ſo that calling a council, they agreed to make the beſt of their way to *Achen* in *Sumatra*, where they arriv'd the 27th of *July*. Having traded there with ſome *Guzarat* merchants, much againſt the inclination of the *Dutch*, who were there, they remov'd to *Priaman*, where they diſpos'd of the reſt of their lading, and took in of the product of the country to their own ſatisfaction. But having more goods of their own, than what was ſufficient to lade the ſhip with pepper, they ſent Mr. *Biddulph* and Mr. *Smith* to *Bantam* with the reſt of the goods, and their ſhip being ſufficiently freighted with pepper, they ſet ſail for *England* in the month of *February*, 1609-10.

They come to Achen.

And from thence to Priaman.

What happen'd to this ſhip in her voyage home is not ſaid, nor do we hear more of her, but by a letter from *Morley* in *France*, to Mr. *Hide* merchant in *London*, dated *March* 1. 1611, which is in ſubſtance, That a ſhip call'd the *Union* came upon the coaſt of *France* near *Odoen*, and had on board only three *Engliſhmen*, and one *Indian*, but they ſo weak that they could ſcarce ſpeak; that the ſhip was richly laden with pepper and cloves, and was brought into the harbour there. This account was ſent by an *Iriſhman* who liv'd at *Odoen*, to Mr. *Cowper* at *Morley*, and by him to Mr. *Hide*. Two of the *Engliſh* remain'd alive and came to *England*; and all the cargo, except what was pillag'd by the *French*, before the magiſtrates were appriz'd of it, was recover'd. This was the unlucky end of this expedition.

SECT. VI.

The fifth voyage for the East India *company, by captain* David Middleton, *in* 1609.

CAptain *Middleton* ſet out, by the company's order, *April* the 24th, on board the *Expedition* of *London*, and arriv'd at *Bantam*, *December* the 7th. Upon his arrival he found matters much alter'd for the worſe, the then governor exacting dues never demanded of the *Engliſh* before. The captain having unladed his iron, left Mr. *Henſworth* as agent in their factory, becauſe Mr. *Spalding*, who had been in that poſt before, was neceſſary to him as one who knew the language of the *Indies*. He left a charge with the new agent, to pay none of the unlawful demands, but if the governor would take any thing by force, there was no help for it.

They arrive at Bantam.

He ſet ſail for the *Molucca's*, *December* 18, and came to *Botun* iſland; but finding that the king and the whole *Poſſe* of the iſland were gone to make war againſt a neighbouring king, he made no ſtay, but went to the iſland of *Bengaia*, which was likewiſe deſerted, as the captain believ'd, for fear of the *Dutch*, who would have built a fort there againſt the inclinations of the king and his people. So that leaving that iſland, and the wind being contrary for the *Molucca's*, he ſail'd to *Banda* iſlands.

Botun.

Bengaia.

Upon his arrival there the 5th of *February*, he ſent his boat aſhore among ſome country houſes, which brought him word that the *Hollanders*, who were maſters of thoſe iſlands, would not ſuffer any ſhip to come into that road. But notwithſtanding this advice, the captain

enter'd the road, with flag and enſign flying. A ſmall pinnace from the governor came up to him, and finding the ſhip was *Engliſh*, return'd without giving the captain an opportunity of asking them one queſtion.

Lantor. The iſland where the *Dutch* fort was, is call'd *Lantor*, and is one of the *Banda* iſlands. Captain *Middleton*, upon coming before the town, ſaluted it with his ordnance, and caſt anchor within ſhot of ſeveral *Dutch* ſhips riding there. He had ſcarce dropt his anchors, when a *Dutch* boat came on board, deſiring him, in the governor's name, to come aſhore and ſhew his commiſſion. To which the captain made anſwer, that he knew no obligation he was under to do either. The meſſenger threaten'd him, but he told him, he deſign'd to ride where he was, and if any one offer'd to hinder him, he ſhould do it at his peril.

As ſoon as the governor's boat was gone aſhore, many of the natives came aboard, and welcom'd the *Engliſh* to their country; by whom he underſtood, that they were willing to trade with him, if he could get leave of the *Dutch*; but they were ſo much afraid of them, that they durſt not do it without their approbation. However they told the captain, that the iſlands of *Puloway* and *Puleron*, two of the *Banda* iſlands, had not ſubmitted to the *Dutch*, but were at war with them. This was confirm'd by a native of *Puloway*, who was among the *Lantorines*; and the captain having taken him into his cabin, and convers'd with him ſome time, gave him money, deſiring him to aſſure the people of that iſland, that he would trade with them fairly, and that being upon the point of falling out with the *Dutch*, he would protect them againſt their common enemy.

The Dutch threaten the captain. The next day there came a boat from the caſtle, and another from the vice-admiral of the *Dutch* fleet, with orders to the captain to go to the caſtle. The captain entertain'd the officers ſent upon this meſſage, but withal told them, that as *England* and *Holland* were good friends, he did not underſtand the meaning of unmannerly or threatning meſſages. That for his part, he deſign'd to ride there, till he ſhould find thoſe inconveniencies in the road, which they had repreſented to him, and as he deſign'd no injury nor inſult to them, ſo he claim'd the ſame civility from them: and whereas they ſaid that thoſe iſland were theirs; he told them, that was the reaſon why he thought himſelf ſafe, ſince they were friends: and when they told him that if he did not bring his ſhip under the cannon of the caſtle, they would bring her by force: he ſaid, he could not believe the governor would venture a war between their maſters upon ſo unwarrantable an occaſion, nor give ſuch ſcandal to the infidels. Upon this they left him with ſome threatning words.

But to prevent all occaſion of quarrel of his ſide, he ſent Mr. *Spalding* aſhore the next day, with a letter to the governor, as follows.

The captain's letter to the governor at Lantor.

" MAY it pleaſe your worſhip, with patience to conſider, that, whereas you have diverſe enemies, and few friends in this place, I being a chriſtian, if your worſhip ſtands in need of any thing that I have, I pray you make bold to demand it, and I will be as ready to perform it to my power. For, whereas there is amity between our princes at home, I ſhould be unwilling that we, their ſubjects, ſhould be an enmity here. Further, foraſmuch as you command me to come under the command of the caſtle, I hope I have that privilege that both princes allow their ſubjects, to come and go at their own pleaſure, and ſtand to the danger of the road at their own peril. And whereas you demanded to ſee my commiſſion; I am a gentleman, and willing to ſhew it upon equal terms: For, if you would meet me ſecurely, as I would do you, appoint our meeting on the water, in our boats equally mann'd; or in any other convenient place, where I can be as near my force as you are to yours. And whereas it is reported, that a contract is to be made with the inhabitants of *Lantor*, and your worſhip; my deſire is, that you would uſe me as an *Indian* for my money; then ſhould I think my ſelf much beholding to your worſhip, and would much rather deal with you than with them. Furthermore, foraſmuch as you be at enmity with the iſlands of *Puloway* and *Puleron*, my deſire is, to be reſolv'd, whether I may have their ſpice, without your hindrance. Thus deſiring your anſwer to theſe particulars, and the ſame to be return'd by theſe bearers, I bid you farewel. *From aboard my ſhip this 7th of* Feb. 1609.

Yours in Friendſhip,

DAVID MIDDLETON.

This letter having been deliver'd to the governor, they call'd a council, and Mr. *Spalding* being call'd in, the governor told him by word of mouth, that his captain muſt expect no trade in the *Banda* iſlands, that he look'd upon him as a pyrate, and therefore would not write to him. With this ſhort *Dutch* anſwer, Mr. *Spalding* return'd; but told his captain

The abrupt anſwer to it.

tain, that he obſerv'd they were putting ſeveral barrels of powder on board an old uſeleſs ſhip of 1000 tuns call'd the *Sun*, which he ſuppos'd was to be for a fire-ſhip, and were manning two other ſhips of the ſame burthen, and ſeveral ſmall fregates, to attack his ſhip.

The captain goes aſhore.

Captain *Middleton*, (having prepar'd himſelf for fighting, and put every thing in proper order) that no blame might be laid to his charge, went aſhore in his boat, taking his commiſſion with him. Being landed, the governor, upon advice that he was there, came to meet him, and when he was brought into the governor's houſe, he told them, "That being "inform'd, that they pretended he was a "pyrate, he had brought his commiſſion "under the king his maſter's hand and "ſeal, to undeceive them, or to take a-"way that pretence." And then opening the upper folding of the commiſſion, he ſhew'd the king's ſuperſcription, and his own name mention'd as captain of the *Expedition*; and folding it down again, put it in his pocket: nor would he let them read any more, only ſhewing the ſeal affix'd to it. After this he got up to go away, but being deſir'd to ſtay awhile, the governor and he enter'd into a cloſe converſation, and after ſome ſharp words on both ſides, the governor abated of his ſurlineſs, and calling for ſome wine, they drank friends, the governor promiſing him all the aſſiſtance in his power: and, at his going aboard his boat, he was ſaluted by the caſtle, and by all the *Dutch* ſhips as he paſs'd.

Having thus, as he ſuppos'd, come to a better underſtanding with the *Dutch*, he weigh'd anchor, and came under the guns of the caſtle; and, in that ſtation, was viſited by the governor and the officers of the ſhips, who din'd with him: But when he came to the point of trade, and deſir'd free liberty to load his ſhip, the governor told him plainly that he muſt not attempt it. Nor would they allow his people to go aſhore for water, without ſending ſpies of theirs along with them, to prevent their having correſpondence with the natives.

This determin'd the captain in his reſolution to leave the place; ſo that he ſent the governor word that he was juſt going off, without ſaying whither. And as ſoon as he had diſpatch'd Mr. *Spalding* with that meſſage, he weigh'd anchor, and made out of the reach of the caſtle guns. The governor ſent a boat aboard, who forbad him expreſly to trade or ſtay in any of the iſlands of *Banda*. The captain ſent him for anſwer, that he was not ſubject to his authority, but would go where he pleas'd; but becauſe he would deal more upon the ſquare than the governor had done with him, he bid the meſſenger tell him, that he deſign'd to trade with *Puloway* and *Pularon*, and if the governor thought to hinder him, he might perhaps find greater diffieulty in that attempt than he imagin'd.

He leaves Lantor.

After this meſſage, the captain perceiving all the *Dutch* ſhips and fregates, with their ſails brought to the yard, ready for fighting, encourag'd his men and put all things in order to give them a warm reception; but the wind ceaſing, the *Expedition* drove with the current a great pace, and the *Dutch*, perceiving them ready to reſiſt, thought fit to ſtay where they were, and let her go out of the road.

Altho' the captain's deſign was for *Puloway*, yet he would not carry his ſhip thither without a pilot; and therefore he ſent Mr. *Spalding* in the boat to acquaint the people of the iſland with his having fallen out with the *Dutch*, and that he would trade with them, if they pleas'd, and withal, he gave him in charge to ſend him a pilot to bring his ſhip to ſome ſafe road, which he did, ſtaying himſelf at *Puloway*, where he bought up a quantity of ſpice for ready money. The ſhip was brought to *Gelagula*, near the iſland of *Ceran*, northward of *Banda* about 30 leagues; from whence, the captain propos'd to have his goods carry'd to and from *Puloway* in a pinnace, which he had brought from *England* in pieces, which he immediately fitted up at this place, and gave it the name of the *Hopewell*, being nine tuns burden. With this pinnace he ſet ſail for *Puloway*, *March* the 27th, and arriv'd in three days, and having agreed with the inhabitants, he laded the pinnace with mace; but that being too tedious, he bought a praw, and loaded her, ſending orders, with the firſt loading ſhe carried to the ſhip, that his carpenters ſhould build her higher, which was done, ſo that ſhe held 25 tuns.

Comes to Gelagula

And carries on a trade with Puloway.

In the mean time the *Dutch*, not caring to try the *Engliſh* courage in fair battle, altho' they were much ſuperior in number, hir'd ſeveral people at *Banda*, to diſpatch captain *Middleton*, by poiſon or ſtiletto; but the *Pulowayſe* ſtill gave him warning, and he kept upon his guard, and ſo, by good providence, eſcap'd all plots of that kind.

The captain made nine voyages to the ſhip, ſometimes going in perſon, and ſometimes ſending others, and ſtaying at *Puloway*, as he found moſt for his purpoſe. But the *Hopewell* ſtaying above three weeks in one of her voyages, the captain, being impatient at her delay, went in his boat, and had like to have been caſt away, but with much difficulty, having gone ſeveral miles by land, he recover'd the ſhip.

During

During his abſence from *Puloway*, the iſlanders thinking he was quite gone, for fear of the *Dutch*, mutiny'd againſt Mr. *Spalding*, and would not ſell any more goods, nor bring in proviſions. Nor could the *Engliſh* ſatisfy the *Sabander* of their good intentions towards the iſlanders; ſo that they were upon the point of ſeizing the *Engliſh* ware-houſe, and of putting the men in chains. But whilſt they were conſulting upon the execution of this, the *Hopewell* luckily arriv'd, which put a ſtop to all miſchief: and when the captain, who came with the pinnace, blam'd them for their abuſing his men, they anſwer'd, that they could not too much truſt chriſtians, becauſe they had been often deceiv'd by the *Portugueſes* and *Hollanders*, who were of that religion.

The *Expedition* being now loaded, and a good deal more ſpice in the ware-houſe, the captain left Mr. *Spalding* to lade the pinnace and another junck which he had bought, with orders to follow him to *Bantam*. And having taken leave of the people of the iſland, and given preſents to the chief of them, he ſet ſail in the *Hopewell* to recover his ſhip; but finding upon examination, that that pinnace was worm-eaten, he would not venture her a voyage to *Bantam* with goods, and therefore unrigg'd her, and left her there.

Having put all things in order aboard the *Expedition*, he ſet ſail for *Bantam*, having ſent his other junck, laden with ſpice, away before him; but he overtook her before ſhe got to that bay, and ſo got thither himſelf before her. He arriv'd the 9th of *October*; and at his landing found that both the factors had died ſoon after his leaving the place; ſo that his cloth was in the ware-houſe unfold. But that road beginning to fill with *Dutch*, and the captain not knowing how they might be provok'd at his having diſappointed their countrymen of buying ſpice at the *Banda's*, (for after his arrival, the iſlanders would ſell none to the *Dutch*) did not think it proper for him to make any long ſtay at *Bantam*, and therefore leaving orders with Mr. *Woodies*, (whom he appointed agent at *Bantam*) for Mr. *Davis*, whom he had left at *Puloway*, that he ſhould go to *Borneo*, and trade there for diamonds, till ſome other of the company's ſhips ſhould arrive, captain *Middleton* ſet ſail from *Bantam*, *November* 16, and arriv'd ſafe in *England*, having on board 139 tuns and ſome odd pounds of nutmegs; 622 ſuckels of mace, which is above 36 tuns: which, together with 24 tuns left aboard the junck, the captain tells the company, coſt him 25671 rials.

Capt. Middleton *arrives at* Bantam.

SECT. VII.

The ſixth voyage upon the East India *company's account, under Sir* HENRY MIDDLETON.

THE ſixth voyage undertaken for the uſe of the company, was in 1610, by Sir *Henry Middleton*, with four ſhips, *viz.* the *Trade's Encreaſe* of 1000 tuns, the *Pepper Corn* of 250, the *Darling* of 90, and the *Samuel*, a victualling bark, of 180 tuns; they arriv'd at *Saldania* bay, *July* the 24th, where they found captain *Keeling*'s name and others homeward bound in *Jan.* 1609, as alſo the admiral's brother's name, outward bound *Aug.* 9. 1609, whoſe voyage was related in the laſt ſection.

We ſhall not trouble the reader with his nautical obſervations along the *African* coaſt, there being nothing diverting in them, and for the inſtructive part of it, our ſeamen who deal that way are better acquained now with thoſe ſeas, than any of the greateſt Maſters were at that time. We ſhall therefore paſs over his journal round the cape, and come to *Tamarin*, the capital of *Zocotara*, where he arriv'd *Oct.* 25, and that afternoon ſent Mr. *Femel* aſhore with his compliments and a ſmall preſent to the king, which were well received; and the next day the admiral went aſhore himſelf, and was entertain'd in a friendly manner by the king, who told him of ſome of the *Engliſh* ſhips having ſold all their goods upon the *Arabian* coaſt at *Aden* and *Moka*, and gave a good character of the people of that country. This determined Sir *Henry* to ſail for that coaſt, ſo that he ſtay'd but a few days at this iſland, and taking leave of the king, he ſet ſail the 7th of *Nov.* for *Aden*.

Sir Henry Middleton *arrives at* Tamarin, *or* Tamaret.

As ſoon as he arriv'd, a boat came aboard him, telling him from the Lieut. of the town, that ſince he ſaid he was *Engliſh*, he was welcome, and that the year before Captain *Sharpey* had been there, and that he had gone from thence to *Moka* in the *Red Sea*, where he had traded to great advantage. The general ask'd ſeveral queſtions of the *Arabians*, who came aboard of him, and having ſuch an account of *Moka* as he lik'd, he left one ſhip at *Aden*, and himſelf with the reſt ſailed up to the ſtreights, and arriv'd at *Moka* the 13th of the ſame month. But as they were coming into the road, the admiral ſhip went aground upon a bank of ſand.

And ſails to Aden.

And ſo to Mocha *or* Moka.

Whilſt they were in this diſtreſs, a boat came from the governor, to know who they were, and upon hearing they were *Engliſh*, the *Turk*, who had been ſent, bid the general welcome in his maſter's name, and withal

withal bid him be under no concern for his ship, for by lightning her a little of her burthen, they might easily bring her afloat, promising to bring boats for that purpose, which they did, and the ship was brought off without any damage.

Mr. *Femel* going ashore was so caress'd by the *Aga*, who was governor of the city, that he writ to the admiral to come likewise ashore, and the *Aga* invited him in the most obliging manner, which he comply'd with; and, at his landing, was met by some people of quality, who had brought horses to convey him to the *Aga*. That minister receiv'd him with such demonstrations of affection that the admiral was surpriz'd, but very much pleas'd, at his promising him every thing he could ask relating to trade and commerce. After some conversation, and a world of compliments, Sir *Henry* was brought to a house assign'd him by the *Aga*; he had been cloth'd by the *Aga* in a *Turkish* vestment of crimson silk and silver, and was mounted upon a horse richly capparison'd, and a person of distinction led the horse, and every day, for some time, the *Aga* sent presents and compliments to him. But all this was grimace, as we shall now shew.

Sir Henry receiv'd by the Aga *with great show of kindness.*

One evening as the admiral, with two or three of his friends, who had come ashore to visit him, was sitting upon stools before the door, to enjoy the fresh air, a *Janizary* came to him from the *Aga*, and Sir *Henry* sending a servant for his interpreter; the man came back in a great fright, telling him that they were all betray'd, for the *Janizaries* had fallen upon his servants at the back side of the house, and knock'd down all that made any resistance. Sir *Henry* getting up, upon this intelligence, had not mov'd many steps, before he was knock'd to the ground by he could not tell whom, which stun'd him so, that he did not come to himself till they had ty'd his hands behind him. As soon as they perceiv'd him to stir, they set him upon his feet, and led him to the *Aga*'s house, where he found his friends bound after the same manner, and heard from them that seven of his men had been kill'd, and several more wounded. Here they chain'd him and six more by the necks all together, and left two soldiers to guard them. They had rifled his pockets by the way, and taken rings from him of good value, besides his money.

Turkish treachery.

Sir Henry and all his people ashore made prisoners.

But neither did his own loss, nor the danger he saw himself in, trouble him so much as the apprehension he was under of their getting his ships in their power. Nor was that fear ill grounded, for as soon as they had made him and all the *English* that were ashore alive, their prisoners, they sent 150 soldiers in three great boats to attack the *Darling*, which lay next to the shore, and the crew knowing nothing of what had happen'd ashore, and so not being upon their guard, they easily boarded her. But as soon as they began to cut the men down with their scimetars, the *English* took to their arms, and one of them rolling a barrel of powder among a croud of the barbarians standing upon deck, and throwing a fire-brand after it, set fire to the powder, which kill'd several of them; and wounded many more. The *English* kept close together, and being well stor'd with fire arms, made havock of the *Turks*, and every now and then threw granades and other fire-works among 'em, till at last they were fain to jump into the sea to escape the fury of the *English*, who gave no quarter, as long as their passion continu'd; so that of all the 150 there seems to have escap'd only one, who hid himself aboard till their fury was abated, and so they gave him quarter.

They attack one of the ships.

But are repuls'd.

As soon as it was day, Sir *Henry* with his seven yoke-fellows was brought before the *Aga*, who in a stern manner ask'd, *How they durst presume to come so near their holy city of* Mecca? To which the admiral made answer, *That he would not have landed there if he had not invited him.* The *Aga* reply'd, that the bashaw of *Zelan* had order'd him to seize all Christians that should presume to enter the *Red Sea*, even altho' they had the Grand Seignor's pass. Sir *Henry* said, if the case was so, he had dealt disingenuously with him, who had only come ashore upon his word. After some talk of this kind, he shew'd Sir *Henry* a letter from captain *Dounton* of the *Pepper-corn*, addrest to him, desiring his direction how to behave, because two of his merchants had been detain'd at *Aden* for the payment of a sum of money which they pretended to demand for anchorage. The *Aga* told him, that after the writing that letter, the ship had been cast away upon a rock, and that both ship and cargo, as well as the men, were lost. But in this he did not say true. After this the *Aga* desir'd Sir *Henry* to write on board the *Darling*, to know how many *Turks* were on board; by which question the admiral understood, to his great joy, that his people had behav'd like *Englishmen*. The *Aga* told him, to save the credit of his soldiers, that the great ship had rescu'd the little ship out of their hands, and therefore unless he would write to the big ship to come ashore and deliver up ships and cargos, into his hands, he threaten'd to cut off his head, promising if they would surrender, he would give them the *Darling* to carry them home. The admiral told him, that his people were not such fools as to deliver their goods for nothing, or their own persons to slavery, for any letter

The admiral carried before the Aga.

that he could write; but that if he could prevail with them to do ſo, the fear of his life, which was now a burden to him, ſhould not bring him to attempt it, and therefore he abſolutely refus'd to write any ſuch letter. After this the *Aga* made him be unchain'd, and bolts be put upon his legs, and he got a ſort of a dog-kennel under a pair of ſtairs for his lodging; but the next day, at the entreaty of the *Bannian* conſul, he had a better lodging given him, and one of his ſervants who ſpoke *Arabic* was allow'd to be with him.

In this manner he liv'd till the 18th of *December*, and then the Baſhaw of *Zenan* ſent an *Aga* to *Moka* to bring him and the other priſoners to *Zenan*, who civilly deſir'd Sir *Henry* to ſend aboard his ſhips for warm clothes, becauſe it would be exceſſive cold upon the road. Two days after his arrival, came the *Pepper Corn* into the bay from *Aden*, and Sir *Henry* was allow'd to write to the captain.

He is carry'd with a guard to Zenan.

The 22d of *December*, the admiral and 34 *Engliſh* with him, had their fetters and chains taken off, and all mounted upon aſſes, except Sir *Henry* and Mr. *Femel*, who were allow'd horſes, ſet out for *Zenan*. After they had travel'd about ten miles, being then about ten o'clock at night, Mr. *Pemberton* made his eſcape, and got off; for altho' his companions miſs'd him immediately, he was not miſs'd by the guard that night, altho' they reckon'd them as they came to the inn at *Mowſſi*, where they arriv'd at one o'clock. But the next day at four, afternoon, when they began their journey again, they miſs'd one of the number, but no body could give any account of him.

Zenan is about 180 miles north-weſt from *Moka*, in 16 degrees north latitude. It took them 15 days to travel to *Zenan*, and their journies were perform'd in the night for the moſt part, altho' it was ſo cold that they had ſtarv'd but for ſome furr'd gowns the admiral had provided them with. At their arrival, they found their good friend the *Bannian* conſul, who had gone before them to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* with his intereſt, and had brought letters in their favour from ſome conſiderable people at *Moka*. Coming near the city before day, they halted till it was light, and then were met by ſeveral companies of ſoldiers, and the *Engliſh* marched a foot into the town one by one. The *Aga* had order'd Sir *Henry*'s trumpets to ſound as they march'd thro' the ſtreets, but the admiral forbiding them, they forbore. Sir *Henry* and Mr. *Femel* rode in the rear of his men, and the *Aga* follow'd them in great triumph, as if he had gotten a great victory.

As ſoon as they came to the Baſhaw's palace, they alighted, and the admiral and Mr. *Femel* were conducted up ſtairs to a large room where the Baſhaw ſate in great ſtate. As ſoon as they came within a ſmall diſtance of him, he ask'd them in an angry tone, who they were, and what brought them into that country? to which the admiral anſwer'd, That they were *Engliſhmen*, and friends to the grand Signor, and came with deſign to traffick with the people of the country. The other ſurlily reply'd, That it was not lawful for chriſtians to come to the *Red Sea*, which was the key to the holy city of *Mecca*, and that he had given warning to captain *Sharpey* of it before. The admiral ſaid that ſome misfortune having happen'd to captain *Sharpey*, he had not been able to give any ſuch hint to his countrymen. And that for his part, if there was any crime in landing in a part of the *Red Sea* under the grand Signor's dominion, it was intirely owing to the treachery of *Regib Aga*, who had falſly promis'd him the ſame liberty that *Engliſhmen* had at *Aleppo* and other ports in the *Levant*. The Baſhaw told him that the *Aga* was but his ſlave, and could not make good any ſuch promiſe, and that what he had done againſt the *Engliſh* was by his order. After a great deal of haughty imperious language, he condeſcended ſo far as to let the admiral write to the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, and ſaid he would write to the grand Signor, and ſo diſmiſs'd Sir *Henry*, appointing the keeper's houſe for his priſon with any five he ſhould chuſe of his countrymen, the reſt he order'd to the common jayl.

Brought before the Baſhaw.

In this condition they continu'd till the 18th of *February*; but during that time the *Cayha* or lieutenant general under the Baſhaw often ſent for the admiral, who went with his guard to the *Cayha*'s gardens, and by his kindneſs, he ſupply'd the other priſoners, who would have ſtarved if they had not been ſo aſſiſted. At laſt, by this man's intereſt with the Baſhaw, they got leave to return to *Moka*, but with this condition, that they ſhould not be ſuffer'd to go aboard till all the ſhips trading to the *Indies* from *Moka* ſhould return, which would be in ſuch a fix'd time. But when the admiral ſpoke of having his goods and his pinnace reſtor'd to him, the Baſhaw told him they were enter'd for the grand Signor's uſe, and could not be return'd. So the admiral was forced to make the beſt of a bad market, and depart without being able to obtain better terms.

They are ſent back to Moka.

Before his departure, Mr. *Fowler* and about 18 more of the *Pepper Corn*'s crew had

had been ſent priſoners from *Aden*; thoſe the admiral claim'd as his men, and they ſet out together. Upon this road, as upon all the publick roads in that country, there are inns at ſuch and ſuch diſtances, built and kept up at the Grand Signor's charge, for the uſe of travellers. In thoſe they lodg'd at the ſeveral places where they ſtop'd; they had the name of *Cenſors*.

At their arrival at *Moka* ſome of the *Engliſh* who had been left in priſon there, and were allow'd the liberty of the town by orders from *Zenan*, came out joyfully to meet their admiral. One of the firſt queſtions he ask'd them was about Mr. *Pemberton*, and heard with a great deal of pleaſure, that he by good providence lighted upon a canoe, and got aboard. Upon the admiral's being brought to the *Aga*, he put on his firſt diſſimulation, and pleaſant ſmiling face, excuſing himſelf for what was paſt, as being oblig'd to it by his maſter's orders, but promiſing all friendſhip for the future. But the admiral knew him too well to truſt him, however he was forc'd to carry fair to him. There was now a houſe prepared for them, which had a guard of ſoldiers about it day and night. But the admiral had liberty to go abroad, and there was ſcarce any *Arabian* entertainment kept in *Moka* but he was invited to it; for the *Arabians* were fond of the *Engliſh*, and if they durſt would have ſhew'd their reſentment againſt the *Turks* for their ill treatment of them.

But this confinement was very galling to the admiral; he therefore laid a ſcheme for his eſcape, being perſuaded that all the fair promiſes of the *Aga* were but a cheat, and that if he ſhould be releas'd, he ſhould loſe all his effects, that he or the merchants had brought aſhore at firſt, which were conſiderable. He ſaw it would be no hard matter for his men to get aboard; for they allow'd the *Darling* to come frequently to the bay, and to ſend their boat aſhore to inquire about their admiral, and to receive meſſages from him. This liberty, together with another which his people were allow'd, of going through the town without a guard, he was reſolv'd to make uſe of for freeing himſelf from a confinement in which he had been detain'd only by treachery; nor did he think it any diſhonour to withdraw himſelf unknown to the *Aga*, who had broken all the ties of hoſpitality, friendſhip, and humanity, with regard to him, and whoſe ſordid avarice made him conſult his own private gain before the honour of his maſter, the dignity of his office, or the advantage of the people he ought to have govern'd.

The admiral contrives his eſcape

Having determin'd with himſelf to try to make his eſcape, he ſoon laid the ſcheme, but did not communicate it to any one of his companions. He wrote a letter to the captain of the *Darling*, deſiring him to ſend his boat aſhore ſuch a day by noon, well mann'd and arm'd, and to keep the ſhip under ſail, that he might come to meet the boat as ſoon as he could percieve ſhe had left the ſhore. This letter he gave to one of his own people, who deliver'd it to the boatſwain of the *Darling*, who came aſhore as uſual. The day he fix'd was the time which he knew the *Aga* had pitcht upon to go out of town with the principal people of the place to feaſt at a country houſe of his own; and his keeper being very fond of arrack, he knew he ſhould find it no hard task to make him forget his charge. The only difficulty was to get himſelf to the boat; for altho' all his people had leave to go abroad, he himſelf never went out but accompanied with three of his guards.

The day appointed being come, he took Mr. *Femel* aſide, and having ſworn him to ſecreſy, diſcover'd the plot to him, bidding him get himſelf ready againſt the time, and walk towards the ſhore, with two more of his companions, and when he had ſeen ſuch as he nam'd to him put a butt into the boat, they ſhould make haſte to get aboard. He call'd for the keeper, and offer'd him a dram of arrack, which he knew he would not refuſe, and telling him that they might make themſelves as merry as the *Aga*, gave him the bottle in his power, which in a very ſhort time ſent him to bed dead drunk. After he had carried matters thus far, he gave inſtructions to ſix or eight of his people to go by two and two, to one part of the town where there was always a boat ready, to go to any ſhip that came into the bay, and gave them orders to ſeize the boat and make their way againſt all oppoſition to the *Darling*. Others he ſent by twos likewiſe to the place where he appointed the ſhip's boat to come; and he kept three or four of the ſtrongeſt with himſelf. Things being thus ſettled, as ſoon as all the company were gone except thoſe who were to convey him to the boat, he got into the butt, and making them put on the head of it, they carried him out of the houſe and quite through the town, and his guards not having ſeen any ſign of his coming abroad, believ'd he was ſtill in the houſe, and therefore made no noiſe; ſo that he got to the boat without any diſcovery, and as ſoon as they had ſhip'd the butt they took out the head to give him the freer air, not thinking proper to come out till they had left the ſhore.

As ſoon as he was aboard, the others who were neareſt to the place, came running in haſte to the boat, which gave ſome ſuſpicion to ſome *Turks* who ſaw them, and they gave the alarm, which brought the guard and ſome other ſoldiers down to the

the ſhore, and was the occaſion of Mr. *Femel*'s being attack'd and made priſoner, with ſome few that were with him, and were hurried back before the general could ſend any to his reſcue. Finding it therefore to no purpoſe to attempt to relieve him, they made the beſt of their way to the bay, many boats making ready to purſue them. But captain *Pemberton* according to orders having the ſhip under ſail came as faſt as the wind and tide would allow, to favour their retreat, and at laſt took them in to their mutual joy, and ſoon after came the other boat, which eſcap'd no leſs happily than they had done.

Which he happily brought about.

The thing that troubled him moſt now was the miſcarriage of Mr. *Femel* and his companions; but in a ſhort while, he had a letter from him by two *Arabians*, giving him an account of the rage the *Aga* expreſs'd at his return, and that they were in great danger of being ſentenc'd to death in his fury; but that the merchants who had any effects in the ſhips which were in the harbour or bay, reſtrain'd him, and got leave for them to live in their own houſe, where the merchants ſent them proviſions. Sir *Henry* took the hint, and writ to the *Aga*, by the two *Arabians*, a letter, wherein he demanded his men, and threatened to burn all the ſhipping in the bay and road, and batter the town about his ears, if he touch'd a hair of their heads, or offer'd to detain them any longer. This threat alarm'd the merchants terribly, and the next day two of the toppingeſt traders went on board with a preſent from the *Aga*, and a meſſage how ſorry he was that the admiral ſhould have diſtruſted his good intentions, and thereby had depriv'd him of an opportunity of releaſing him after the handſome manner he deſign'd to have done. However, as that was paſt, he aſſur'd him that he would do every thing in his power to pleaſe him, but he beg'd a reſpite for ſome days, becauſe he could not ſend his men without the baſhaw's orders; but the admiral inſiſting upon their releaſe, the merchants promis'd that they ſhould be ſent in 15 days, as alſo the pinnace, which the admiral likewiſe demanded. After that they went aſhore, and the admiral, altho' he had no ſhip there but the *Darling*, and ſhe a ſmall one, yet he ſent to all the ſhips in the bay his poſitive orders not to ſend a boat aſhore without letting them firſt come to him to ſee what was aboard, and as ſhe return'd, ſhe muſt call at his ſhip before ſhe went to her own; and he told them all, that which ever of them acted contrary to thoſe orders he would ſink the ſhip the next minute.

The admiral keeps the Turks in awe.

Thus did this brave man ſhew himſelf ſovereign of the ſea in a little ſhip of 90 tun, and made them all obey him; and altho' a few days before, the *Aga* was ſo far from giving him any thing, that he ſeiz'd every thing that captain *Pemberton* ſent aſhore for his uſe, yet now that he was out of his power, the *Aga* was ſo much afraid of him, that he ſent him preſents almoſt every day.

However, he thought fit to ſend for the other ſhips, which had retir'd to a very convenient anchorage at *Aſſab*, on the oppoſite coaſt of the *Red Sea*, where the inland Country were chriſtians, ſubject to *Preſtor John*. The ſhip's boat undertook this voyage, and in a few days, he ſaw the ſhips enter the bay, and went aboard his own ſhip, to the great joy of all. In the mean time ſome of the merchants, whoſe ſhips were in the road, came aboard from the *Aga*, with a promiſe of ſending the men and the pinnace aboard the next day, provided that the admiral, and four or five of the officers aboard, would give an obligation under their hands, and ſwear to the performance of it, by which they ſhould engage themſelves to continue in peace with the *Turks* in all the *Indian* ſeas, and never to commit any hoſtilities by way of reprizal for the goods they had loſt at *Moca*. Sir *Henry* would do nothing till his men came back to the ſhip; but told the merchants they ſhould ſtay as hoſtages for them. But he was ſo tender of his countrymen aſhore, that at laſt, after conſulting with his officers, he drew up a paper in *Engliſh*, which he pretended was the obligation they wanted, altho' indeed it was a full account of all the baſe treatment he had met with in that country. This was a prevarication which I cannot approve of notwithſtanding the treachery of the *Turks*. He writ at the ſame time to Mr. *Femel* to explain the paper to the *Aga* as he directed him. And that afternoon, all the *Engliſh* came aboard, and the next day brought the pinnace, telling the admiral, they hop'd he was now ſatisfy'd, and would be their friend. The admiral made anſwer, that he was not ſatisfy'd, for there was one of their boys detain'd at *Tayes* in their journey to *Zenon*, whom they had forc'd to turn *Turk*, and had circumcis'd him againſt his will. This meſſage being ſent aſhore, the *Aga* promis'd to ſend him the boy in 15 days, ſo that the admiral would not meddle with any of the ſhips, which he promis'd.

But having now all his men aboard except the Boy laſt mention'd he writ a letter in *Italian* to the *Aga* to pay him 70,000 Reals of Eight by way of damage. But ſoon after came letters from *Zenan* to the admiral, written by the *Cayha*, begging of him not to uſe violence, for that would coſt him his head, as having adviſ'd the baſhaw to diſmiſs him and his company

from

from that place. In ſhort, after many meſſages, it was agreed that the admiral ſhould have all the iron and lead, which had been ſent aſhore out of the fleet, return'd to him, and 18,000 reals paid him in 15 days. And with this propoſal, the circumcis'd boy was brought aboard.

And receives damages from Moka.

Upon the payment of this ſum of money, it was ſtipulated that a mutual writing and agreement ſhould paſs between the *Baſhaw* and Sir *Henry*, in behalf of their reſpective nations for a two years peace; but the *Baſhaw* making excuſes for not ſigning it, the admiral thought himſelf at full liberty to revenge himſelf of the injuries he had receiv'd.

Having now nothing elſe to do in this bay, he went over to *Aſſab*, where he was careſs'd by the king of the country; but being intent upon revenging the inſults offer'd him by the *Baſhaw* of *Zenan* and *Regib Aga*, he ſet ſail for *Camarin*, ſome 60 or 70 leagues to the northward, up the *Red Sea*, to wait for a rich ſhip, which came every year to *Moka* from *Suez*, at the north end of that ſea. But finding the wind croſs, and the coaſt not ſafe, after they had, in vain, cruis'd up and down for a month, they determin'd to leave that inhoſpitable quarter, and make the beſt of their way towards *India*.

They leave the Red Sea.

It was now the beginning of *Auguſt*, 1611, when the fleet bent their courſe towards the *Babelmandel* ſtreights, and as they approach'd the ſouth-eaſt end of the *Red Sea*, the admiral ſent the *Darling* and the pinnace to try the entry of the ſtreights on the ſouth-weſt ſide, going himſelf with the *Pepper-Corn* the ſame way that they came in, which was the oppoſite ſide, and they found it very ſafe, and a good coaſt; from whence they concluded that the *Turks* had given out that the other way was impracticable, becauſe they had an intention to build forts upon the north-eaſt entry which commands the channel on that ſide, there being an iſland in the mouth of the ſtreights, between which and the *Arabian* ſhore is little more than a mile.

The 30th of the ſame month of *Auguſt*, they caſt anchor at *Deliſha* in the iſland of *Zocotara*, where they found a ſhip from *Diu*, the captain of which, coming aboard the admiral, told him great matters of captain *Hawkins*'s intereſt with the *Mogul*, and the good condition of the *Engliſh* affairs at *Surat*, which indeed was true when that ſhip was there. Here they water'd, and ſome *Indian* ſhips, in order to be rid of them, not only aſſiſted them to get water from the iſland, but gave them their own water for the greater expedition.

Come to Zocotara

Here the admiral bought up all the alloes which the king of that country had, and having finiſh'd his buſineſs, and got a pilot out of the *Diu* ſhip, he ſet out for *Surat*, and arriv'd there *Sept.* 26, where they found ſeven *Portugueſe* frigates, all men of war, which had been ſent thither to hinder the *Engliſh* trade. As ſoon as the *Engliſh* fleet came to an anchor, the admiral ſent a letter to the *Portugueſe* commodore, deſiring a good correſpondence with him, ſince their kings were friends at home; which he anſwer'd by a meſſenger of his own the day after, containing in ſubſtance, that he was willing to have friendſhip with him, and to do him all the ſervice in his power; but as to commerce in thoſe ſeas, he could not allow him to have it, unleſs he had a paſſport from the king of *Spain*, or the vice-roy. To this the *Engliſh* admiral reply'd, by word of mouth, that he had no paſſport from either of them, as having no occaſion for them, ſince he had been ſent by his maſter the king of *England* with letters to the *Mogul*. He ſaid he was not come into thoſe ſeas to hurt the *Portugueſes* any way, but deſign'd to carry on his own buſineſs; and as he did not intend to trouble their factory, he expected they would not diſturb the *Engliſh*: And therefore he deſir'd the meſſenger to tell the captain major, as they call'd him, that he hop'd he would ſuffer the *Engliſh* who were at *Surat*, to come aboard of his fleet, to conſer with him about their own affairs. And that he would not oblige him to uſe force, which he was reſolv'd to do, if he could not ſee them by fair means.

Meſſages paſt between the Engliſh *and* Portugueſe *commodores.*

The next day he had a letter from one *Bangham*, a joiner, whom captain *Hawkins* had ſent from *Agra* about ſome buſineſs. This letter gave him notice that he had letters to him from captain *Hawkins*, but that he durſt not ſend them for fear of being intercepted by the *Portugueſes*. But ſoon after, he found an opportunity of ſending thoſe letters aboard by a *Bannian* prieſt. By them he had a ſuccinct account of the fickleneſs of the *Mogul*'s temper, and of the different orders given and contradicted concerning the *Engliſh* trade at *Surat*, and of the ſmall hopes the captain had of doing any further ſervice at *Agra*, where he had to do with a prince who did not know his own mind, and with miniſters who were brib'd to be his enemies. By *Bangham*'s ſecond letter he heard that captain *Sharpey*, with one *Jordan*, were coming from *Cambaia*, to get aboard of him. And therefore, finding there was at that time, no *Engliſh* houſe at *Surat*, he retir'd to a convenient road near *Cambaia*, call'd *Goga*, both for the conveniency of trade, but principally to have a ſafe way of getting captain *Hawkins*, and the other *Engliſh* who were in the *Mogul*'s country, brought aboard of him.

The admiral has letters from capt Hawkins

A skirmish with the Portugueſes.

But before he left *Surat* bay, he had a bruſh with the *Portugueſe* frigates, who attempted to intercept two of his boats which had gone aſhore; but upon his giving them one or two broadſides, they thought fit to retire without the reach of his guns, and gave no farther trouble to his boats.

After he had ſail'd to *Goga*, *Hoia Naſſan*, governor of *Surat*, and the governor of *Cambaia*'s brother ſent to him ſeverally, telling him that they would come and trade with him. The admiral went aſhore with a good guard, and had an interview with them; *Hoia Naſſan* gave him to underſtand that *Mocreb-chan*, ſo often mention'd in captain *Hawkins*'s ſtory, was reſolv'd to join with them to buy all the goods he had aboard his fleet. Sir *Henry*, not being ſufficiently aware of the avarice and villany of that man, was glad that ſuch a conſiderable perſon gave countenance to their traffick. At his arrival therefore at *Goga*, the admiral went aſhore, but ſtill well guarded, and invited him aboard, who without any ſcruple accepted of his invitation, and ſtaid all night. During his being there, he went through the whole ſhip, and ſaw every place, and wherever he ſaw any thing to his liking, the admiral made him a preſent of it, if it was his own, and if it belong'd to any of his people, he bought it of them to give him, which the mean-ſpirited wretch not only accepted, without offering any return, but likewiſe, abuſing the generoſity of the admiral, beg'd many things which amounted to a conſiderable value, and at laſt under pretence of buying a large quantity of ſword blades, the admiral in conſideration of his buying them all together, ſold them at a very reaſonable rate, and ſent them aſhore with the buyer; but ſome days after, *Mocreb-chan* pick'd out the beſt of them, and ſent the greater part back, inſiſting upon having the choice at the ſame price in proportion, that he had agreed for the whole. In a word, *Hoia Naſſan* and he combin'd to play the ſame game with Sir *Henry* as they had done with Mr. *Hawkins*; and now the admiral was at a loſs how to come by his money, for ſeveral parcels of goods ſold to them, they having put him off from time to time.

Mocreb-chan and Hoia Naſſan *trade with the* Engliſh *with deſign to trick them.*

About this time happen'd the diſgrace of *Mocreb-chan*, mention'd in Mr. *Hawkins*'s accounts from *Agra*; ſo that the admiral having got *Hoia Naſſan* and the *Sabandar* of *Cambaia* aboard the *Pepper Corn*, he told them, that they having been concern'd in all the bargains he had either ſold or bought, he was reſolv'd to keep them as hoſtages for the performance of all that had been ſtipulated to him, by *Mocreb-chan* and them jointly. This brought them to do him juſtice, which in all probability they would not have done in any other way; and a day was appointed for clearing accounts, and all matters being finiſh'd, and the priſoners (who had been us'd with the greateſt civility while they were kept aboard) releas'd, the admiral hearing that captain *Hawkins* was come to *Cambaia* from *Agra*, ſent captain *Shapey*, who had come aboard of him ſome time before, with letters to him, of which we gave an account, Sect. IV. as alſo of his embarking with all his effects, by the aſſiſtance of Sir *Henry*'s people.

But the admiral obliges them to do him juſtice.

As ſoon as they met together, and compar'd notes of the treachery of *Mocreb-chan*, and the little hopes remaining of ſettling a factory at *Surat*, whilſt the *Portugueſes* had ſuch power with the miniſtry, they agreed to leave the place, and without any remarkable occurrence, ariv'd at *Dabul*, upon the ſame coaſt in the kingdom of *Decan*, between *Surat* and *Goa*, n. lat. 17 degrees and an half. The admiral had receiv'd a letter whilſt he was in the *Red Sea*, from the captain of a large ſhip belonging to *Dabul*, to the governor of that place; and as ſoon as he had caſt anchor in the road, he ſent the letter aſhore. The writer of the letter was then in town, and both the governor and he ſent preſents to the admiral, and promis'd all the ſervice in their power. Here they traded for a conſiderable quantity of goods, without any tricks plaid them, and when they could trade no longer, they agreed, by general conſent, to ſail to the *Red Sea*, both to be reveng'd of the *Turks*, and likewiſe to aſſiſt ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, which they were inform'd had ſail'd thither, in caſe they might have met with the ſame fate they had, in that ſea.

The fleet ſails for Dabul.

Where they trade.

Being come to this reſolution, they made for *Zocotara*, where they arriv'd *March* 24, 1611-12, having taken a *Portugueſe* ſhip in their way. Mr. *Pemberton* going aſhore at *Tamaret*, where the king of the iſland reſided, had ſeen a letter left in his hands by captain *Sarris*, giving an account, "that he had receiv'd "Sir *Henry Middleton*'s letter, warning "all the *Engliſh* to avoid the *Red Sea*; "but as he had the *Grand Signor*'s paſs, "he was reſolv'd to take his chance at "*Moka*, or any other port belonging to "the *Turks* in that part of *Arabia*, and "therefore was going thither with three "ſhips belonging to the *Eaſt-India* com-"pany under his command." This intelligence would perhaps have alter'd the admiral's courſe, but that there was no going back to the *Indies* at that time of the year, for the eaſterly monſoon; beſides that Sir *Henry* did not think captain *Sarris* ſafe among ſuch treacherous people, even

They arrive at Zocotara

And from thence to the Red Sea.

even with his pass. The fleet therefore held on its course towards *Babelmandel*, and capt. *Dounton* took his old post with the *Pepper Corn*, to guard *Aden*, whilst the admiral with the others, took both sides of the streights. The *Increase*, taking the east side, came to an anchor in the bay between the island and the coast of *Arabia*, near a small place, where a *Turk* guarded a fort, by commission from the *Aga* of *Moka*. This *Turk* came aboard the admiral, and promis'd to send a letter which Sir *Henry* gave him for capt. *Sarris*, at *Moka*. And soon after captain *Sarris* brought all his ships to this bay, and having saluted each other after the usual manner at sea, came to an anchor close by the admiral, aboard whom the captains of all the three ships came. Capt. *Sarris* told Sir *Henry* that he believ'd he should have found trade at *Moka* but for his coming into that sea; but the admiral having told him how he had been cheated by their fair promises, they agreed to sail together, and to seize all ships coming to trade with the *Turks*, and admiral *Middleton* covenanted to give *Sarris* the third part of all goods exchang'd with *Indians* or *Turkish* ships taken; but that Sir *Henry* should have the ships to dispose of, in consideration of the damage he had sustain'd by the treachery of the *Aga* and his master the *Bashaw*.

They seize eleven ships bound for Moka.

Whilst they lay in this bay, they stop'd eleven ships from several places, all bound for *Moka*, and oblig'd them to sail with the *English* fleet to the other side of the *Red Sea* to their old road at *Assab*. This was the only way he had to get reparation for the injuries done him; and likewise to dispose of his cargo. In order to carry on this trade, he rummag'd all the ships he had stop'd, and gave them *English* goods for such as he took from them. But after he had detain'd them some time, some merchants from *Moka* came over to *Assab*, offering to compound with him, in order to release the ships; and after some time spent in the negociation, the admiral took so much for every ship in proportion to the value of her cargo, and releasing them all, set sail for the *Indies* a second time, with his own fleet, and that of captain *Sarris*, having dispatch'd the *Darling* and the *Thomas* one of *Sarris*'s ships, before them to *Tecoa*.

And compound with them.

They left the *Red Sea* about the middle of *August*, and taking an easterly course by *Zocotara*, and passing by cape *Comori* and *Ceylon*, they arriv'd at *Tecoa* the 19th of *October*, where they found the *Darling*, and had the news of captain *Middleton*'s good success three years before. Here the admiral ship had like to have been lost, as we mentioned before Sect. IV. but having escap'd, altho' with some damage, the admiral did not think fit to venture her for *England*, without being careen'd; and therefore going to *Bantam*, he staid there himself, and sent the *Pepper Corn* to *England*, most of the two fleets having been sent off from *Tecoa* before.

Catain *Dounton* sail'd from *Bantam* *February* 4, 1612-3, and meeting with some of the ships mention'd, at the bay of *Saldania*, went on his voyage some days in their company; but having lost sight of them, and his men being sick and weak, he put in at *Waterford* in *Ireland*, *Sept.* 13, where an officious lieutenant of *Duncanon* fort, getting one to alledge piracy against the captain, procur'd a warrant from the earl of *Ormond*: but the *East India* company being appriz'd of it, soon order'd the matter so that he was releas'd, and arriv'd in the *Thames* the 20th of *October*. What became of Sir *Henry Middleton*, we shall hear in the following section.

SECT. VIII.

The seventh voyage for the East India *company by one ship, the* Globe, *commanded by Capt.* Anthony Hippon.

IN *February*, 1610-11, the *Globe*, commanded by captain *Hippon*, set sail from the *Downs*, and about the 20th of *May* arriv'd at *Saldania* bay, and from thence to the *Indies*, passing the island of *Ceylon* the beginning of *August*, and sailing by *Coromandel* coast they arriv'd at *Poleacat* or *Pellicat* on the east coast of *India* within the *Ganges*, in 14 degrees north latitude. Here they expected to get trade, but the *Dutch* were before-hand with them, and shew'd them a writing, under the hand and seal of the king of *Narsinga*, the sovereign of that country, allowing the sole traffick of that coast to them. Finding no good to be done there, they coasted on to *Petapoli*, or *Petty-Pole*, some two degrees farther north: where having agreed with the governor for one third *per cent.* custom, they landed their goods; but the road being not safe for anchoring, they left two of their number as factors, and went some fifteen leagues farther to *Masulipatan*. There likewise the governor made a bargain for 4 *per cent.* custom; but afterwards alledg'd that he had agreed for 12 *per cent.* and took a new way of proving his assertion, which was, that he being a descendant of their great prophet *Mahomet*, his word ought to be taken before that of a christian. But the *English* were not so godly given in his way, as to be cheated out of their money by the pretended sanctity of his blood, and therefore oblig'd

oblig'd him to ſtand to the true terms of the agreement.

Bantam. Having finiſh'd their buſineſs at *Petapoli* and *Maſulipatan*, they ſail'd for *Bantam*, where they arriv'd in *April*, 1612. Here the governor was ſo unreaſonable in his demand for cuſtom, that the *Dutch* left the place, and went to *Jacatra*, now *Batavia*, in the ſame iſland of *Javan*: notwithſtanding which the *Engliſh* agreed with him for 3 *per cent.* But they did not ſtay long in this place, being deſirous to viſit other parts of the *Indies* not frequented before that time by their countrymen. They ſet ſail therefore northward, between *Malacca* and the iſlands of *Borneo*, along the *Malacca* coaſt, and arriv'd at *Patana* in *June*; and having inquir'd into the genius of the people, and found that they lov'd ſhow and grand appearance, the captain landed with all his people that could be ſpar'd from the ſhip; and having ſignify'd that he had letters to the queen from his ſovereign the king of *Britain*, great preparations were made at court for the receiving of this letter: a large gold baſon was ſent to put it in, and a ſumptuous elephant to carry it, accompany'd with flags and muſick. The preſent was to the value of 600 reals of eight. Altho' they did not ſee the queen, they were nobly entertain'd in her palace, and, which the captain had more at heart, were admitted to have free trade there, upon the ſame terms that any other nation paid. But the rent of their warehouſe was extravagant, being 4000 rials ground rent only, which however they paid in hopes of ſettling a good trade there. But in a little time, they found that the market was over-ſtock'd by the great quantity of goods brought to it by the *Dutch*, the *Portugueſes*, the *Moors*, and *Guzarats*, that there was not vent for half that was brought; and thoſe which were ſold, inſtead of getting 400 *per cent.* as had been made ſome time before, they were fain to take 5 *per cent.* at this time.

They ſail to Patana, *in* Malacca.

Another reaſon of the bad trade at *Patana*, was the war the country was then diſturb'd with, between the kings of *Jor* and *Pahan*, upon the ſame continent: beſides the mortal enmity between the people of *Patana* and the *Japaneſes*, which, in a few years before the time we are now treating of, broke out with ſuch violence, that the people of *Japan* came, at two different times, and ſet *Patana* on fire.

Whilſt they ſtay'd carrying on trade in this place, captain *Hippon* died, and Mr. *Eſſington* taking his place, by a ſeal'd order brought from *England*, the ſhip took a trip to *Siam*, which lies juſt north from *Patana*, about 8 degrees, being about 15 degrees north latitude, whereas *Patana* is in 7. At their arrival in the bay of *Siam*, they ſent notice of their being there to the king, who liv'd at *Siam* about 20 leagues up the river *Menan*. The king ſent two conſiderable men of his court to conduct them to the city, where at their arrival they had an audience of his majeſty; the captain having deliver'd king *James*'s letter and preſent, the king receiv'd them very graciouſly, and readily promis'd all the encouragement they deſir'd as to trade, and order'd a houſe for the captain and his retinue, to which they retir'd. But as there are about moſt, if not all courts, people who under colour of the prince's authority, and in his name, do things which he knows nothing of, ſo the captain found that the king's promiſe was like to be of little uſe to him or his country, unleſs he would bribe half the court, which he ſaw would coſt more money, than, in the ſituation the country was in, at that time, their trade was worth; he therefore deſir'd another audience of the king, and, having obtain'd it, he complain'd of the covetouſneſs and injuſtice of the *Mandarins*, or officers of ſtate, which made the king give ſuch orders, that they inſiſted no longer upon the demands formerly made; ſo that they unladed the ſhip, and brought their goods to their warehouſe.

Where the Engliſh *are well receiv'd.*

The captain goes to Siam.

But the kingdom of *Siam*, as well as the peninſula of *Malacca*, was engag'd in war and confuſion, of which this was the occaſion.

Siam, (which has undergone many revolutions) ſome time before the *Engliſh* came there, had been engag'd in war with the kingdom of *Pegu*. For having been tributary to that king, there were two of the king of *Siam*'s ſons at the court of *Pegu*, when their father died. Theſe making their eſcape to *Siam*, upon the news of the king's death, the king of *Pegu*, enrag'd that they had eſcap'd, and hearing that the eldeſt of them had, without his leave been proclaim'd king of *Siam*, under the name of *Raia Api*, the *fiery*, or (as the *Portugueſes* call'd him) *black* king ſent his ſon with an army againſt him. The black king gave him battle, and overthrew his army, the prince himſelf having been ſlain in the action. This ill ſucceſs, and eſpecially the death of his ſon, ſo incens'd the king of *Pegu*, that in a rage he put to death a great number of his nobility and chief officers, and whole troops of his ſoldiers, without having any cauſe to accuſe them of treachery, which gave ſuch an alarm to his other tributary princes, of whom he had about 20 great and ſmall, that they took this opportunity to throw off the yoke, and declare themſelves

ſelves independent. And had the king of *Siam* purſued his game as he might have done, he might have annex'd *Pegu* to *Siam* inſtead of being tributary to it. But the black king, altho' he carried his army into the other's dominion, only ſhut him up in his capital, and when he was upon the point of ſtarving the beſieg'd, he rais'd the ſiege, and return'd home.

But the king of *Aracan*, whoſe territories were north weſt of his upon the *Bengal* bay, did not part with him ſo eaſily; for, entring *Pegu* with his army, he laid waſte the whole country to the capital, ſo that the unhappy king was forc'd to implore the aſſiſtance of the king of *Tangu*, as a neighbouring vaſſal of his. But it ſeems he truſted to a broken Reed; for he join'd, againſt him, with the king of *Aracan*, and they divided the kingdom of *Pegu* between them; and thus not only rid their own dominions of any ſubjection to *Pegu*, but gave the king of *Siam* an opportunity of aſſerting his independency, which he did not neglect: For this black king ſoon brought other countries under his dominions, having reduc'd *Cambodia*, lying ſouth eaſt from *Siam*, and *Laos* towards the north eaſt, and moſt part of the *Peninſula* of *Malacca* to the ſouth weſt of the bay. So that the kingdom of *Siam* about the year 1600 conſiſted of the kingdoms and provinces on both ſides of *Siam* bay, and as far as the tropic of *Caucer*, between the river of *Pegu* on the weſt, and *Mecan* on the eaſt.

The *black Prince* dying without iſſue, his brother, call'd the *white Prince* ſucceeded him, who had ſeveral ſons; the eldeſt of whom having been murder'd by one of the *Siameſe* nobility, who aſpir'd to the throne upon the white king's *Demiſe*, his next brother being proclaim'd, endeavour'd to revenge his brother's murder; but the aſſaſſin being a powerful man, had occaſion'd a great revolt in ſeveral of the late conquer'd provinces particularly thoſe towards the eaſt; ſo that the king, who was about 24 years of age, was like to be involv'd in a civil war.

This was the ſtate of *Siam* when the *Globe* arriv'd there; ſo that having ſtaid there two months, they concluded to leave a factor to diſpoſe of their goods, and to carry back the ſhip to *Patana*, to winter, which they put in practice, and return to that Place, where the queen was very civil to them. About the middle of *January* they had letters from their factor at *Siam*, with a good account of the ſale of above half their goods, which encouraged them to carry a ſecond cargo thither.

But as if war had been proclaim'd in general thro' the *Eaſt Indies* that year, there was ſcarce any place where *Europeans* traded, but what was infeſted with war. For the *Portugueſe* fell upon the *Dutch* at *Polecat*, took poſſeſſion of their houſe, and kill'd all the people belonging to it. The kings of *Jhor* and *Pahan*, two kingdoms in this peninſula to the ſouth of *Patana*, falling out, made war upon one another. Theſe two kings were aſſiſted by foreign forces; the king of *Jhor* by the *Acheneſe*, and his adverſary by the king of *Borneo*. But there was ſomething in this war very particular, which was that the queen of *Patana* was engag'd againſt the king of *Pahan*, who had married her ſiſter. Not that I think it ſtrange to ſee ſo near relations enemies; but becauſe they had no quarrel except that he would not allow his wife to go to *Patana* to ſee her ſiſter. This quadripartite war was very bloody, the *Acheneſe* purſued the king of *Jhor* with ſuch vigour, that they forced him to leave his kingdom; and the king of *Pahan* was ſo preſt that he was forced to ſubmit himſelf to the queen of *Patana*, and take refuge in her kingdom, where ſhe uſed him civilly.

About this time, *May* 1613, the *Engliſh* had news from *Bantam*, that Sir *Henry Middleton* had died there ſome time before, and that his ſhip was lying in a very bad way as well as the crew, and that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* warehouſes had ſuffered much by fire. They likewiſe had accounts from the *Molucca*'s, that the *Darling* one of Sir *Henry*'s fleet had brought a cargo of cloth to *Macaſſar* in the *Celebes*: And ſoon after the *Globe* return'd a ſecond time from *Siam*. But ſome *Javans* coming to *Patana*, labour'd to practiſe their old trick of ſetting fire to places, that they might get ſome pillage in the confuſion; but the *Engliſh* having knowledge of their practices, were upon their guard, and beat them off.

Sir Hen. Middleton *dies at* Bantam.

Having thus begun a trade both at *Patana* and *Siam*, the captain of the *Globe* and the company reſolve to go to *Maſulipatan*. And therefore ſet ſail the latter end of *October*, and as they came to the ſouth part of *Malacca*, they heard that the king of *Achen* had ſettled a nephew of the old king of *Jor*'s in his throne, and made an alliance with him. About the middle of *December*, they arriv'd at *Maſulipatan*, where they found the *James* ſent from *England* to join them. This ſhip they ſent to *Petapoli* and *Bantam*, and the *Globe* unloaded her cargo at *Maſulipatan*.

Whilſt they were at this place, they had a very civil meſſage from the king of *Narſinga*, excuſing his having formerly refus'd the friendſhip offer'd by the *Engliſh*, and inviting them to trade in his country, promiſing all the privileges they could deſire.

At the ſame time there came accounts from *Siam*, that the king of *Ava*, near *Pegu* river, had taken a fort, ſtanding upon that river, which the king of *Aracan* had given the *Portugueſes* leave to build, for their having ſerv'd him in the war againſt *Pegu*. But they having behav'd with great inſolence, and having ſhew'd ſo great ingratitude to their benefactor, that they took his ſon priſoner, and exacted an exorbitant ranſom for him; this ſo diſoblig'd all the neighbourhood, that the king of *Ava* attack'd them with open force, and having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the fort, put all the garriſon to the ſword. This was as acceptable to thoſe of *Maſulipatan*, as the king of *Narſinga*'s meſſage was to the *Engliſh*, becauſe the *Portugueſes* had as good as cut them out of the *Pegu* trade.

The Portugueſes demoliſh'd at Pegu.

Purſuant to the privileges granted by the king of *Narſinga*, the *Engliſh* went on with their trade; but in the mean time there happen'd a moſt unuſual flood in that country, which laid almoſt the whole country of *Golconda* under water; whole towns were ruin'd by it, and particularly the city of *Golconda*, where 4,000 houſes were waſh'd clean away, and two ſtrong ſtone bridges of 19 and 15 arches broken, and great part of them carry'd away: This flood was ſcarcely abated when the king of *Narſinga* died, which confirm'd the *Indians* in the opinon of the flood's being ominous. But his death was in good earneſt an evil omen to the *Engliſh*; for having thus loſt their friend, the governor of *Maſulipatan* would come to no account with them; and therefore they were forc'd to lay a plot to get juſtice done them, which was this. They came aſhore ſecretly arm'd (becauſe no ſtrangers were allow'd to wear arms) and going to the cuſtom houſe in order to ſeize the governor, they miſs'd of him, but found his ſon there, and as they had before concerted, ſeizing the arms from a ſmall guard he had with him, they ſecur'd his perſon, and before the town could take the alarm, they convey'd him to their boat, and altho' they were purſu'd by many boats from the ſhore, they defended themſelves till they brought him ſafe aboard their ſhip.

A flood at Golconda.

The king of Narſinga *dies.*

The Engliſh *ſeize the governor's ſon, and why.*

Altho' they propos'd to have us'd this young gentleman well, his own ſuperſtition had like to have coſt him his life; for, being by profeſſion a *Braman*, it was not lawful for him to eat any thing that ever had life, nor any thing elſe dreſs'd by other than thoſe of the ſect; ſo that he ſtaid aboard four days without any kind of food. This ſtratagem, however, had the effect they propos'd, for, his father knowing his ſon's ſcruple of conſcience, immediately clear'd all accounts with the merchants, and paid the ballance, that his ſon might get leave to come aſhore to break his faſt. And thus having made an end of all their affairs at *Maſulipatan*, they left it in a friendly manner in *January*, 1614-5, and ſet ſail for *Bantam*, where they found their companions in the *Thomas*, with other *Engliſh* ſhips, and about a month after came captain *David Middleton*; they diſpers'd themſelves to ſeveral different parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, but the *Globe* and *Thomas* ſail'd for *England* one after another; the *Globe* arriv'd ſafe the *January* following, after five months ſail.

They leave Maſulipatan.

SECT. IX.

The eighth voyage for the East India *company, under the command of captain* John Sarris.

IN *April*, 1611, the *Eaſt India* company fitted out the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*, under the command of captain *John Sarris*, to proſecute the trade in the *Indian* ſea.

A long detail of this voyage, from their leaving the *Downs*, *April* 18, to their arrival at *Moyella* in the beginning of *October*, we have deſignedly omitted, becauſe, altho' it might have been of uſe 100 years ago, when *Purchas* writ his *Pilgrim*, our navigators are now too well acquainted with thoſe ſeas to want any inſtructions of that kind; ſo that it would be tedious to the reader to go through a diſagreeable journal of currents, and variations of the compaſs, without any diverting circumſtance during a voyage of ſix months.

Moyella iſland.

October 26, they anchor'd at *Moyella*, between the north end of *Madagaſcar* and the coaſt of *Zanguebar*, ſ. lat. 12 deg. 13 min. where they ſtaid eight days to refreſh themſelves, and had the king of the iſland aboard the *Clove*, at an entertainment; but becauſe it was faſting time with him, he would not eat; however he carry'd the beſt part of the dinner aſhore, to feaſt himſelf and his mother after the ſun ſhould be ſet. This king profeſs'd great kindneſs for the *Engliſh*, and gave the captain a paper written in *Arabic*, declaring his purpoſe of continuing a good correſpondence with him, and all the *Engliſh* nation; and at his deſire, capt. *Sarris* gave him another, written in *Engliſh*, ſhewing the good uſage he had receiv'd from the ſaid king. Here they bought proviſions of all kinds for ſmall haberdaſhery ware, and ſome money: And red caps and crimſon broad cloth were moſt acceptable to them.

Leaving this iſland in the beginning of *November*, they coaſted along towards *Melinda*. They obſerv'd in this courſe a great ſwirl in the ſea, like that about *Lon-*

London bridge, altho' in many places they found no bottom at 100 fathoms. This motion of the ſea is occaſion'd by the currents, which they call *Monſoons*, ſetting to different points of the compaſs at different times.

Theſe monſoons are certain ſtated periodical winds, that blow at certain times of the year, and ceaſe for a ſet time, and then begin to blow again. Others blow one half of the year one way, and the other half from the oppoſite point.* On which Dr. *Halley* has this obſervation, "That as in the *Atlantic*, ſo in the *Indian* ocean, the winds are partly conſtant, and partly periodical; that is, "they blow for ſix months in one point, "and the ſix following in the very oppoſite point. Both theſe points, and the "ſeaſons at which they turn to the oppoſite ſides, differ with the places. "And tho' it be matter of great difficulty to obſerve, how the tracts of the "ſea may be defin'd, when ſubject to "each periodical wind, or monſoons, as "they call them: yet having us'd cloſe "application, I don't ſcruple believing "the following particulars.

1. "Betwixt 10 and 30 degrees of "ſouth latitude, thro' that tract of ſea "bounded by St. *Lawrence*'s iſland and "*New Holland*, the ſouth-eaſt wind "blows all the year; yet ſo as to be "ſomewhat nearer the eaſt than ſouth; "juſt as about the ſame latitude in the "*Atlantic* ſea.

2. "That ſouth-eaſt winds blow from "*May* to *November*, to the 2d degree "from the equator; in which month of "*November*, between the 3d and 10th "degrees of ſouth latitude, near that "meridian which paſſes thro' the northern "part of St. *Lawrence*'s iſland, as alſo "between the 2d and 12th degrees about "*Sumatra* and *Java*, ariſes a wind contrary to the former, *viz.* the north-weſt, which reigns the other ſix months, "*viz.* from *November* to *May*. This "motion of winds is found to extend to "the *Molucca* iſlands.

3. "Northward from the 3d degree of "ſouth latitude, in all the *Arabian* or "*Indian* ſea, and in the bay of *Bengal*, "from *Sumatra* as far as the ſhore of "*Africa*, is obſerv'd a motion differing "from the former, breathing from the "north-eaſt climates from *October* to "*April*; which, for the next ſix months, "riſes from the oppoſite or ſouth-weſt "points. Then it breathes more violently, and brings clouds and rain: but "upon the blowing of the north-eaſt "wind, the Heavens become ſerene. "But it is to be obſerv'd, that, in the "bay of *Bengal*, the winds keep neither "their force, nor their points with the "ſame conſtancy, as in the *Indian* ſea. "Alſo the ſouth-weſt winds, near the "*African* ſhore, decline more ſouthwards; near *India*, more weſtward.

4. "On the ſouth of the equator, that "tract of ſea which lies between *Africa* "and *St. Lawrence*'s iſland, and which "goes as far as the equator, ſeems to appertain to the motion of winds juſt now "laid down. For, in theſe places, the "ſouth-weſt wind blows from *October* to "*April*, ſomewhat nearer the ſouth; but "ſuch as ſail to the north, find it decline "towards the weſt, which at length coincides with the periodical ſouth-weſt "wind, which they ſay blows, at that "ſeaſon of the year, from the north ſide "of the equator. But what winds, during the reſt of the year, reign in that "ſea, I can't ſufficiently determine, becauſe our ſailors, in their return from "*India*, ſteer their courſe beyond *St.* "*Lawrence*. This only I could learn, "that the wind for the moſt part comes "from the eaſtern points, ſomewhat declining to the north, and at other times "to the ſouth.

5. "On the eaſt of *Sumatra*, and north "of the equator, as alſo on the coaſts of "*Cambaia* and *China*, the periodical "north-eaſt winds come nearer to north, "as do the ſouth-weſt winds to ſouth. "And this is obſerv'd to hold till you paſs "the *Philippine* iſlands on the eaſt, and "as far as *Java* towards the north. In "the month of *October* or *November* a "northerly gale ariſes, and in *May* a "ſoutherly, which continues from that "time, during the whole ſummer. But "it is to be mark'd, that the points of "the winds are not ſo ſteadily fix'd in thoſe "parts, as they are in other ſeas, ſo that "ſometimes the ſouth winds deline a point "or two towards the eaſt, as the northern "do towards the weſt; which ſeems to "take its riſe from the bulk of the lands, "that are every where interpos'd in this "ſea.

6. "About the ſame longitude on the "ſouth of the equator, *viz.* in the intermediate ſpace between *Sumatra* and "*Java*, lying to the weſt, and *New* "*Guinea* to the eaſt, nearly the ſame "periodical winds blow from the north "or ſouth; but ſo, that the north winds "incline to the weſt, and the ſouth to the "eaſt. And theſe blow with the ſame "inconſtancy, and ſhifting of the point, "as thoſe of the quarter above-mention'd: "But the motions begin four or ſix weeks "later than in that ſea.

7. "The change of theſe motions does "not happen ſuddenly, or at once; but "in ſome places there are calms, and in "other changeable winds. And often on "the ſhore of *Carmandel*, towards the "end

* *See note* (u) *in* Varenius's Geogr. p. 492.

Dr. Halley's *account of monſoons in the* Indian *ſea.*

" end of the accidental motion; and the " two last months there arise furious tempests in the *Chinese* sea, with the periodical wind at south.

" All navigation is regulated according " to these winds. For, if sailors should " delay the season till the contrary motion begins, they must either sail back, " or go into harbour, and wait for the " return of the trade wind. ——

" These trade winds extend not to above 30 degrees on both sides of the " equator. ——

The same author, Dr. *Halley*, offers the following account of the reason of these trade winds, in these words: *

* Ubi supra, *p.* 495.

" For solving these problems, I offer " the following particulars to the consideration of the learned.

" Wind is properly defin'd a current or " motion of the air, which, if constant " or perpetual, must have a permanent " or constant cause. Some imagine this " cause to be *the constant revolution of* " *the earth about its own axis.* This " might perhaps be allow'd, if almost " perpetual calms were not found in the " *Atlantic* ocean near the equator; and " also west winds upon the coast of *Guinea*, and western trade winds in the " *Indian* ocean, under the equator. Besides, the air being a ponderous or gravitating body, it will require the same " velocity as the earth; and as it rolls " along therewith in the *annual* motion, " it will seem more to do it in the *diurnal*, which is not above a 30th so swift " as the other. So that some other cause " must be sought for.

The reason of the Monsoons.

" The true cause we judge to be, the " sun continually permeating the ocean, " with the addition of the nature of the " soil and adjacent country. For,

" By the known laws of hydrostatics, " that part of the air, which is most rarify'd by heat, is the lightest, and consequently the others tend towards it, " till an *æquilibrium* be obtain'd. But " as the sun continually moves towards " the west, it is manifest that the air, " most heated by its direct rays, must " thus move the same way, and therefore " the whole mass of the lower air. By " this means there is produc'd a general " east wind, which putting all the parts " of the air, resting upon the vast ocean, " in motion, they all keep their own " motion till the sun returns, whence the " east wind becomes perpetual.

" And hence it follows, that the wind " on the north or south side of the equator ought to incline towards the north " or south. For as the air near the equator receives the sun's rays perpendicularly twice every year, and never more " inclin'd than 30 degrees, it must of " course be greatly rarify'd by so great a " heat. Near the tropics also the sun is " vertical for a considerable time; but " as it is distant therefrom 47 degrees for " no less time, the air hence becomes so " cold, that it cannot afterwards be " brought to the same degree of heat " which it receives under the line. Whence " the air being less rarify'd on both sides " of the equator, flows to the middle. " And this motion being compounded " with the east wind above mention'd, " explains all the phænomina of the general winds; which, if the surface of " the earth was every where cover'd with " sea, would blow with the same constancy they do in the *Atlantic* and *Ethiopic* oceans.

" But as the ocean is interrupted with " such large tracts of land, regard must " be had to the nature of the soil, and " the position of high mountains: to " which two causes, the changes of the " wind seem principally assignable. For " when a country lying near the equator " is low and sandy, the heat of the sun, " reflected by the sand, is so great as to be " almost incredible. And thus the air of " this place being highly rarify'd, the " denser parts of the air will necessarily " move thither to restore the *æquilibrium*. " Whence I judge, that, near the coast " of *Guinea*, the wind constantly blows " to the land; as it is exceeding probable that the inner parts of *Africa* are " violently heated, since even the most " northern parts thereof, by reason of " their heat, made the ancients believe " all the parts between the tropics uninhabitable.

" And hence we may explain the frequent calms above mention'd. For as " that part of the *Atlantic* lies between " the west winds perceiv'd near *Guinea*, " and the constant east wind that blows " in the parts somewhat more to the west, " the air thereon giving way to neither " of these contrary winds, keeps its place " and makes a calm. And the air not " able to support the vapours here plentifully rais'd by the heat, as being more " light and rarify'd, the opposite winds " frequently cause the rains to fall " heavy.

" And hence it appears, that the part " of the air rarify'd by heat, being constantly compress'd on all sides, by the " colder and denser air that surrounds it, " must be continually driven upwards, as " it were like a vapour, and be every " way equally dispers'd to maintain the " *æquilibrium*; so that the upper course " or motion of the air shall be contrary " to the under. And thus, as it were " by a circular motion, the constant winds " that blow near the earth, produce ano-

" ther

" ther wind that blows a contrary way " in the upper regions of the air. And " this conjecture is alſo, in part, confirm'd " by experience; for, when ſailors are " got without the limits of the trade " winds, they immediately find a wind " blowing from the oppoſite quarter. And " hence alſo we may eaſily explain the " phœnomena of periodical winds, or the " return of the *Monſoons*, which, as it " ſcarce admits of any other ſolution, ſo " it conſiderably confirms our hypotheſis " of the circular motion of the air.

" For, ſuppoſing this circular motion " of the winds, we muſt obſerve that the " northern part of the *Indian* ocean is " every where interſpers'd with land, " running out within the limits of the " periodical winds, *viz.* *Arabia*, *Perſia*, " *India*, &c. which countries, at the " time the ſun is in the northern ecliptic " ſigns, ſuffer the ſame heat we above " mentioned of the inner parts of *Africa*; " but, when the ſun declines to the ſouth, " they enjoy a temperate air. But this " is owing to the long ridges of moun- " tains, whoſe tops being generally co- " ver'd with ſnow in the winter, this " greatly cools the air. For this reaſon, " the general north-eaſt wind blowing in " the *Indian* ſea, is, at one time of the " year, hotter, at another, colder than " the wind carried circularly from the " ſouth weſt, which is the hotteſt of theſe " contrary winds, when it blows through " the upper regions of the air: it fol- " lows, that the under courſe of the air " one while moves from the north eaſt, " another from the ſouth weſt, from the " latter in the ſummer, and from the for- " mer in winter.

" From the ſame cauſe it ſeems to pro- " ceed, that the north weſt wind ſucceeds " the ſouth eaſt, in a certain tract of the " *Indian* ocean, lying without the equi- " noctial, at the time that the ſun ap- " proaches the tropic of *Capricorn*.

" But here we muſt not conceal, that " there is a great difficulty in explaining " the reaſon, why, in the ſame latitude " of the *Indian* ocean, thoſe winds are " found, there is a perpetual eaſt wind in " the *Atlantic* without any variation at " all.

" It is alſo very difficult to explain, " why the limits of the conſtant winds " ſcarce reach beyond 30 degrees of lati- " tude; as alſo, why *Monſoons* are found " only in the northern parts of the *In-* " *dian* ocean, whilſt in the ſouth part, " the north eaſt wind perpetually reigns.

I choſe to inſert theſe obſervations of Dr. *Halley*'s in this place, becauſe there being ſo often mention made of the *Monſoons* in the voyages to the *Indies*, I thought it proper to explain them as far as I could. But to return to capt. *Sarris*.

Captain Sarris *arrives at* Moka.

The captain, having received the letter which Sir *Henry Middleton* had left with the king of *Zocotara*, warning all his countrymen againſt going to the *Red Sea*, call'd a council aboard, to conſult what was to be done; and it was agreed, that their having the Grand Signior's paſs, would ſcreen them from any ill uſage they might fear from the *Turks*, and therefore they ſhould ſail for *Aden* or *Moka*, which they accordingly did upon the firſt of *March*, and in twenty days arriv'd at *Moka*. As ſoon as they enter'd the bay, there came a meſſage from the *Aga* to know who they were, and their buſineſs. The captain return'd for anſwer, that they were *Engliſh*, and had the Grand Signior's paſs, which he would bring aſhore and ſhew to the governor if he would ſend hoſtages for his ſecurity, but after the treatment his countrymen had receiv'd from *Regib Aga*, he would not truſt himſelf aſhore without ſufficient ſecurity.

The *Aga* writ him a civil letter, and offer'd him all liberty of trade, and ſent ſufficient hoſtages. Upon this the ſhips approach'd nearer to the town, and ſaluted it according to cuſtom, and had that ſalute return'd by the caſtle and two frigates lying there. And as ſoon as the hoſtages were come aboard, the commodore went aſhore, and had an audience of the *Aga*, where ſhewing his paſs, he was kindly entertain'd, and promis'd all ſort of good uſage; but as the *Aga* could not allow him to trade of his own head without the Baſhaw of *Zenan*'s orders, he only told him he would diſpatch a courier to him; ſo that the commodore went aboard again, and kept ſtill the ſame caution, for fear of the fate of Sir *Henry Middleton*.

Sir H. Middleton *arrives there.* *See* Voyage VI.

Several meſſages paſt between him and the *Aga*, but before any thing material was done, Sir *Henry* arriv'd in the ſtreights, as was related in the laſt ſections, which occaſion'd an interruption of capt. *Sarris*'s commerce, and made him leave *Moka* with his three ſhips, as we ſaid before. And therefore to avoid repetitions, becauſe this voyage, in a great part of it is blended with the two laſt, we ſhall proceed to capt. *Sarris*'s parting with Sir *Henry Middleton*.

Captain Sarris *ſails for* Japan.

The 14th of *January* 1612-3, they weigh'd anchor from the road of *Bantam* on board the *Clove*, and ſailing eaſtward along the coaſt of *Java*, came aground upon a ſhallow, where they ſtuck three hours, but by good providence got the ſhip off, but with ſuch damage, that it was as much as they could all do to pump the ſhip, till the carpenter found out the leak, and ſtopt it. The 31ſt of

January they ſaw the *Celebes*, and the 7th of *February* came up with *Botun* or *Bouton*, an iſland on the ſouth eaſt of *Celebes*; and ſo, in a north courſe by the *Molucca* iſlands, where, at that time the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*, domineer'd, by turns, over the poor natives, and ſet them together by the ears, that they might come in for the ſpoil of both contending parties. As the captain paſs'd by the *Moluccas*, he had compliments ſent him from the kings of *Bachan* and *Ternate*, and private Intimation that they wiſh'd the *Engliſh* were ſettled in thoſe iſlands inſtead of the *Dutch*; but withal telling them that they were ſo overaw'd by theſe, that they durſt not trade with thoſe as they deſir'd. And indeed at one of thoſe iſlands, ſome *Dutch* going aboard their ſhip, deſir'd to know who had piloted them thro' the multitude of iſles in that ſea, and finding ſome of the natives aboard, threaten'd them with death if they came to have any communication with the *Engliſh*: and at the ſame time telling the *Engliſh*, that they had conquer'd that country, and no body ſhould trade there but ſuch as they pleas'd. The captain very calmly told them, they might go back to their fort, and tell their commander, that as the *Engliſh* look'd upon the *Hollanders* as their neighbours, he ſhould be glad to give them any thing he had in his ſhip that could be ſerviceable to them, at reaſonable rates, but if they pretended a property in the *Molucca* iſles, and offer'd to preſcribe rules to him about trading with the natives, he ſhould take no advice nor direction from them, but would ride where he pleas'd, and traffick with any natives that pleas'd to come aboard him. And that very day they bought a good quantity of cloves for *Cambaia* cloth, and ſome ready money.

The Dutch behave haughtily

Soon after, two *Dutchmen* went aboard again, and began to take the names of the natives whom they found in the ſhip; but capt. *Sarris* order'd his boatſwain to turn them out, and to tell them he would throw them, or any of their countrymen, over-board, that came aboard him again with any ſuch intention. But the *Dutch* having ſent for two large ſhips to anchor near the *Clove*, upon their arrival, the natives were afraid to come near the *Engliſh*, becauſe the *Dutch* aſhore had ſcoffingly told them, that upon the coming of thoſe *Hollanders* they ſhould ſee the *Engliſh* ſteal away.

But when they perceiv'd that captain *Sarris* did not change his ſtation, altho' one of the *Dutch*, a ſhip of 30 guns caſt anchor cloſe by him, the king of *Ternate*'s ſon went aboard the *Clove*, where the captain gave him a handſome entertainment, and made him a genteel preſent; which he was pleas'd with, and promis'd to trade with him.

In the mean time the *Dutch* came along ſide the *Clove* in their boats, bantering the *Engliſh*, and ſinging ſongs made in ridicule of them; but the captain ordering out his pinnace well arm'd, ſhe run againſt one of their boats, in which were two *Dutch* captains, with ſuch violence, that they overſet her, and they had all periſh'd if they had not been reliev'd by their companions. The *Engliſh* told them, that they had only ſhew'd them a taſte of *Engliſh* art, to teach them manners, but aſſur'd them, if they return'd to inſult them any more, they would treat them in another kind. So the *Dutch* were glad to get off, promiſing more civil behaviour for the future. *but are decently rebuk'd.*

The next day ſome *Dutch* merchants went aboard captain *Sarris*, carrying a writing from their deputy-governor, importing that they had made a bargain with all the kings and governors of the *Molucca* iſlands; and that the natives ow'd them money, and therefore could not trade with any other nation till they were clear'd. The captain return'd for anſwer, that he ſhould give himſelf no trouble in meddling with their affairs, nor force any one that was unwilling to trade with him; but he expected that they, on the other hand, ſhould not meddle with his, nor hinder ſuch of the natives as were willing to traffick with him.

But having ſtaid 19 days in this bay of *Pelabry*, and finding that the iſlanders, altho' better inclin'd to the *Engliſh* than to the *Dutch*, were yet over-aw'd by the latter; the captain having ſhew'd by his riding there ſo long, that he was not afraid of them, weigh'd anchor the 5th of *April*, to purſue his voyage. Coming up with *Tidore* on the eaſt ſide, the *Spaniſh* fort fir'd a gun deſignedly ſhort of them, which the *Clove* return'd by firing another on the oppoſite ſide; but as the *Spaniards* ſaw that they did not come to, they fir'd two guns, which ſent their balls between their maſts, one before and the other be-aft. But the *Clove* firing only a blunt ſhot, there went a boat from the ſhore, which coming up to the ſhip, deſir'd to know who they were: and being anſwer'd, that they were *Engliſh* and friends to the king of *Spain*; the *Spaniards* ſaid, they had been impos'd upon before by the *Dutch* under *Engliſh* colours, and the governor's miſtaking them for *Hollanders* was the reaſon of his firing ſharp upon them. Theſe meſſengers refuſing to go aboard, the captain order'd wine to be handed to them, bidding them tell their governor that he would anchor in that bay, and ſhould be glad to have him aboard his ſhip. And ſo the *Spaniards* *They ſail for Tidore.*

ards going aſhore, he came to an anchor, where civilities paſs'd between him and the governor, till the latter could have orders from the commander in chief, whom they call'd *Maeſtro del Campo*, at *Ternate*.

Whilſt they ſtaid here, the prince of this iſland return'd victorious from an expedition with the heads of 100 *Ternatans*; the chief of whom was that of the prince of *Ternate*, who had been aboard captain *Sarris* at *Pelabry*, and had afterwards been almoſt forced out by the *Dutch*, to hinder the neighbouring iſlands to trade with the *Engliſh*. His being aboard, and the manner of it, having been told to the prince of *Tidore*, this warlike youth went out with equal force to his, and lying in ambuſcade for him behind a little iſland, put the *Ternatans* all to the ſword, and brought their heads in triumph to *Tidore*, according to their cuſtom; where the conqueror made a preſent to his wife of the head of the conquer'd prince, who was her brother. The occaſion of the overthrow of this poor prince ſo eaſily, was the blowing up of a barrel of powder which he had bought from the *Engliſh*.

The *Dutch* had agreed with moſt of the inhabitants of the *Molucca* iſlands, who were not under the influence of the *Spaniards*, to have their cloves at 50 Rials of eight for every *Bahar*, (the Bahar weighing 662 pounds eight ounces *Haverdupois*) but capt. *Sarris* paying 60 Rials for it, if it had not been for the apprehenſion the natives were under of the *Dutch* cruelty, the captain would ſoon have loaded his ſhip.

The ſtate of the Molucca iſlands when captain Sarris was there

Theſe *Molucca* iſlands had been at firſt engroſs'd by the *Portugueſes*, and they had domineer'd over the natives, without taking part in their national quarrels, altho' they fomented them: ſo that the whole ſpice trade was in the *Portugueſe* hands from the time of their firſt going thither, till 1605, that the *Dutch* beat them out of it; but they kept it not long, for the year following, the *Spaniards*, who were in poſſeſſion of the *Philippine* iſles, came from thence, and by a ſuperior force diſpoſſeſs'd the *Dutch*, and got *Ternate* and *Tidore* (whoſe kings were either poſſeſſors or ſovereigns of all the reſt) into their power. And from that time to the year 1613, when capt. *Sarris* was there, there had been conſtant ſtruggles between them for the ſpice iſlands. And at that time the *Dutch* had nine forts in the *Molucca's*, viz. three upon *Ternate*, which were, *Malagu*, *Teleuco* and *Tocome*; that of *Morrico* upon *Tidore*; upon *Machian* three, viz. *Tafaſſa*, *Nofakia*, and *Tobala*: (and the cloves of this iſland being the beſt in the *Molucca's*, there were 120 *Dutch* ſoldiers in garriſon there) upon the iſland of *Bachian*, one large fort; and upon *Meteer* another. All the iſlands together were computed to yield 3975 Bahars of cloves one year with another, which amount to 131,671 tuns and 4 5ths. But by the wars between the kings of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, the cloves were often left to rot upon the ground, for want of being gather'd.

He arrives at Japan.

Captain *Sarris* finding trade grow dead in the *Molucca's*, proceeded in his voyage to *Japan*, and, without any thing remarkable, came to an anchor near *Firando*, an iſland on the weſt of *Ximo* or *Bongo*, belonging to the iſland of *Japan*, and ſubject to that emperor, but govern'd by a tributary king. The tide being ſpent, he could not reach the town, but anchor'd a league from it, where he was viſited by the old king *Foine Sama*, and his nephew *Tono Sama*. As ſoon as they drew towards the ſhip, the king made a ſignal be given to all the galleys, (which were about 40) to ſtop, and only his and his nephew's advanced, and went aboard. They were clad in ſilk gowns ty'd about them with a linnen ſaſh, with two *Cattans* or ſwords each of them; the one of two foot long, the other one. The fore part of their hair was ſhav'd cloſe, and the reſt, which was very long, was ty'd in a knot behind, without either cap or turbant.

The king of Firando goes aboard.

As ſoon as they went aboard, and ſaw the captain, they put off their ſhoes, (they uſe no ſtockings) and putting their hands one within the other, they put them as low as their knees, and moved their bodies to and fro a little, and ſo ſtepping gently aſide they cry *Augh, augh*. When the captain had ſaluted the king after the *Engliſh* manner, he carry'd them into his cabin, and there entertain'd them, his muſick playing all the while, which his new gueſts were exceedingly pleas'd with. But that which pleas'd the old king beſt, was king *James*'s letter to him, which he took with great reſpect, ſaying he would not open it till his *Ange* came; that is, his pilot, which they afterwards found was one *William Adams* an *Engliſhman*, who having come out of the ſouth ſea with a *Dutch* ſhip, had been left in that country, and had been preſented to the emperor twelve years before; and was ſoon expected at *Firando*. As ſoon as the king was gone aboard his galley, the nobility who were in the other galleys, came aboard the ſhip with preſents of different kinds: but they ſtaid ſo long, that the commodore thought fit to ſend to the king that he would order them to go aſhore, which he immediately did. The next day there came about 60 large boats like galleys, well mann'd, and ſur-

ſurrounded the ſhip, which gave the captain ſome uneaſineſs; and therefore he bade them ſtop; but the king, who was there himſelf, went aboard, and told him that thoſe boats were come to tow him about a cape becauſe of the current; and indeed he found how neceſſary they were, for the ſhip had been forced aſhore upon the rocks but for their help; but with that aſſiſtance he got into a very ſafe riding, where they could converſe out of the ſhip with people who were aſhore.

Miſtaken devotion. Here the captain tells an unlucky ſtory of ſome of the better ſort of women who came aboard out of curioſity to ſee the ſhip, that upon going into the cabin they miſtook a picture of *Venus* and *Cupid* for others of a different kind, and fell down to worſhip them, telling the *Engliſh* in ſecret that they were chriſtians. But thoſe ladies muſt have miſunderſtood their Jeſuit-maſters, if they could not diſtinguiſh between the modeſt reſerv'd mien and dreſs always preſerv'd in the pictures of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, and the gay repreſentations of the *Paphian Goddeſs*.

The old king went frequently aboard the ſhip, and carry'd ſome of his women along with him, for he was ſerv'd at table by women, and women danc'd and ſung whilſt he din'd or ſupp'd. They had good faces, but too much upon the pale, which they ſought to mend by art; they were low of ſtature, inclining to be fat, but had handſome hands and feet, and were courteous in their behaviour. The inſtrument of muſick they play'd upon reſembled a lute, only it had no more than four ſtrings of guts, and was ſtruck with ivory, inſtead of the fingers of the right hand, and they likewiſe had their muſick ſet, in ſpace and line, like ours.

The captain going aſhore, made his preſent to the king, and was entertain'd by him, and as a part of the feaſt the king call'd for the ſtanding cup, (which the captain had given him among other things) containing a pint and a half, and making it be fill'd with arrack, his majeſty drank it off to the king of *Britain*'s health, and was pledg'd by the captain and the chief merchant and the nobility of *Firando*; and captain *Sarris*'s attendants in the next room, had it ſent to them by the ſecretary, who was charg'd to ſee the health go round.

Strolling players. The next time the king went aboard, he carry'd with him a ſet of women who act parts in comedies, and paſs from iſland to iſland, as our ſtrollers do from one town to another. Theſe ladies are, as it were, the ſlaves of one man who carries them about, and lets them out at a certain price, and if he exacts more, it is death: nor can he riſe in his demand for the ſame woman from what ſhe has once been let at. And the greateſt nobility as they travel ſend for thoſe panders, to their inn, and bargain for the wenches, for ſuch a time as they are to ſtay, to ſerve them at table, or elſewhere as they think fit; *which, however unlawful, is not ſo bad as debauching other mens wives and daughters, who have ſome reputation to guard, and honour to loſe.*

The captain had hir'd a houſe for himſelf in *Firando*, and another for a warehouſe, and was kindly us'd by the king. But he obſerv'd that the ſtrollers repreſented the *Engliſh* as pirates, and acted their taking ſhips, and had ſongs made upon them; which, upon inquiry, he found to have taken riſe from two cauſes, *viz.* the miſrepreſentations of the *Portugueſe* Jeſuits; and the *Dutch* giving themſelves the name of *Engliſh* in *Japan*, as they had likewiſe done in other *Indian* countries.

But as this place was tributary to the Great Emperor of *Japan* or *Niphon*, and that the captain had letters and a preſent to him, he deſir'd to go to his court, and having ſignified his deſire to king *Foine*, he prepar'd a galley and all other neceſſaries for him, and people to carry his preſent after he ſhould be oblig'd to make the journey by land. This the captain was the more prompted to undertake, by the account which Mr. *Adams* lately arriv'd gave him of the inclinations of the *Japaneſe* for traffick.

Therefore having left his ſhip under the maſter's care, and his own houſe and warehouſe in charge with the cape merchant, he ſet out, the beginning of *Auguſt*, with ten *Engliſh* and nine hir'd ſervants for his own retinue, on board a galley of 20 oars on a ſide, having 60 ſeamen aboard. They paſs'd by a number of iſlands, well inhabited, and the towns well built, eſpecially one call'd *Fuccate*, where there was a ſtrong caſtle built of ſtone, but no ordnance in it. The ſtrength of it conſiſted in a ditch about 10 fathom broad, and 5 deep, and with a draw-bridge over it. The town is as big as *London* within the walls, well built, and the ſtreets ſo ſtrait, that one could ſee from one end of the town to the other. After they paſs'd *Fuccate*, they enter'd the ſtreights which *Sarris* calls *Xeminaſeque*, between *Japan* and *Bongo*, and the 27th of *Auguſt* they arriv'd at *Oſaca*, which ſtands upon the bank of a river; but their galley could not get nearer it than ſix miles, ſo that the captain and his retinue were oblig'd to go aboard a ſmaller veſſel, which was tow'd up the river by men at land, as the weſt country barges are up the *Thames*; and this river is as broad as the *Thames* at *London*, having ſeveral bridges over it. In this

city

city there is a ſtrong caſtle wall'd round with a wall ſix or ſeven yards thick, all of ſtone quite through, and the ſtones ſo large and ſo exactly cut, that they lie cloſe together without cement.

The ſtory of the uſurper of Japan.

In this caſtle the true heir of the empire of *Japan* was kept priſoner, whoſe ſtory was very remarkable, and perhaps known to every body in *Japan* except himſelf. He was lawful ſon to *Tiquaſamma*, the late emperor, who dying when he was an infant, left him under the care of four of the principal men of the empire, till he ſhould be of age, *Ogoſhoſamma* being chief of the four. The other three being men of immoderate ambition, each of them contriv'd to get the power into their hands, but probably being in no concert with one another, *Ogoſhoſamma*, diſcovering their ſeveral intrigues, attack'd them before they had brought their plot to bear, and defeated them with all the forces they had rais'd; two of them were ſlain, and the third left the kingdom. This ſucceſs chang'd the conqueror's mind, in ſuch a manner, that altho' it was ſaid he had no thoughts of uſurping the crown before (perhaps becauſe he thought it impracticable) he now ſet up for ſovereignty, and got himſelf proclaim'd king. Indeed, in one reſpect, he was to be commended, in having made no attempt upon the life of the injur'd young prince, nor did he baniſh him the kingdom, or force him to be oblig'd to foreigners for bread, but kept him as a prince, with all the ſtate and dignity belonging to him as ſuch. And to prevent any attempt he might make to recover his right, he bred him up in intire ignorance of his own birth, making him paſs for his own ſon, and confining him to this caſtle under colour of his education, letting no body go near him but his own creatures; and when he was grown up, he gave him his daughter to wife. *A rare piece of civility in a* USURPER.

On the other ſide of the river from *Oſaca* ſtands the town of *Sacay*, a place of great trade for all the iſlands ſubject to *Japan*.

Captain *Sarris* having ſtaid ſome little time in this river, ſet out again the 28th of *Auguſt*, and coaſting along arriv'd the next day at *Fuſhimi*, where there is a garriſon of 3000 men, which is chang'd every three years, and happen'd to be chang'd whilſt he was there. And there being ſomething odd in their way of marching, he gives a deſcription of it, the ſubſtance of which we ſhall give the reader in a few words.

The oderr of marching ſoldiers in Japan.

The old garriſon march'd out five in a rank, with a captain to every ten files. The firſt companies who march'd wore fire arms, which he calls calievers, in contradiſtinction to muſquets; after thoſe came pike-men; next thoſe who were arm'd only with ſwords and targets; then archers, and after them the *Waggadaſhes*, or people arm'd with bill-hooks. But they had neither colours, nor drums, nor any ſort of warlike muſick. The firſt file of the ſword or cattan-men had ſilver ſcabbards, and the laſt, who march'd before their captain, had their ſcabbards of gold. Some of the companies conſiſted of 500, ſome of 300, and others of 150. In the middle of every company were three horſes richly cappariſon'd, each of which was attended by three ſlaves. And after every company, beſides the captains of fifty, there was one ſuperiour officer, who was captain of the whole company, that follow'd in a very particular manner on horſe back, ſitting above his tent and baggage as women do upon loaded panniers, with his legs upon the horſe's neck. The captain general of the garriſon march'd in the rear of all, and as if he had not been concern'd with them, diverted himſelf with hawking and hunting by the way. As theſe were march'd out of the town, the new garriſon enter'd it in the ſame order. And both the one and the other were under ſuch diſcipline, that the whole country through which they march'd were pleas'd with them, for there was no diſorder committed, nor any thing taken by the ſoldiers without paying for.

From this town captain *Sarris* ſet out, with his retinue, by land, for *Suringa*, having horſes brought at the emperor's charge for them all, and, according to the cuſtom of the country, a ſlave run before him with a pike in his hand, which was a badge of authority there. The road to *Suringa* was very plain, being cut thro' any hills that were in the way, and divided into leagues, and a couple of pine trees ſet up, one upon each ſide of the road as the end of every league. But when they came near the capital they were diſguſted with the ſight of a multitude of croſſes ſet up all along the road, having bodies fix'd to them, (crucifixion being the ordinary puniſhment for malefactors in *Japan*); and ſome of thoſe bodies ſlaſh'd and mangled for a trial of the goodneſs of their cattans.

Suringa the place of the emperor's reſidence.

They arriv'd at *Suringa* the ſixth of *September*; it was as large a city as *London* was in thoſe days, and what was moſt remarkable at their firſt going thither was, that all artificers or handy-craft-men were confin'd to the ſuburbs of the town, becauſe the better ſort who liv'd in the body of the city would not bear their noiſe.

After the *Engliſh* had ſtaid there two days, the captain was allow'd an audience of the emperor, to which he was

carried in great ſtate. The palace was in the citadel, where they paſt three draw bridges, at each of which there was a guard, and upon the top of a ſtately ſtair, the captain was received by the ſecretary of ſtate and the admiral, and by them conducted to the emperor's appartment. In the chamber of preſence, he made a bow to the chair of ſtate; at the deſire of his guides: It was about four foot high, of cloth of gold, the back and ſides richly adorn'd, but without a canopy. From that room they went back to another, where they had been before, and ſate down croſs'd legg'd upon the mats, and ſtayed till word was brought that the emperor was come forth. The two courtiours led the captain to the door, where they put him in, but they themſelves did not ſo much as look in. The preſents ſent by the king, and thoſe which the captain gave of his own, were ſet in order before his imperial majeſty appear'd.

Capt. Sarris has an Audience of the Emperor.

As ſoon as the captain enter'd the room, he made his reverence after the *Engliſh* manner, and advancing towards the emperor gave him king *James*'s letter; He took it, and put it to his forehead, and bid his interpreter tell Mr. *Adams* to bid the captain welcome in his name, and deſire him go home to his lodging and repoſe after his tedious journey, and in the mean time he would conſider the king his maſter's letter, and give him an anſwer to it. After which the captain retir'd, and was conducted by his two officers before nam'd, from the door of the preſence chamber, where they waited for him, to the top of the ſtair where they had firſt met him.

After a few days he obtain'd of the emperor all that he deſir'd in reference to a free trade, one article only excepted, which was, liberty to take any of the *Chineſe* ſhips and bring them into *Japan*, becauſe they had refus'd to trade with the *Engliſh*. For altho' in his firſt conference with the emperor, he had agreed to this article as well as others, yet upon applipication made by the agent of *China*, then at Court, he refus'd to grant that priviledge; ſo the captain was oblig'd to reſt ſatisfy'd without it, having obtain'd others very beneficial to the *Engliſh* company, as we ſhall ſhew by and by.

He goes to Eddo *or* Jeddo.

The emperor deſir'd the captain to take a progreſs to *Eddo* a large city, ſome 40 or 50 leagues north of *Suringa*, to viſit his ſon, whom they call'd the young king, altho' he was 42 years of age. The captain perform'd the journey, the emperor having furniſh'd him in all neceſſaries, and arrived at the place, which he found in all reſpects better than *Suringa*, and where the prince lived every way more magnificiently than his father: Whether it was the emperor's inclination that he ſhould be ſerv'd in ſuch ſtate to pleaſe him with that outward decorum to prevent his aſpiring at the empire; or if it was the prince's own temper that made him fond of making ſuch a figure we are not told; but when the captain was introduc'd to his preſence, it was with no leſs ceremony than what paſs'd at *Suringa*, and the guards were rather more numerous, and every thing more ſplendid. But as this was only a viſit of ceremony to pleaſe the emperor and ſhew reſpect to his Family, he made no ſtay in *Eddo*, but return'd to *Suringa*.

The Idol Dabis.

The moſt remarkable thing he ſaw in this expedition, was a famous idol, ca'd *Dabis*, made of copper, of a coloſſean ſize, being 22 foot hig, altho' the attitude was kneeling on the ground with the buttocks reſting upon his heels, and his hands ſtretch'd out. This image is much reverenced by travellers, eſpecially by ſuch as go a pilgrimage for devotion to a famous temple dedicated to *Tencheday*, one of their deities to whom the people of *Japan* pay a profound reſpect. Mr. *Adams*, who, as we obſerv'd before, had been 12 years in the country, told the captain that every month there was a new virgin ſent to this temple, for the ſervice of this deity, who, as they reported, came to her, at ſet times, in a human ſhape, and after honouring her with his embraces, ſhe was enabled to give oracles, as the *Bonzi* or *Prieſts*, under whoſe direction ſhe was during her month directed, but what become of her after that, no body could tell. We leave others to conjecture what kind of deity thoſe virgins were entertain'd by, nor is it hard to conclude that the Oracles ſhe gave were indeed reveal'd to her by the ſame divinity, ſuch as it was, with whom ſhe was ſo familiar for a Month.

A virgin brought once a Month to their Idol.

After the captain and his company had been civilly entertain'd by the young king, they return'd to *Suringa*, where in a ſhort time, the emperor's letters to king *James*, and the inſtrument of trade granted to the *Engliſh* company were deliver'd to capt. *Sarris*. We ſhall n ot trouble the reader with the letter, as containing only common compliments, and profeſſions of friendſhip; but we think it proper to inſert a copy of the ſubſtance of the priviledges relating to trade, as follows.

Priviledges relating to trade granted to the Engliſh Eaſt India *company by the emperor of* Japan.

1. The *Engliſh Eaſt India* company was allow'd to ſend what ſhips they thought fit, which ſhips were to be admitted into any ports under the emperor's dominion, to ſtay there as long as they had occaſion, and to depart at pleaſure.

2. They were to be cuſtom free in all ports, and whatever port they came to they were authoriz'd immediately to begin to traffick, without waiting for new orders from court.

3. All

3. All the ſubjects of *Japan* were ſtrictly charg'd to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* in any diſtreſs; and in caſe of ſhipwreck, whatever was ſav'd was to accrue to the company. And they were allowed to buy warehouſes for their goods, and to ſell them when they had no more uſe for them.

4. The goods of all the *Engliſh* who ſhould die in *Japan* were to be taken into the hands of the factory; and in caſe of crimes committed by the *Engliſh*, they were not ſubject to the laws of the empire, either as to perſon or goods.

5. All ſubjects of the empire were oblig'd to deal faithfully with them, and pay them punctually in money or goods.

6. No goods of theirs were to be arreſted, but an agreement to be made with the cape merchant, and ready payment to be made for them.

7. The ſubjects of *Japan* were to ſupply them with men and proviſions for ready money, in order to make diſcoveries of other countries.

8. An authentic copy of theſe patents was to be reputed a ſufficient paſſport for ſailing or travelling towards *Yedzo*, or any other place near *Japan*.

Both this patent and the emperor's letter were dated in the 9th month, in the 18th year of *Ogoſhoſhamma's Dary*, or reign, and ſign'd,

MINNA. MOUTTONO. *Yei, Ye, Yeas.*

Captain *Sarris* having thus ſettled all matters at the emperor of *Japan*'s court to his ſatisfaction (and indeed it would have been very advantagious to the *Engliſh* trade, if things had continu'd upon the footing he had put them) took leave of *Suringa* to return to *Firando*, being reſolv'd to take *Meaco* in his way to *Oſaca*.

The city of Meaco.

Meaco is the greateſt city in *Japan*, and was once the capital of the empire, and the ſeat of the emperor, but at this time the emperor liv'd at *Suringa*, as we obſerv'd before. Here they had a temple for the idol *Maunada*, as large as St. *Paul*'s was as that time: At the great altar of which ſtood the idol in copper in full proportion, the bigneſs of which, and conſequently the heighth of the temple, may be judg'd by the account given, that the head was computed to be capable of containing 15 men within it.

See Salmon's preſent ſtate of all nations.

In this city the ſeveral artificers have their different ſtreets. There was likewiſe a ſtately college of jeſuites there, where there were many *Japaneſe* children; they had likewiſe the new teſtament tranſlated into the *Japan* language, and the jeſuites boaſted, that there were no leſs than ſix thouſand *Japaneſes*, in that city alone, who profeſs'd chriſtianity. Here the captain ſtaid, expecting the emperor's preſent to king *James*, which at laſt arriv'd, conſiſting of ten *Beobs*, or large pictures for a room of ſtate.

Leaving *Meaco*, they proceeded to *Ozaca*, where they found the galley, which had brought them from *Firando*, and had ſtaid there, ſince their landing, at the charge of their good friend, king *Foine*. In it they embark'd, and arriv'd at *Firando* the ſixth of *November*, where they found, that their factors had ſold but little, there having been as yet no expreſs orders from the emperor to trade with the *Engliſh*. Beſides, as captain *Sarris* obſerves, the *Engliſh* there affecting to wear ſilks, to the neglect of their own broad cloth, gave the nation a meaner opinion of it than they would have had.

The captain returns to Firando.

During captain *Sarris*'s abſence Mr. *Cox*, the cape-merchant, to whom captain *Sarris* had left the charge of the factory, went to wait upon king *Foine*, to give him thanks in the captain's name, for having provided ſo well for his expedition. The king receiv'd him graciouſly, and treated him with all manner of kindneſs. About the nineteenth of *Auguſt* there was a great feaſt in the city of *Firando*; at which the king and the principal people of the city aſſiſted; every one ſending proviſions according to their quality to make up the entertainment. But the day before, the king with all his nobility went in ſolemn proceſſion to the ſeveral burying places, in the city, and with great ceremony invited their dead friends to the feaſt. When the day came, they carried their proviſions, and ſet them upon the tombs of their deceas'd friends, where they feaſted, as if they had been accompany'd with the gueſts they had invited, and the night concluded with illuminations and proceſſions, and the ſame repeated for four days together.

What paſs'd there during his abſence.

About this time Mr. *Cox* was much troubled with the indecent behaviour of ſome of the ſhip's crew, who coming aſhore, without leave, acted ſeveral extravagances, for which Mr. *Cox* ſhewing a deſign to puniſh them, ſeven of the crew run away with the long boat, and made their eſcape to the *Spaniards* at *Langaſaque*; of which Mr. *Cox* was inform'd by a *Dutchman* and a *Venetian* who came from thence. Several fires happen'd at *Firando*, during captain *Sarris*'s abſence, which, as the *Engliſh* ſuppos'd, was a contrivance of the *Bonzi*, to make good the predictions of their idols, and to give themſelves an opportunity of plundering, during the fire.

Captain *Sarris* being return'd from court, made his viſit to the king, who expreſs'd much joy at his return; but at the

the ſame time, complain'd to him of the diſorders his people had been guilty of, particularly, of their having fought ſeveral duels, which was a capital crime in that country, which the captain found to be true; and one *Palmer*, ſteward of the ſhip, and *Marnel*, the gunner's mate, had ſo mangled one another, that the one died in a few days, and the other was likely to be lame all his life. The captain promis'd, to enquire into it, and to remedy it for the future.

Sarris leaves Mr. Cox at the head of the factory.

Having finiſh'd all he had to do in *Japan*, he thought now of leaving *Firando*, having ſettled the factory under the direction of Mr. *Cox* and Mr. *Adams*, with ſix more *Engliſh*, and five *Indian* ſervants. Therefore having taken leave of king *Foine*, and receiv'd the letter from him to his maſter, king *James*, he went aboard, and having in his ſhip forty-ſix *Engliſh*, and fifteen *Japaneſes*. Mr. *Cox* and his companions having accompanied him aboard, return'd to their factory, and the fifth of *December*, 1613, capt. *Sarris* ſet ſail for the coaſt of *China*, and by the nineteenth came up with the coaſt of *Cambaia*, and the beginning of *January* they arriv'd in *Bantam* road. At their coming aſhore, the captain was appris'd of the inconveniency ariſing from the different intereſts of the factors, appointed by the ſeveral voyages hitherto made upon the company's account; and therefore to bring them all to one intereſt he perſuaded them to unite into one body, and to ſettle in one houſe. But he had not been there long, till the whole town was ſet on fire, and no part of it ſav'd, but the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* houſes. At this place, he employ'd two *Chineſe* merchants to tranſlate king *Foine*'s letter from the *Chineſe* into the *Malayan* language, which being but ſhort, we have here inſerted.

And ſails to Bantam.

To the king of GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

King Foine's letter to king James.

"MOST mighty king, how acceptable your majeſty's loving "letter and bountiful preſent of many "worthy things ſent me by your ſervant "captain *John Sarris*, is unto me, I can't "ſufficiently expreſs, neither the great "happineſs I eſteem myſelf to be in, by "enjoying your highneſs's friendſhip: For "which I render you many thanks, de"ſiring the continuance of your majeſty's "love and acquaintance. I am heartily "glad of your ſubjects ſafe arrival at my "ſmall iſland, from ſo long a journey. "My help and furtherance they ſhall "not want to the uttermoſt, for the ef"fecting of their ſo worthy and laudable "enterprizes of diſcovery and merchan"dizing, greatly commending their for"wardneſs; referring their hitherto en"tertainment to the report of your ſer"vant, by whom I return unto your "majeſty an unworthy token, wiſhing "your majeſty long life. From my "place at *Firando*, the ſixth day of our "tenth month. Your majeſty's loving "friend, commander of this iſland in *Ja*"*pan*,"

FOYNE SAN MASAM.

After this misfortune happen'd to *Bantam*, captain *Sarris* having laded his ſhip out of the *Engliſh* warehouſes, ſet ſail for *England*, and arriv'd at *Plymouth* the *September* following.

But as the *Engliſh* trade in *Japan* was but of a ſhort continuance, we ſhall in a few words give Mr. *Cox* his account of it once for all, before we proceed to the next voyage, altho' ſome part of it is poſterior in time to one or two voyages undertaken by the company.

Before captain *Sarris* left *Firando*, the *Dutch* had ſome footing there, and had ſo far impos'd upon the emperor, by pretended letters from the imaginary king of *Holland*, that they had procur'd an anſwer to thoſe letters, by which we may judge of the letters themſelves. The anſwer is as follows.

The copy of a letter ſent by the emperor of JAPAN *unto the king of* HOLLAND, *by the ſhip call'd the* Red Lyon, *with arrows, which arriv'd in the* Texel, *the 22d of* July, 1610.

The emperor of Japan's letter to the imaginary king of Holland.

"I emperor and king of *Japan*, wiſh to "the king of *Holland*, who hath ſent "from ſo far countries to viſit me, "greeting.

"I Rejoyce greatly in your writing and "ſending to me, and wiſh, that our "countries were nearer the one to the o"ther, whereby we might continue and "increaſe the friendſhip begun betwixt us "through your majeſty's preſence, whom I "imagine in conceit to ſee, in reſpect I "am unknown to your majeſty, and that "your love towards me is manifeſted "through your liberality, in honoring me "with four preſents, whereof tho' I had "no need, yet coming in your name, I "receiv'd them in great worth, and hold "them in good eſteem.

"And further, whereas the *Hollanders* "your majeſty's ſubjects deſire to trade "with their ſhipping in my country, "which is of little value, and ſmall, and "to traffique with my ſubjects, and deſire "to have their abiding near unto my "court, whereby in perſon I might help "and aſſiſt them; which cannot be as "now, through the inconveniency of the "country: Yet notwithſtanding, I will

"not

" not neglect, as already I have done, to " be careful of them, and to give in charge " to all my governors and ſubjects, that " in what places or havens, in what part " ſoever they ſhall arrive, they ſhall ſhew " them all favour and friendſhip to their " perſons, ſhips, and merchandize: Where- " in your majeſty or your ſubjects need not " to doubt or fear ought to the contrary. " For they may come as freely, as if " they came into your majeſty's own ha- " vens and countries; and ſo may remain " in my country to trade. And the " friendſhip begun betwixt me and my " ſubjects with you ſhall never be im- " pair'd on my behalf, but augmented " and increas'd. I am partly aſham'd, " that your majeſty (whoſe name and re- " nown through your valorous deeds is " ſpread throughout the whole world) " ſhould cauſe your ſubjects from ſo far " countries into a country ſo unfitting as " this is, to viſit me, and to offer unto " me ſuch friendſhips as I have not de- " ſerv'd. But conſidering, that your af- " fection hath been the cauſe thereof, I " could not but friendly entertain your " ſubjects, and yield to their requeſts: " Whereof this ſhall ſerve for a teſti- " mony that they in all places, countries " and iſlands under mine obedience may " trade and traffique, and build houſes " ſerviceable and needful for their trade " and merchandizes, where they may " trade without any hinderance, at their " pleaſure, as well in time to come, as " for the preſent; ſo that no man ſhall " do them wrong: And I will maintain " and defend them, as mine own ſubjects.

" I promiſe likewiſe, that the perſons " which I underſtand ſhall be left here, " ſhall now and at all times be held, as " recommended unto me, and in all things " to favour them, whereby your majeſty " ſhall us, as your friends and " neighbours.

" For other matters paſs'd betwixt me " and your majeſty's ſervants, which " would be too long here to repeat, I re- " fer myſelf unto them. "

By this may be ſeen, what artifices the *Dutch* made uſe of, to impoſe upon the *Indians*. And Mr. *Cox* tells a pleaſant ſtory, which happen'd when he himſelf was at court, after captain *Sarris* his departure. There being a good number of *Spaniards* and *Portuguſe* at the emperor's palace, a *Dutchman*, who had liv'd in *Japan* for ſome time, and underſtood the language, boaſted much to the emperor of the grandeur of his king, pretending that all the powers in *Europe* were ſubject to him; and not thinking, that the other *Europeans* preſent knew what he ſaid, ran out into ſuch extravagant pieces of pretended hiſtory, that Mr. *Cox* could bear it no longer; and therefore told the emperor, in the ſame language, that the *Dutchman* was impoſing upon his majeſty; for that the *Hollanders* had no king, but a petty count was their ſtadtholder, who inſtead of commanding them was commanded by them; and that their country was ſo inconſiderable in *Europe*, that if it had not been for the *Engliſh*, the king of *Spain* would have put it out of the power of any of that nation, to have boaſted of the greatneſs of *Holland* in foreign countries: And for the truth of this, he appeal'd to the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* preſent; who having been demanded by their interpreters, confirm'd the truth of what Mr. *Cox* had ſaid, to the great ſatisfaction of the whole court, and the confuſion of the *Dutchman*.

But although the emperor of *Japan* had promis'd, under his hand and ſeal, (as we obſerv'd before) to allow the *Engliſh* free trade, without any new application to him, he was not ſo good as his word, which was the occaſion of Mr. *Cox*'s being oblig'd to go to *Meaca*, where the emperor then had his court.

And indeed, ſoon after captain *Sarris*'s leaving that country, a civil war broke out in it. We formerly took notice of the lawful heir of the empire, whom Mr. *Cox* calls *Fidaia Sama*, his being confin'd in the caſtle, *Oſaca*, ignorant of his own birth and condition; which having come to the knowledge of, by ſome means or other, he underhand encourag'd all malecontents to reſort to him; ſo that in a ſhort time, he increas'd his garriſon to 100000 men: This gave the alarm to the emperor, who immediately rais'd an army of three times the number, to march againſt him. But as Mr. *Cox*'s account is but very ſhort, we are not ſure, whether *Ogoſho-ſama* was then alive, or not. However that be, the emperor's forces march'd againſt the young prince, who had not ſo good ſucceſs, as the juſtice of his cauſe flatter'd him with; for although 40000 *Japaneſe* periſh'd in the quarrel, *Fidaia* could not make good his point; ſo that he was forc'd to retire, and 'twas doubtful, at that time, whether he was alive, or not.

Much about this time, died king *Foyne*, the great friend of the *Engliſh*. And the emperor, whether at the inſtigation of the *Dutch*, (who ſoon afterwards call'd themſelves *Hollanders*, in contradiſtinction to Chriſtians) or for ſome other reaſon, gave out the moſt ſevere edict againſt all Chriſtians, eſpecially thoſe of his own ſubjects, and nothing was heard of in *Japan*, but horrid barbarities againſt Chriſtians of all denominations; and great numbers periſh'd in torments equal to thoſe of the primi-

tive perſecutions, and, as is ſaid, with equal zeal and conſtancy, bringing their infants to ſuffer death along with them, rather than that they ſhould ſurvive, to be bred in the heatheniſh idolatry of their country. Whilſt Mr. *Cox* ſtaid at *Firando*, the *Dutch* envying the privileges they were promis'd, declar'd open war againſt the *Engliſh* nation, attacking their ſhips, and ſeizing their goods at ſea, and having ſeven ſhips in the port of *Firando*, two of which were *Engliſh*, which they had ſeiz'd in the *Indian* ſeas, they came arm'd to the *Engliſh* houſe, with a deſign to cut them all off; which they had certainly done, being 100 times their number, but that the people of *Firando* came to their reſcue, and beat the *Dutch* aboard their ſhips, which inſult the new king of *Firando* refus'd to redreſs; and therefore Mr. *Cox*, ſeeing all things in confuſion in the empire of *Japan*, began to turn his thoughts towards the trade of *China*, deſpairing of making good the factory in thoſe parts; the ſucceſs of which, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of elſewhere.

SECT. X.

The ninth and tenth voyages for the Eaſt-India *Company.*

WE have put theſe two voyages together, becauſe the ninth is of ſo little conſideration that Dr. *Harris* omits it entirely; however we judg'd proper to touch upon it for method's ſake, altho' we had not ſufficient materials for furniſhing out a ſection, without ſtuffing it with trifles. Nor does there appear any reaſon why thoſe voyages ſhould be ſeparated, for they ſet out in the ſame month and year; and altho' *Purchas* reckons capt. *Marlow*'s the ninth, and captain *Beſt*'s the 10th voyage, yet it is plain, from his own account of them, that the laſt ſet out ſome days before the firſt, and paſs'd the line before them. The ſame objection may be made againſt placing theſe two voyages after that of capt. *Sarris*. But as we have, for the moſt part follow'd his method in theſe voyages, we ſhall proceed in the ſame way as he does, and Dr. *Harris* from him.

The ninth voyage. The 11th of *February*, 1611-2, capt. *Edmund Marlow* ſail'd from the *Downs*, on board the *James*, upon the *Eaſt India* company's account, and croſs'd the line *April* the 11th, 1612, and without any thing remarkable, other than variations of the compaſs, and the depth of the ſea at different places, they arriv'd at the road of *Priaman* in *Sumatra*, *September* 26, where they found the *Thomas*, one of capt. *Sarris*'s fleet. In this road they ſtaid fourteen days to recover their ſick men; and meeting with the *Hector*, another of the ſame fleet, they all ſail'd to *Bantam*, and from thence for *Cormandel*, but labour'd in vain for three months, having the monſoons againſt them; ſo that in *March* they arriv'd the ſecond time at *Bantam*, where they ſtaid till *June*, and then ſet ſail for *Bengal* bay, and the 10th they came to an anchor at *Petapoli*, where they ſettled a factory, leaving Mr. *George Chanſey*, with eight more, to take care of their houſe. From thence they proceeded to *Maſulipatan*, where they ſtaid ſix months, and return'd to *Petapoli*, where they ſhip'd the goods their merchants had provided in their abſence, and then return'd to *Bantam*; and ſo trading to and again among the iſlands lying between *Sumatra*, *Java*, and the *Celebes*, they went to *Patana* in *Auguſt*, 1614, and arriv'd, at *Bantam*, the third time, in *October*, and there having diſpos'd of the cargo they had pick'd up in their trading at the different places, they loaded their ſhips for *England*, and ſet ſail thitherward *October* 29. In this voyage capt. *Marlow* died before they reach'd *Madagaſcar*; and in *Auguſt*, 1615, the *James* and the *Globe* arriv'd in *England*.

Having given this ſhort account of what our authors call the ninth voyage, we ſhall enlarge a little more upon that of capt. *Beſt*, taken from his journal by *Purchas*, and from him by Dr. *Harris*.

The tenth voyage. Captain *Beſt* ſet out with the *Dragon* and *Hoſiander*, in *February*, 1611, and in *July* arriv'd at the iſland of *Juan de Nova*, which, by the latitude given of it, ſeems to be the ſame with what is mark'd *Johanna* in the *Engliſh Atlas*, and is ſituated between the north part of *Madagaſcar* and the coaſt of *Africa*. From thence they ſail'd to *Mal-Iſla*, between *Johanna* and *Comoro*, which had receiv'd that name from the *Portugueſes* at the firſt diſcovery of it, becauſe of the rocks, which make riding or ſailing dangerous there, altho' near the chief town of the iſland, towards the weſt, is a convenient anchoring place, and has all things neceſſary for refreſhment; and the people of the place are good natur'd, and ready to ſupply ſtrangers with beeves, goats, hens, lemons, and cocoa nuts. At this place they water'd, and then ſet ſail for *Surat*, where they arriv'd ſafe in *September*. But altho' the natives receiv'd them joyfully, and that the governor ſent them very civil meſſages aboard, offering free commerce, yet the commodore thought fit, for the greater ſecurity, to ſend to *Agra* for the *Mogul*'s conſent, before he would break bulk: And ſoon after, the governor of *Anadavar*, upon the coaſt of *Cambaia* came to *Surat* with full power to enter into articles with the *Engliſh*, which

The Engliſh arrive at Surat.

were

were to be ratified by the emperor, under his seal in 40 days after they were signed by the governor and capt. *Best*, or else to be void. The articles agreed to and sign'd were as follows.

Articles of trade agreed upon.

1. " That all which concerns Sir *Henry* " *Middleton* be remitted, acquitted, and " clear'd to the *English*; and that the " *Mogul*'s subjects shall make no seizure " of any goods or effects of the *English* " upon that score.

2. " That the *Indian* merchants, sub- " jects to the *Mogul*, shall be at the " charge of procuring a confirmation of " the articles, under their king's great seal, " which shall be deliver'd to the *English* " factory, for their security.

3. " That it shall be lawful for the " king of *Britain* to have an ambassador " constantly residing at the *Mogul*'s court, " in order to adjust any differences that " may happen between the subjects of " their majesties.

4. " That upon the arrival of *English* " ships in the road of *Swally*, in the bay " of *Surat*, proclamation shall be made " at *Surat*, three several days, allowing " all the country about to repair to the " water side, for free trade and commerce " with them.

5. " That all *English* commodities " shall pay custom at three and an half " *per Cent.* according to the value it " bears when enter'd.

6. " That all pedlary ware, not ex- " ceeding the value of ten reals, shall be " custom free.

7. " That ten *Manu* for each *Manuda* " should be the carriage from the water " side to *Surat*, and at the same rate back " again, and carts to be provided, by the " *Moceadins* of *Swally* for *Surat*, and by " the brokers of *Surat* for *Swally*.

8. " That in case of any *English* dying, " no claim shall be made by the *Mogul*, " nor by any officer of his, of any of the " deceas'd's effects, nor any fees to be paid " upon that account.

9. " That if all the *English* belonging " to the factory shall die before the next " return of ships, a true inventory of the " goods shall be taken by the *Indian* offi- " cer appointed for that purpose, and by " him deliver'd to the commanding offi- " cer of the next *English* ships which " shall arrive, and receive a discharge " from the general or merchants.

10. " That the government of *Surat* " shall secure the *English* and their " effects at land, redeeming either men " or goods at their charge which " shall happen to be taken by the *Por-* " *tugueses* ashore, and shall deliver the " said men or goods to the factory free of " all charge.

11. " That since in all kingdoms there " are thieves and robbers, if any *English* " pirates shall happen to rob any of the " *Mogul*'s subjects, the *English* factory " shall not be oblig'd to make restitution, " but only to solicit reparation at the " the court of *England*.

12. " That all provisions spent by " the *English* ships during their stay at *Surat* " or *Swally*, shall be custom free, pro- " vided they do not amount to above " 1000 dollars.

13. " That in all complaints for inju- " ries done to the *English*, they shall " have speedy justice done them by the " judges of the place, without protracting " the time by unnecessary delays.

These articles having been sign'd by the governor of *Amadavar*, and the *English* commodore and merchants, the commodore brought the present, from king *James* to the *Mogul*, ashore, letting the governor see it, and take an inventory of the particulars; but at the same time he told him, that the delivery of it depended upon the *Mogul* himself; because unless his majesty order'd the agreement to be confirm'd by causing his seal to be fix'd to it, he could not look upon him to be his master's friend, nor had he instructions to deliver, either his king's letter or present to any one that was not an ally; and therefore he order'd the things aboard, till he should hear from court.

In *November*, 1612, there appear'd in sight about 240 *Portuguese* frigates from *Goa*, *Chaul* and other places of the *Indies*, bound for *Cambaia*; the like number comes every year into those seas, which shews what a vast trade the *Portugueses* had in those parts at that time. But those being all merchant men, they offer'd no insult to the *English* ships. However about a fortnight after, the commodore had intelligence that four galleons were ready to sail from *Goa* in order to destroy his ships; and accordingly they came into the road of *Surat* the 29th of that month, accompanied with 26 frigates. Captain *Best* not at all frighten'd at those numbers, weigh'd anchor with the *Dragon* only, and sail'd between their admiral and vice-admiral, and upon the first hostile sign given by the galleons, (which was by their firing upon him, before he came up sides with them) he let drive a full broadside at each of them, accompanied with volleys of small shot, which gave them such a rough salute, that they thought fit to get at a distance from the *Dragon* all the rest of the day, and the night following.

The English *fight the* Portuguese *galleons.*

The next morning the commodore attack'd the other two, and their admiral and vice-admiral coming to their assistance, the

the *Hoſiander* advanced to ſuſtain the *Dragon*, and both together plied the galleons ſo with their ordnance, that they forc'd three of them aſhore, and the *Hoſiander* being the lighteſt ſhip, pepper'd them off with great and ſmall ſhot, ſo that their men crept under hatches and lay cloſe till ſhe went off; and then the frigates, who kept cloſe by the ſhore, for fear of the *Engliſh*, went to help the galleons which were ſtranded, and with much ado got them afloat; ſo that the fight was renew'd the third time, but laſted only a ſhort while, the galleons making off, towards *Diu*, to get freſh men, and came back in eight days.

At their return, the fight was renew'd once or twice in ſight of a vaſt number of *Indians*, who from the ſhore were ſpectators of it, and although the galleons fought ſtoutly, yet they were not able to ſtand the ſhock of the *Dragon*'s guns, but after they had in the ſeveral rencounters loſt above 300 men, ſome ſaid 500, (of the *Engliſh* not above ſix or eight) they put up all their ſails, and made the beſt of their way quite out of the bay, altho' they had boaſted that they would ſink the *Engliſh* if they had the courage to ſtay for them.

By this time the *Mogul*'s diſpatch arriv'd with the articles ſeal'd in form, and his compliments to the commodore and the factors. They ſent it on board by a common courier, but the commodore refus'd to accept of it, telling the meſſenger, that he was not ſure whether it was genuine or not, and therefore deſir'd the principal people of *Surat* to come to him with it, that he might be ſatisfied that it was not counterfeit, which was accordingly done, the governor of *Surat* coming aboard the *Dragon* in great ceremony, declar'd the ſeal to be the *Mogul*'s, and likewiſe aſſur'd them of his majeſty's good will to the king and country of *England*.

They ſet ſail for Sumatra.

Things being thus far ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the merchants, capt. *Beſt* ſet ſail for *Sumatra*, coaſting along by *Dabul*, *Goa*, *Cochin*, &c. towards cape *Comori*, being for the moſt part all a ſafe coaſt. Six leagues north-weſt of *Comori* is a little town call'd *Beringar*, an excellent place for watering and proviſions, which the people very courteouſly brought to the ſhips, at very cheap rates. From this place to cape *Comori*, they found the people of the coaſt *Chriſtians*.

As they coaſted about *Ceylon*, they ſent a boat aſhore upon the iſland, but as ſoon as the natives heard they were *Engliſh*, they would have nothing to do with them, telling them the *Engliſh* were not juſt nor honeſt; by which our author is perſuaded they meant the *Dutch*, who had often uſurp'd the name of *Engliſh* to diſcredit the nation by their baſe actions.

From thence they bent their courſe for *Achen*, where they arriv'd in *April*, 1613, and were graciouſly receiv'd by the king of *Sumatra*, who reſided there. He entertain'd the commodore and his company, who attended him to his court, with fighting of elephants, buffalos, and rams, who all fought very fiercely, and then invited the captain to bathe with him, and whilſt they were in the water a great entertainment of ſeveral hundred diſhes of meat was ſerv'd with great plenty of arrack and other ſtrong drinks. After ſome ſhort ſtay here, the king renew'd the friendſhip which his grandfather had enter'd into with general *Lancaſter* in Q. *Elizabeth*'s time, and writ a letter to K. *James*, the preamble of which we have given, to ſhew the vanity of the eaſtern monarchs.

The king of Achen's letter to king James.

Peducka Sirie Sultan, *king of kings, renown'd for his wars, and ſole king of* Sumatra, *and a king more famous than his predeceſſors, fear'd in his kingdom, and honour'd of all bordering nations, in whom there is the true image of a king, in whom reigns the true method of government, form'd as it were of the moſt pure metal, and adorn'd with the moſt fineſt colours, whoſe ſeat is high and moſt compleat, like to a chryſtal river, pure and clear as the chryſtal glaſs; from whom floweth the pure ſtream of bounty and juſtice, whoſe preſence is as the fineſt gold. King of* Priaman, *and of the mountain of gold,* viz. Solida; *and lord of nine ſorts of ſtones; king of two* Sombrieras *of beaten gold; having for his ſeats mats of gold; his furniture for his horſes, and armour for himſelf being likewiſe of pure gold; his elephant with teeth of gold, and all proviſions thereunto belonging; his lances half gold and half ſilver; his ſmall ſhot of the ſame; a ſaddle alſo for another elephant of the ſame metal; a tent of ſilver, and all his ſeats half gold half ſilver; his veſſels for bathing of pure gold; his ſepulchre of gold, (whereas his predeceſſors had all theſe half gold half ſilver) his ſervices compleat of gold and ſilver. A king under whom there are many kings, having taken the king of* Arrow; *all the country of* Priaman, Tecoa, Barouſe, *being ſubdu'd by him is now under his command: Seventy elephants, and much proviſion carried by ſea to make his wars at* Arrow, *where* GOD *gave me more victory than any of my predeceſſors.*

This great king ſendeth this letter of ſalutation to James *king of* Great-Britain, *viz.* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, &c.

Captain

Captain *Beſt* having procur'd this letter, the ſubſtance of which was, in a flouriſhing ſtile, to aſſure his *Britannic* majeſty of the continuation of his friendſhip, he got alſo a letter to *Priaman*, *Tecoa*, *Paſſaman*, and other places under this king's dominion, and then ſet ſail from *Achen* to carry on the commerce, he himſelf going to *Tecoa*, whilſt the *Hoſiander* went to *Priaman*. He ſent likewiſe a company to *Paſſaman*, being reſolv'd to ſettle factories in all the trading towns of the iſland; but this laſt was ſo unhealthy a place, that moſt of the *Engliſh* ſent thither died, and the captain adviſes the company never to ſend any more to that place. The *Dragon* took in her cargo of pepper partly at *Tecoa*, and partly at *Bantam*, from whence ſhe ſail'd for *England*, and in ſix months got into the *Thames*, in the year 1614.

They return home.

SECT. XI.

The twelfth voyage for the East India *company, written by Mr.* Walter Peyton.

THERE being nothing material in the 11th voyage perform'd by the *Solomon*, we paſs it by to proceed to the 12th, which ſet out in *January*, 1612-3, and was perform'd in the *Expedition*, commanded by capt. *Newport*, having on board Sir *Robert Sherley*, ambaſſador from king *James* to the court of *Perſia*, and Sir *Thomas Powel*, bound likewiſe for *Perſia*, with their ladies, and retinues.

Having ſtop'd two days at *Coney-Iſland* on the *African* coaſt, in 33 degrees and an half ſouth latitude, they came to *Saldana*, where they met the *Hector* and *Thomas*, two ſhips of capt. *Sarris*'s fleet, in their way homeward; and ten days after their arrival, *viz.* upon the 10th of *May*, the *Pepper-Corn*, one of Sir *Henry Middleton*'s ſhips, came into the ſame bay, and having been long out, was but ill ſupplied of ſeveral neceſſaries, ſo that the *Expedition* gave them what they could ſpare.

Departing from thence *May* 15, they doubled the cape of *Good Hope* and having ſtop'd at Port *St. Auguſtine*, in *Madagaſcar*, upon the 3d of *July*, they came to an anchor at *Mohelie*, one of the *Comoro* iſlands, where they had ſtore of proviſions very cheap, getting four bullocks for a *Levant* ſword, and when they paid money for them, the bullock coſt but 3 *s.* 6 *d.* and hens, goats, &c. in proportion. It being foggy weather they paſs'd by *Zocotara* without ſeeing it, and the firſt land they diſcover'd was the cape and iſlands of *Curia Muria* upon the coaſt of *Arabia Fælix*, and there they came to an anchor at a little village call'd *Reſoit* near *Doffar* upon the ſame coaſt. Here they were well receiv'd, and the governor of *Doffar* appointed a fair to be kept at *Reſoit*, during their ſtay there, to furniſh them with proviſions. And at their departure deſir'd the captain to write a letter certifying the civil treatment they had receiv'd, which he did, as he had likewiſe done at *Mohila* or *Mohelia*.

Mohila iſland,

Reſoit.

About the 10th of *September* they croſs'd the *Perſian* gulph, and held their courſe along the coaſt of *Perſia*, and ſent their boat aſhore to enquire for ſome convenient place to land the ambaſſador; the *Perſian* interpreter going in the boat, met with ſome people tending camels, who told him that farther eaſt was the city of *Guader*, where they might ride ſafely, and land thoſe who deſign'd for the king's court. After having coaſted a day or two longer, they ſent the boat aſhore again, and all the people they met with ſtill commended the Port of *Guader*; but they could get no pilot to ſhew them the way. At laſt, ſeeing two *Teradas*, or big boats, they man'd their long boat, and made up to them, but they would not come towards them, but made towards the ſhore; and the boat purſuing them, they wav'd a naked ſword by way of defiance at the boat; and upon one of the *Engliſh* firing a gun in the air, the neareſt *Terada* fir'd upon the boat, and at the ſame time ſhot a volley of arrows, upon which the ſhip bore up to ſuſtain their boat, which put the *Teradas* in ſuch fear that one of them run himſelf aſhore and was broken to pieces. The boat got up to the other and boarding her, offer'd no injury to them, but brought the maſter aboard the ſhip; who was glad to promiſe to pilot them to *Guader*, but the ambaſſador oblig'd him to bring his *Terada* along with the ſhip, leſt they ſhould give the alarm to any *Portugueſes* who might be in that country; the maſter having ſhew'd the *Engliſh* a *Portugueſe* paſs by *Antonio Pereira*, captain of the caſtle of *Maſcat* in *Arabia Fælix*.

A Terada taken

They arriv'd at *Guader*, *September* 17th, and anchor'd before the city at night, and the next morning diſcharg'd the pilot and his *Terada*. The ambaſſador ſent *Nazarbeg*, one of his *Perſians*, aſhore with a meſſage to the governor; but he meeting a boat ſent from him to the ſhip, he went aboard that boat, which return'd with him to the governor. As ſoon as he had made the ambaſſador's compliments to the governor, and had deliver'd the other part of his meſſage, which was to know whether he could paſs conveniently from *Guader* to the king of *Perſia*'s court, the governor expreſs'd great civility, and bid him tell the ambaſſador that he might come aſhore with all freedom,

The Expedition arrives at Guader.

and he ſhould be ſupplied with all neceſſaries in order to perform his journey, which was not above 20 days diſtance.

When *Nazerbeg* had done his meſſage, the governor ſent him back to the ambaſſador, accompanied with about a dozen of the graveſt people of the place, to give him an invitation to come aſhore in the governor's name and their own. They accoſted the ambaſſador with great ſubmiſſion; and told him he was very lucky in having come to *Guader* at that time; for the vice-king having made a pilgrimage to a ſaint's ſhrine there, he would have an opportunity to go through the moſt dangerous part of the country in his company, who would likewiſe furniſh him with camels and horſes.

This ſeeming frank behaviour took away all ſuſpicion from the ambaſſador, who having treated the *Guaderins* with all imaginable civility, gave order to put his equipage aſhore, and in a very ſhort time, his money, plate, furniture, and clothes, were ſent aſhore to be put into the tent ſet up for him (as they ſent him word) hard by that of the vice-king's, who likewiſe ſent his compliments to the ambaſſador, and an invitation to come aſhore, which he promis'd to do that afternoon.

But it was a good providence for him that he did not go ſooner, for all the civil meſſages he had receiv'd were only ſo many traps to decoy him, and all the *Engliſh* with him into the ſnare; which was luckily diſcover'd before his time appointed to land.

A conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh.

Nazerbeg having gone aſhore to put the things in order againſt his maſter's coming, was ask'd by one of the people of the place, whether all the ambaſſador's equipage was landed, and he making anſwer that it was all except ſome jewels which were to be brought along with himſelf, another ſaid to him who had ask'd the queſtion (ſpeaking in the *Baluch* language, which they thought *Nazerbeg* had not underſtood) that it was ſufficient ſpoil for the ſoldiers, who would ſoon have the plundering of it. *Nazerbeg* was ſtruck with this expreſſion, and therefore went about to ſpy what was doing near the tents; but perhaps he might have found little credit with the ambaſſador, if he had not gotten better proof of the conſpiracy than this expreſſion. One *Hoge Comal*, a *Perſian*, who had liv'd ſome time among the *Baluches*, but it ſeems did not approve of their villany, falling into converſation with *Nazerbeg*, ſaid things to him on purpoſe to give him ſuſpicion, and he ſhewing a ſincere concern at what the other ſaid, *Comal* diſclos'd the plot, upon his promiſing to get the ambaſſador to take him along with him. He told him, that they only waited for the ambaſſador's landing; and then they would ſend a whole fleet of *Terradas* well mann'd to attack the ſhip, believing, as indeed was deſign'd, that all the principal men would accompany the ambaſſador aſhore; and ſo, at the ſame inſtant they would attempt the ſhip, and murder all that were aſhore. He added likewiſe, that they had ſerv'd three ſhips after the ſame manner during the time he had been among them. And as an argument of their inſincerity, he told him they were in actual rebellion againſt the king of *Perſia*, and had refus'd to pay him tribute, altho' they had pretended all duty and obedience to him.

Diſcover'd and prevented.

Nazerbeg having got this intelligence haſted to the water ſide, and, by good providence, the ſkiff being aſhore for water, he told the crew that if they would ſave the lives of all the *Engliſh*, they muſt row him aboard forthwith. And indeed he went juſt in time, for the ambaſſador with his lady, Sir *Thomas Powel*, and his, the captain of the ſhip and all the principal people were juſt ready upon deck to get into the long boat to go aſhore, as *Nazerbeg* went aboard. After he had inform'd them of what *Comal* had told him, they held a council, and in order to recover the ambaſſador's effects, they agreed to ſend a meſſage to the vice-roy, excuſing the ambaſſador's delaying his going aſhore till the next morning, becauſe of a pretended indiſpoſition; but at the ſame time, deſiring him to ſend ſome of the chief men of the city or of his own retinue to accompany the ambaſſador from the ſhip in honour of the king of *Perſia*. This the vice-roy readily complied with, and promis'd they ſhould be ſent. In the mean time having fill'd a couple of trunks with ſtones and lumber, they ſent them aſhore, under pretence that two others, in which the richeſt things were, had been ſent aſhore by miſtake, and thoſe were ſuffer'd to be ſent back, becauſe they would not give any cauſe of ſuſpicion by detaining them.

The ambaſſador's ſtratagem to recover his equipage.

In the morning the *Perſians* appointed to accompany the ambaſſador went aboard according to promiſe, among whom was *Comal*, who had diſcover'd the plot, and expreſſing a deſire to ſee the ſeveral parts of the ſhip, they went under hatches, where the captain ſhut them in, and the ambaſſador ſent a meſſage to the vice-roy, upbraiding him for his hypocriſy and injuſtice; and bidding him ſend back all his equipage and ſervants, or elſe threatning to hang up all thoſe whom he had priſoners. This meſſage had the deſir'd effect, and every thing was ſent aboard very punctually.

Having

Having thus recover'd what they wanted, they did not think it ſafe to make any longer ſtay in that place, and therefore releaſing all the priſoners except one, whom *Comal* pointed out as a good pilot, they ſet ſail for *Sinde*, a river in the continent of the *Mogul*'s country in 24 degrees 36 n. lat. where they arriv'd the 26th of *September*: The ambaſſador ſent a meſſage aſhore to the governor, ſignifying his deſign to go by land to the *Perſian* court, which the governor receiv'd very civilly, and promis'd him all aſſiſtance; and the ambaſſador accepting itwh it due thanks, went aſhore with his family, as did Sir *Thomas Powel*.

They arrive at Diul.

This place was call'd *Diul*, where Sir *Robert Sherley* ſhew'd his paſs from the king of *Perſia*, and another from the king of *Spain*; but the *Portugueſes* in that place deny'd this latter paſs to be either the hand or ſeal of the king of *Spain*, and would have perſuaded the governor that the ambaſſador was a pirate; but the governor, being a man of ſenſe, and being ſatisfy'd that the firſt paſs was genuine, order'd the *Portugueſes* out of the room, and treated the ambaſſador with much civility. Sir *Robert* then began to treat about a traffick with *England*, and got the governor perſuaded to ſend for ſome of the merchants aboard to come to him; and upon converſing with them, he promis'd them commerce, provided they could ſupply the country with ſuch merchandize as the *Portugueſes* brought, and in as great quantity; but honeſtly told them, that he being oblig'd to furniſh ſuch a ſum of money to the *Mogul* yearly, he could not diſoblige the *Portugueſes*, who ſupplied them with trade, unleſs the *Engliſh* could bring the ſame cuſtomes to the place: But he told them he was ſo litle ſatisfied with the behaviour of the *Portugueſes*, that whenever the *Engliſh* brought a ſufficient number of ſhips to anſwer the ſum he was engag'd for, he ſhould with a great deal of pleaſure change his cuſtomers: And of this he gave them a writing under his hand, obliging himſelf to allow them free trade in all his juriſdiction; the merchants on the other hand gave him another writing, in which they oblig'd themſelves that their ſhip ſhould not moleſt any of the *Mogul*'s ſubjects. And altho' he would not buy any of their goods, till they ſhould bring ſufficient quantity of cloth, elephant's teeth, iron, lead, ſteel, and ſpices, as the *Portugueſes* us'd to do, yet he gave orders to his officers to ſupply them with all neceſſaries.

The captain and the merchants taking leave of the ambaſſador and the governor of *Diul*, went aboard their ſhip, and having taken in neceſſary proviſions, they ſet ſail for *Sumatra*, leaving Sir *Robert Sherley* to proſecute his voyage by land. There is not much more to be ſaid of the *Expedition*, but that ſhe ſail'd to *Priaman*, where the governor exacted ſuch exorbitant fees by way of preſent, that the merchants did not think it worth their while to ſtay there; but being invited by captain *Chriſtian* of the *Hoſiander* to go to *Tecoa*, where he promis'd them good trade, they ſail'd thither; but ſuch was the cunning of the people there, that upon the arrival of this new ſhip they heighten'd the pepper from 12 reals to 22 the *Bahar*, and that ready money; whereas before they barter'd for it; and the officers expected preſents as well as thoſe at *Priaman*. But upon the *Expedition*'s weighing anchor, under colour of ſailing away, they came to reaſon, and brought the pepper to be weigh'd aboard for 18 reals; but falling off from that after they had bought 200 *Bahars*, the captain ſail'd away in good earneſt, and paſſing the ſtreights of *Sunda*, on the 17th of *December* they came to an anchor in *Bantam* road, where having taken in the reſt of their lading, they ſet ſail for *England*, *January* 2, and the ſame day met with capt. *Sarris* in the *Clove*, come from *Japan*, to whom they gave their carpenter's mate, for his own were all dead; and then proceeded in their voyage, and arriv'd in the *Downs* the 10th of *July*.

But Mr. *Peyton*, who is the author of this voyage, gives an account, in another voyage of his, of what happen'd to Sir *Robert Sherley* in the *Mogul*'s country; we think it proper to give it here, becauſe it happen'd before the voyage in which it is related was undertaken.

We have above told that the *Expedition* landed him ſafely at *Diul*, and took leave of him, and Sir *Thomas Powel*, with their retinues, and ſail'd for *Sumatra*. After their departure (as capt. *Peyton* found afterwards) the governor of that place, notwithſtanding his fair uſage of the *Engliſh*, was ſo far under the direction of the *Portugueſes*, that after the ſhip was gone, which kept them in aw, he ſuffer'd the *Portugueſes* to inſult the ambaſſador, they having ſent to *Ormus* for a recruit of their countrymen for that purpoſe; ſo that Sir *Robert Sherley*, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Diul*, deſir'd liberty to remove to *Tatta*, farther up the country; which the governor having refus'd, the ambaſſador, believing it was done in concert with his enemies, remov'd without acquainting the governor, and travell'd through the country with his retinue, till coming to a river, the people of the country refus'd to give him any aſſiſtance, telling him that it was death, by the governor's order to give him any help: And therefore he order'd a float to be made

What happen'd to Sir Robert Sherley and Sir Thomas Powel.

made of rafters, which his people cut down, and attempted to get over; but the ſtream being too ſtrong, a party of horſe ſent by the governor, purſu'd him, and getting boats, overtook him, before he could reach the other ſide, and brought him back to *Diul*, having pillag'd him by the way. But after ſome time, they gave him leave to proſecute his journey to *Tatta*, whither he went with his lady, and her woman, having only Mr. *Edwards* and one more left of his *Engliſh* attendants, and from thence he went to the *Mogul*'s court at *Agra*, where he was kindly receiv'd, and went to *Perſia* by his aſſiſtance. Sir *Thomas Powel* and all his family dy'd in this expedition: The ſucceſs of Sir *Robert Sherley*'s embaſſy muſt be had elſewhere.

SECT XII.

Captain DOWNTON's *voyage for the joint* EAST INDIA Stock, *undertaken in the year* 1613.

MR. *Purchas*, and from him Dr. *Harris*, call this *the ſecond voyage ſet out by the joint ſtocks in the* EAST INDIES; but as I can't find the reaſon of diſtinguiſhing this and ſome that follow, from the company before mention'd, I chuſe rather to wave the title they give it, and call it the thirteenth voyage, and is as follows.

The thirteenth voyage.

In the year 1613, the *Eaſt India* company fitted out four ſhips, *viz.* the *New-Year's-Gift* of 650 tuns, the *Hector* of 500, the *Merchant's Hope* of 300, and the *Solomen* of 200, all under the command of captain *Nicholas Downton*, as admiral, on board the *New-Year's-Gift*, captain *Edwards*, capt. *Enſworth*, and captain *Elkington*, merchants, and commanders of the other three ſhips, the maſters of all the four being Mr. *Pring*, Mr. *Spaight*, Mr. *Molineux*, and Mr. *Bennet*; the admiral's chaplain Mr. *Rogers*.

With this fleet they left *England* in *March*, 1613-4, and arriv'd the 9th of *September*, 1614, at *Deliſa* in *Socotara*, and the admiral went aſhore to viſit the king, who receiv'd him civilly, where he had an account of the *Mogul*'s having join'd with the king of *Decan* to drive the *Portugueſes* out of their dominions for having taken a ſhip which came from *Jeddo*, wherein there were three millions of money; as alſo that capt. *Beſt* had fought the *Portugueſes*, as was related formerly.

From thence they ſail'd towards the bay of *Bengal*, and going near *Surat*, Mr. *Aldworth* the *Engliſh* factor there, and Mr. *Steel*, who had come thither from *Aleppo* by land, came aboard of the admiral. They told him that things were much alter'd for the better at *Surat*, becauſe the *Mogul* was ſo incens'd againſt the *Portugueſes*, that *Mocreb-chan* was now very civil to the *Engliſh*. The admiral, who had been in that country before with Sir *Henry Middleton*, could not hear of *Mocreb-chan* with patience; but being over-perſwaded by Mr. *Aldworth*, he was reſolv'd to apply to him. He had intelligence here, that the *Mogul*, in conjunction with the king of *Decan*, laid ſiege to *Damon* and *Diu*, two cities in a manner under the dominion of the *Portugueſes*, at leaſt under their influence; but the conduct of this war was left to *Mocreb-chan*, which gave the admiral the worſe opinion of it, being perſuaded that the intolerable covetouſneſs of that miniſter would expoſe him to be corrupted by the bribes which might be offer'd him to play booty. The admiral deſir'd to know how their credit ſtood at court, and who was reſident there? Mr. *Aldworth* told him, that ſince the death of Mr. *Canning* there was none there but Mr. *Kerridge*. That at Mr. *Canning*'s firſt going thither he had been well receiv'd by the *Mogul*, and had much reſpect from all the court, and had behav'd himſelf all along with great prudence; but as ſoon as the *Portugueſes* had diſcover'd to the *Mogul* that he was a merchant, he was affronted at it and neglected him, ſo that his courtiers, after his example, began to ſlight him; and Mr. *Kerridge* who had ſucceeded him, was of no more weight than he, and therefore there was a neceſſity of ſending a perſon there of ſome character; and it was agreed that Mr. *Edwards* ſhould go under the title of the king's reſident, without taking the character of a merchant, that he might procure the greater reſpect.

War between the Mogul and the Portugueſes.

After they had been about a week in this bay, at ſome diſtance from *Surat*, *Mocreb-chan* ſent an officer, with a great retinue, to viſit the admiral; and went into the admiral's tent till he ſhould come aſhore, accompany'd with the merchants, and attended by a good guard. When the firſt civilities were over, the officer ask'd the admiral if he would aſſiſt the *Mogul* againſt the *Portugueſes*? To which he anſwer'd, that there being peace between the king his maſter, and *Portugal*, he could not make war upon them without provocation, but if they ſhould prove the aggreſſors, he would defend himſelf, and make no difficulty of making war upon them; but he could not anſwer it to his own king to give the firſt provocation, and thereby bring the nations into a war without orders. This being reported by this officer to *Mocreb-chan*, he ſent word in a pet to the admiral, *that ſince he would do nothing for him, he might expect no kindneſs*

Admiral Downton refuſes to aſſiſt the Mogul in the war.

kindneſs from him. And accordingly all the people thereabouts, who had flock'd down to the water ſide, and brought proviſions to be ſold, all vaniſh'd; and when the *Engliſh* went to their houſes to know the reaſon of this ſudden change, they told them it was by order of the governor *Mocreb-chan.*

But the admiral does ſo far juſtice to the governor, as to ſay that he believ'd his proceeding in this affair was owing to ſuſpicion he had that the *Engliſh* were to join with the *Portugueſes* againſt him: And this ſurmize was artfully inſinuated to him by their emiſſaries, who gave out that unleſs ſuch priviledges were granted to them, they and the *Engliſh* would burn *Surat*, and plunder all ſhips which came to trade in the *Mogul*'s country. And Mr. *Aldworth*, not knowing any thing of what they had talk'd, very imprudently and unluckily told the governor's people, that they had acted a very impolitick part, at that juncture, in not making friends of the *Engliſh*; for if by their ill uſage, they ſhould provoke them to join the *Portugueſes*, they might be able to force that trade which was deny'd them by fair means. This coming to the governor's ears, after the threatning induſtriouſly given by the jeſuites, as from the *Portugueſe* vice-roy from *Goa*, confirm'd him in that opinion. But he he was quickly undeceiv'd by ſure accounts brought him from thence, that the *Portugueſes* were equipping ſome of their largeſt ſhips with a great number of frigates, to attack the *Engliſh* in the *Swalley* bay. This made him repent his having neglected admiral *Downton* ſo long, and therefore he ſent his ſon from *Surat* with his compliments and a preſent to him, and he began to treat the merchants at *Surat* with more civility.

The young gentleman came down to the ſea ſide with a handſome retinue, but would not come aboard, ſo the admiral went aſhore, and had a long converſation with him. He inform'd him (tho' he had heard of it before from the merchants of *Surat*) that the *Portugueſe* fleet was ready to ſail to attack his. The admiral told him, he would not begin the war againſt the *Portugueſes*, but if they were the agreſſors, he would defend himſelf, and altho' they were much ſuperior to him in numbers, he did not doubt but by the help of God, who knew his cauſe to be juſt, and by the courage of his men, who he was ſure would ſtand by him, he ſhould be able to keep his ſtation againſt their force.

Soon after this intelligence, a number of frigates came into *Swalley* bay, and paſt by the *Engliſh* fleet, getting between them and *Surat*; but the *Engliſh* took no notice of them, both becauſe the admiral would not begin hoſtilities, and becauſe, he could not have prevented their paſſing him, if he had attempted it, they being ſmall ſhips, and ſo might have ſail'd in the ſhallow water between him and the ſhore. The firſt attempt they made to diſcover their deſign was their purſuing ſome of the *Engliſh* boats going aſhore, or from one ſhip to another; but as the *Engliſh* had been aware of them, and that the admiral had given ſtrict orders to obſerve all his ſignals, none of their boats fell into the enemy's hand. But the frigates, not contented to hunt their boats, began to inſult their ſhips too, by ſailing round them, and ſo near as if they deſign'd to have cut their cables, and two of them coming directly up, on the *Hope*, and no man to be ſeen in them, the captain having hail'd them twice, without receiving any anſwer, the *Engliſh* believing they were fire-ſhips, let drive at them ſome bow pieces, which ſoon made them appear upon deck, to handle their ſails and make off.

In this manner they continu'd their little affronts in order to frighten the admiral out of the bay. But about the middle of *January*, a more formidable fleet arriv'd, for no leſs than ſix large galleons, three other men of war, and two galleys, came into the bay, beſides above ſixty frigates, which were there before; the *Portugueſe* vice-roy was aboard theſe galleons in perſon. The governor of *Surat* was ſo alarm'd at the appearance of this great fleet, taking it for granted, that they would quickly deſtroy the *Engliſh* ſhips, and then fall upon the town, that he reſolv'd to make up matters with the vice-roy, and to that end ſent him a preſent. But the proud *Portugueſe* being cock-a-hoop with the great advantage he had over the *Engliſh*, both in ſhips and men, deſpis'd the offers of *Mocreb-chan.* And indeed there was all the probability imaginable that he would be an over-match for the *Engliſh*, for he not only out-number'd them in ſhips, but his were mann'd with ſoldiers which he had taken aboard for that expedition, and the frigates could ſupply his men of war with freſh men in the places of ſuch as ſhould be kill'd: Beſides they had ſeamen and ſlaves on board to work their ſhips. Whereas the *Engliſh* ſhips were not mann'd principally for war, but for trade, and thoſe who ſhould be oblig'd to fight their ſhips, were the ſame perſons who were before fatigued in working the ſhips, nor could they recruit their number, nor make up the loſs of any of their men nearer than *England.* However all thoſe inconveniencies did not diſcourage them, and their brave admiral, who, as he ſays himſelf, never fought for his own honour, or to

The Portugueſe fleet arrives in the bay.

get him self a reputation, but for the honour of *England* and the advantage of the company which had employ'd him, encourag'd his men so much, that they resolv'd not to quit the road for the great fleet that was come against them. Not that the admiral would have ventur'd his small fleet against so great odds, if he could have avoided it: but, besides the danger of the vice-roy's falling upon him (if he had fled) with the same ease, and perhaps with more courage, than where he was, he would have lost the opportunity of lading his ships with such goods as the merchants had ready in their house, which they were still in possession of at *Surat*. But the admiral's chief motive for staying was, that if the vice-roy could have frighten'd him out of the bay, he would have brought the governor of *Surat*, and perhaps the *Mogul*, to his own terms, and thus the company had not only lost all their goods at *Surat*, but in all probability had been cut out entirely from any prospect of trade in all the *Mogul*'s dominions. It is true, that both those inconveniencies would have happen'd equally, if the vice-roy had got the better of him; but that was in the hands of providence, and he had a prospect of making the *Portugueses* run as great a risk in attempting his fleet, as the *English* should, notwithstanding the inequalities between them as to force.

Having call'd the masters and chief officers of his own and the other ships aboard him, they consulted what was to be done, and the admiral proposing to send the *Hope* to anchor near the galleons to try their metal, it was agreed to be put in execution the next day. Accordingly weighing all their anchors, the *Hope* made a-head towards the *Portugueses*, but they imagining by this motion of the *English*, that they were making away, and the *Hope*'s moving towards them was only a feint, they all weigh'd anchor and came towards them; and the *Hope* being a good way before the rest, three of the *Portugueſe* men of war had boarded her, before the admiral got up to her assistance. But as soon as he came up with those ships, he so pepper'd them with his great and small shot, that great execution was done, which made them glad to get away as fast as they could. In the mean time those of the enemy who had boarded the *Hope* were so warmly receiv'd, that, seeing their ships (who were to have sustain'd them) beaten off, and themselves not able to stand the cutlaces of the *English*, after having lost a considerable number of men, leapt into the sea, where many of them were drowned for fear of being kill'd, and the rest were fish'd up by the frigates. The vice-roy seeing the fierce fire of the *English*, thought it safer to burn their ships than to encounter their great and small shot; and therefore sent three or four fire-ships down upon them; but by good providence a strong gale of wind blew them ashore, where they lay burning till the next flood put out the fire, and sav'd as much of their hulls as the water cover'd.

The fleets engage.

The admiral ranging the fleet together, exchang'd broadsides with the galleons all the afternoon, without offering to board one another; nor indeed was it advisable for the *English* to attempt it, because of the great numbers of men in the enemy's ships, but they gall'd them so with their shot, that they were told some days after, that 300 of the *Portugueses* were sent ashore to be buried at *Damon*, and by a modest computation about 100 were kill'd aboard the *Hope*, or drown'd by leaping over-board. The *English* lost only five men, and had some wounded. *Wherein the English get the better.*

Altho' this was not a compleat victory; it was very glorious to the *English*, and had very good effects: For *Mocreb-chan*, seeing that the vice-roy with all his boasting, was not able with his great fleet to dislodge a few *English* merchant-men, but was glad to lie near them, but without reach of cannon, very quietly, now in his turn, despis'd the *Portugueses* and their offers of accomodation as much as the vice-roy had slighted his before; and sent to the admiral to compliment him upon his bravery and good success, sending him store of provisions.

But what the *Portugueses* could not effect by open force, they attempted to do by treachery, at least the *Muccadam* or overseer of the coast of *Swalley* accus'd the jesuites of having sent to persuade him to poison the well from whence the *English* had all their water, which proposal he had rejected with detestation, and sent the admiral word that he had put some live tortoises into the well, that they might find, by their death, whether the jesuites had secretly poison'd it, unknown to him. *Treachery design'd by the Portugueses.*

In the beginning of *February* there came a supply of ships to the vice-roy from *Goa*; but the admiral was inform'd from the country, that they had only on board combustible stuff for fire-ships, which made him give strict orders for keeping a good watch on all sides where the frigates lay. During this time of cessation, the *English* merchants from *Surat* sent a good quantity of indigo and other goods to the shore of *Swalley*, which the ships took in without any trouble from their enemies. About this time the admiral lost his only son; but, as he says himself, he had not time to mourn for him. *The admiral's son dies.*

Whilst the fleets lay near one another, a *Malabar* captain, who was in those parts,

parts, came aboard the admiral, believing that, upon the coming of the laſt ſhips from *Goa* there would have been a freſh attack made upon the *Engliſh* by the vice-roy. The admiral receiv'd him with great civility, and took care to inform himſelf of all the ports and bays on the coaſt of *Malabar*, expreſſing his inclinations to cultivate a friendſhip with him, and to make up a good correſpondence between the *Engliſh* and the people of his country; the captain entertain'd the propoſal gladly, and deſir'd the admiral to give him a letter to that purpoſe, which he might ſhew to any other *Engliſhmen* whom he might have occaſion to ſee; which he did, and likewiſe ſent a letter by him to his king, to deſire amity and commerce; which correſpondence was of uſe to the *Engliſh* afterwards, as ſhall be ſeen in its place.

A Malabar captain's friendſhip with the admiral.

Upon the receipt of thoſe letters, the captain, whoſe name was *Mouſa Attaile*, went aſhore with a very high opinion of the admiral and all the *Engliſh*.

The 5th of *February*, *Mocreb-chan* ſent the admiral word by his ſon, that the vice-roy would attack him that day. With this ſon of the governor's there came aboard the admiral ſhip a cavalier of *Guigomar*, who had maintain'd war for ſome time both againſt the *Mogul* and the *Portugueſes*. Both thoſe gentlemen deſir'd leave to ſtay and take a ſhare of the engagement; but the latter having ſtaid one night, and ſeeing no ſign of an attack, went aſhore next day; and the other, having ſtaid in vain three days, likewiſe took his leave.

The 8th of the ſame month, the frigates with two junks and as many galleys, mov'd from the ſouthward towards the *Engliſh* fleet, as if they deſign'd to ſend ſome fire ſhips among them, but upon their lifting their anchors, they made off, which gave the admiral cauſe to think it was a feint to hinder the *Engliſh* from keeping a watch towards the north. Nor was he miſtaken; for that very night, a good number of their light veſſels creeping along the ſhore in the dark with the tide, return'd with the ebb to have ſet them on fire. But the *Engliſh*, having kept good watch according to order, perceiv'd their motion, and told the admiral, who order'd a good watch to be kept northward; by which they could ſee the galleys and frigates returning with two fire ſhips, which they tow'd along. As ſoon as they were within ſhot, all the ſhips let drive at them, which made the galleys and frigates drop the ropes and make off, leaving the fire ſhips to drive of themſelves, which they did, towards the place where the *Hope* was, having paſs'd the *Hector* and *Solomon*; but before they came ſo near as to do any harm, the *Hope* having cut her cable, to get clear of them, they blew up one after another, and one of them ſunk near the fleet, and the other was tow'd aſhore by the *Engliſh* in their boats.

The Engliſh fleet eſcapes burning two ſeveral times

Two nights after they tied four barks together, and made them be tow'd as formerly; but the watch being allart, they were diſcover'd, and upon the firſt fire, the galleys left them, and they who were left in them ſetting fire to the train too ſoon, blew up two of them, and ſet fire to the other two, which the *Portugueſes*, for haſte to get off in the canoe, had forgot to do. But, by the ſame good providence as formerly, they were driven to the leeward of the *Engliſh*, and ſo ſpent themſelves without doing damage to any of them. One of the ſhips boats caught four of the *Portugueſes* returning from the fire ſhips in a canoe, and brought them aboard the *New-Year's-Gift*.

The vice-roy finding all his efforts vain for deſtroying the *Engliſh*, ſet ſail with his galleons for *Goa*, which gave the admiral time to lade ſeveral goods from *Surat*, putting them indifferently in whatever ſhip happen'd to be neareſt the ſhore when the goods arriv'd; but now he reſolv'd to load the *Hope* out of the other three, and to diſpatch her for *England*, being adviſ'd that ſhe was the leaſt able of the four to continue longer abroad. After he had done this he reſolv'd to ſail to other parts of the *Indies*, to load the other ſhips, and therefore took leave of his friends at *Surat*; *Mocreb-chan* coming aboard, and paying him all the honours that he could deviſe.

The galleons depart.

But he had ſcarce ſet ſail when he perceiv'd the vice-roy's galleons returning with a new recruit of ſhips and men, and being apprehenſive that he might in his abſence burn *Surat*, he made up as tho' he would return into the bay, but the galleons having had ſight of his fleet, purſu'd them, but ſo ſlowly, that it was evident they had no intention to come up with him. The admiral therefore caſt anchor, to decoy them further from *Surat*; but the vice-roy ſeeing them ſtop as if they waited for him, and not knowing that the *Engliſh* were as eager to get away as he was, for fear of the bad weather, which uſually began at that time of the year, being in the beginning of *March*, and ſeeing that he durſt not ſend his forces aſhore and leave his ſhips a prey to the *Engliſh*, and finding that his people had no ſtomach to try the weight of the *Engliſh* bullets any more, he gave over purſuing them, and, to the great comfort of the admiral, (who like a good man valu'd the lives of his men above any reputation of bravery he could have farther acquir'd) turn'd towards the ſhore, but with the ſtern to *Surat*, and ſo made off towards *Goa*.

And return again without doing any thing.

When

The Engliſh ſail to Bantam,

When the galleons were gone, and ſo the admiral freed from his apprehenſions of *Surat* for that ſeaſon, he diſpatch'd the *Hope* for *England* as he at firſt propos'd, and he himſelf with the other ſhips went to *Bantam*, where they did not arrive till the ſecond of *June*. Here they loaded the *Solomon* with ſilks for *Maſulipatan*, intending to ſend ſome merchants thither to ſettle a factory. Here likewiſe they had accounts from ſeveral places of the ill uſage the *Engliſh* receiv'd from the *Dutch*, and that they were grown ſo inſolent, that they purpos'd to come with all their force to *Bantam*, and to depoſe the king of that place, and put one of their own making in his ſtead.

where the admiral dies, Aug. 6. 1614.

But about the beginning of *Auguſt* dy'd their excellent admiral Mr. *Downton*, who ſeem'd to have been a fine gentleman in every reſpect; his courage and good conduct having been accompany'd with piety and great modeſty. His death was a loſs to his country, and particularly to the *Eaſt India* company, whom he ſerv'd faithfully whilſt he liv'd. Mr. *Elkinton* ſucceeded him in the command of the ſhips.

What farther account is given of thoſe ſhips which ſtaid behind the *Hope*, is, that they were plagu'd with inſults and ill uſage of the *Dutch*; that a conſiderable man from *Pallaway*, one of the *Banda* iſlands, came to *Bantam*, offering the *Engliſh* the trade of thoſe iſlands provided they would aſſiſt them to drive the *Dutch* out of them; but Mr. *Elkinton* having told them that he could not anſwer his complying with their requeſt without orders from *England*, the treaty came to nothing. Having therefore laded their ſhips there and in ſome neighbouring places, they return'd to *England* without any other memorable occurrence.

SECT. XIII.

Captain Peyton's *ſecond voyage for the* Eaſt India *company.*

IN *January* 1614-5, the *Eaſt India* company fitted out a fleet of four ſhips, *viz.* the *Expedition*, the *Dragon*, the *Lion*, and the *Pepper-Corn*, under the command of Mr. *Keeling*, capt. *Peyton*, from whom the account is taken, being commander of the *Expedition*.

On board the *Lion* was Sir *Thomas Roe*, the king's ambaſſador to the *Mogul*, with his retinue. This fleet had on board eleven *Japaneſes*, who had come to *England* in the *Clove*, and 14 *Guzarats*, whom the *Dragon* had brought from *India* to help to work their ſhip. But the worſt company they had were nineteen newgate-birds, who having been condemn'd to be hang'd, the company had beg'd them off to ſend with their fleet.

Saldania bay.

They ſet ſail the latter end of *February*, and the 5th of *June* anchor'd in *Saldania* bay, where they found the natives leſs fearful and ſhy than they us'd to be, which was occaſion'd by one *Coree*, an *African*, who had been carried to *England* by one of the *Eaſt India* ſhips, and brought back to *Saldania* by admiral *Downton*. This man, altho' he prefer'd (as was natural) his own country, and the company of his own family and friends to the *Engliſh*, and therefore had left the admiral when he was in that bay the year before, yet having been well us'd in *England*, and a witneſs of the honeſty and integrity of the *Engliſh* nation, he had given his countrymen ſuch impreſſions in their favour, that as ſoon as the *Engliſh* fleet arriv'd, they came flocking about them without any ſhow of fear, and *Coree* himſelf came aboard, and invited ſeveral of them to his houſe, where they ſaw his wives and children, and were entertain'd in the beſt manner he could. In this place they landed ten of the moſt diſorderly of their newgate-adventurers, giving them arms for their defence both againſt two-leg'd and four-leg'd enemies: they choſe *John Croſs* for their head, but what became of them we hear no account.

Mohila.

July 22 they came to an anchor at *Mohilea* or *Mohila* formerly mention'd, one of the *Comori* iſlands, where they had good proviſions and very cheap, getting three cows for a bar of iron of 25 pound weight, and the natives told them that there was a ſtrong current which run eaſterly for 15 days, and then weſterly for as long, and after that for the ſame number of days there was no current at all. Captain *Peyton* obſerv'd the eaſterly current, and then the change to weſterly as they had told him, but they left the place before the 15 days were expir'd.

Sir Tho. Rowe landed at Surat.

Leaving that place, they made what haſte they could to *Swalley* bay, the ambaſſador being earneſt to be at *Surat*, in his way to the *Mogul*'s court. They anchor'd in the bay the 18th of *September*, and in eight days ſet the ambaſſador aſhore at *Surat*, where the cuſtom-houſe officers ſearch'd the *Engliſh* in a very ſtrict and even indecent manner, and with much ado Sir *Thomas* himſelf and three or four more of his chief attendants were excus'd from the ſearch, making them pay for a pocket-knife, and for their pocket-money, and if any of them had any curious thing about them, the governor was ſure to have it under colour of buying it, but never paying for it.

Having

The fleet ſails to Calicut,

Having ſet the ambaſſador aſhore (of whom we ſhall give an account hereafter) they landed ſome goods there, and ſail'd along the coaſt towards *Calicut* upon the coaſt of *Malabar*, and in their way took a *Portugal* prize. Upon their arrival at *Calicut*, they were welcomed by all the people of diſtinction in the place, and earneſtly ſolicited to ſtay there, at leaſt till they could give their king, whom they call'd their *Samorin*, an account of their coming, becauſe he had long'd for their arrival on that coaſt ever ſince he had receiv'd the letter brought him from admiral *Downton* by the *Malabar* captain mention'd in the laſt ſection. They told the commodore that the *Samorin* was then at the ſiege of *Crangalor* againſt the *Portugueſes*, but that they would ſend an expreſs to him, which they did forthwith, and in ſhort time there came a letter from him, inviting the *Engliſh* to come before that city, where he would be glad to talk to their general. The admiral comply'd with this deſire of the *Samorin*, and ſail'd to *Crangalor* between *Cochin* and *Calicut*.

and from thence to Crangalor.

As ſoon as they arriv'd in that bay, the king ſent to deſire the general to go aſhore, which he did ſoon after. The king receiv'd him with extraordinary joy, and ſoon propos'd to ſettle a factory at *Crangalor*, offering a fine houſe rent-free, as alſo an intire exemption from all cuſtoms or taxes whatſoever for all goods imported or exported; and in all his words and behaviour, the *Samorin* ſhew'd the greateſt friendſhip to the *Engliſh* nation. He promis'd beſides, that as ſoon as he had diſpoſſeſs'd the *Portugueſes* of *Crangalor*, which he was reſolv'd to do before he return'd to his own houſe, he would put the *Engliſh* in quiet poſſeſſion of that harbour and fort. The general anſwer'd with great civility to thoſe kind offers; but told him, that at preſent they had not goods ſufficient to eſtabliſh a trade, having left moſt of their *Engliſh* cargo at *Surat*, and were bound for *Bantam*. To this the king reply'd, that it was no matter whether they had effects at preſent, or not; all that he deſir'd was to leave ſome of their merchants in his country, as a pledge of their deſign to ſettle there, promiſing to take care that they ſhould want for nothing; and the year following they might bring what goods they thought proper, and deal with his ſubjects with the utmoſt freedom.

A factory begun there.

Upon theſe advantageous terms the general concluded a correſpondence with the *Samorin*, and ſent Mr. *Woolman*, with three others, and a boy to learn the language, aſhore to fix at *Crangalor*. The agreement was as follows:

No. XIV. 6.

Undericon Cheete, *the great* Samorin, &c. *to* James, *by the Grace of* GOD, *king of* Great Britain, &c.

The articles agreed upon between the king of Calicut *and the general.*

" WHereas your Servant and Subject *William Keeling*, Eſq; arriv'd " in my kingdom in the month of *March*, " 1615, with three *Engliſh* ſhips at the " port of *Crangalor*, in latitude 10 deg. " 15 min. and at my earneſt ſolicitation " came aſhore to ſee me: there was con- " cluded, by me, for my part, and by " him for the *Engliſh* nation, as follow- " eth:

" As I have been ever an enemy to " the *Portugals*, ſo do I purpoſe to con- " tinue for ever. I do hereby faithfully " promiſe to be and continue a friend to " the *Engliſh*, and my ſucceſſors after " me: to endeavour the taking in of the " fort of *Crangalor*, and to poſſeſs the " *Engliſh* thereof, as their own with the " iſland thereof, which is in length, on " the ſea coaſt, nine miles, and in breadth " three.

" Provided, that I purpoſe to build " therein a houſe for ſome of my own " people, to the number of one hundred " perſons.

" I will alſo endeavour, with the aid " of the *Engliſh*, hereafter to take in " the fort and town of *Cochin*, belong- " ing formerly to my crown and king- " dom, and then to deliver it into the " poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* as their own " proper lands and poſſeſſions: provided " that the charge of the ſurprize be " equally born, the one half by myſelf, " the other by the *Engliſh* nation; and " the benefit of the ſpoils thereof in " whatſoever quality, the one half to be- " long to me, the other half to the *Eng-* " *liſh* nation.

" The *Samorin* to have no right, title, " or intereſt in the aforeſaid town, pre- " cincts or appurtenances of *Cochin* at " all.

" And the *Samorin* does alſo covenant " for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that " the whole trade of the *Engliſh*, in " whatſoever commodities brought in, or " carried out, ſhall yield or allow no " manner of cuſtom, impoſition, tax, toll, " or any other duty of whatſoever qua- " lity.

" And to theſe covenants, which the " ſhortneſs of time did not permit to am- " plify, I the *Samorin* have religiouſly " ſworn by the great GOD I ſerve, to " perform accordingly, and that not only " for myſelf, but for my ſucceſſors after " me; and in witneſs whereof have laid " my hand upon the writing.

" And the ſaid *William Keeling* does " promiſe to acquaint the king's majeſty

" with the premiſes, and to endeavour " his majeſty's undertaking thereof ac- " cordingly.

After the ſigning theſe articles, the ſhips ſet ſail from *Crangalor*, being the 10th of *March*, and the next day took a *Portugueſe* ſhip of 500 tons from *Bengal*, and the day after another.

The fleet ſails for Sumatra *and* Java.

In this courſe captain *Peyton* parted from the fleet with the *Expedition*, and taking leave of the general, who was bound for *Achen*, he deſign'd for *Priaman*, *Tecoa*, and *Bantam*, they all perform'd their reſpective voyages, and met at *Tecoa* the 26th of *May* 1616. The general had brought the king of *Achen*'s letter commanding them to ſhew all kindneſs to the *Engliſh*. The *Tecoans* expreſs'd all the ſeeming regard to it, kiſſing it with great reſpect, but as to the contents, they did not obſerve a tittle of them. Captain *Peyton* ſays the people of *Tecoa* are baſe, theviſh and ſubtle, and ſtick at no frauds or tricks to get money. The ſame author complains much of the barbarity of the *Dutch* in thoſe parts, who did all they could at *Bantam* and *Jacatra*, and indeed through all the *Eaſt Indies*, and elſewhere, to diſcredit the *Engliſh* nation, and did them all the miſchief in their power, both as to their intereſt and reputation. Nor did they ſpare their perſons, when they could attack them with ſafety, that is, when they were much more numerous than they; for when they were near an equality, they never attempted them, unleſs it was underhand. But the *Dutch* were ſo little belov'd by the *Indians*, that they diſcover'd all their tricks and miſrepreſentations to the *Engliſh*, which made them aware of them, and ſo defeated a great many of their plots.

Baſe behaviour of the Dutch.

Whilſt this fleet was in the *Eaſt Indies* captain *Peyton* reckons no leſs than 20 *Engliſh* factories in thoſe parts, viz. *Bantam*, *Jacatra*, *Surat*, *Amadaras*, *Agra*, *Brampore*, *Calicut*, *Maſulipatan*, *Petapoli*, *Patania*, *Siam*, *Benjarmaſſe*, *Soccodania*, *Macaſſer*, *Achen*, *Jambe*, *Tecoa*, *Firando* in *Japan*, *Japar*, and *Banda*. That of *Achen* was the moſt conſiderable, being the mart for pepper, which the king caus'd to be brought thither from all parts of his dominions. He had fallen out with the *Dutch*, and given the houſe they had at *Achen* to the *Engliſh*. The occaſion of the quarrel, at leaſt of their having the place, was this. The king's *chop*, as they call it, or licence was requir'd, by the laws of the country, before any new-comer could go aſhore at *Achen*: But the *Dutch* reſident, to ſhew his intereſt with the king, brought the commodore of ſome ſhips lately arriv'd, aſhore to the *Dutch* houſe, without asking the *chop*; which being told to the king, he ſent for them both, and the reſident was toſs'd by an elephant in the preſence of the commodore, to the no ſmall terror of both. But he excus'd the latter, as being ignorant of the laws, and the reſident was more frighted than hurt; for the elephants there were bred to ſhake men in their trunks to ſuch certain degrees, and to ſtop at ſigns made to them. When the chaſtiſement was over, the poor *Dutchman* went very ſubmiſſively up to the king, and thank'd him for his fatherly correction, acknowledging that it was milder than he had deſerv'd; but that very night both the commodore and the factors deſerted the city, and went aboard their ſhips, and the next day ſet ſail from the bay; which the king reſented ſo much, that he declar'd he would have no more commerce with them, and therefore put the *Engliſh* in poſſeſſion of the *Dutch* houſe.

The king of Achen *falls out with the* Dutch.

Engliſh factories in the East Indies.

After the *Engliſh* had finiſh'd what they had to do at *Achen*, they took their leave of the king, and the factory, and ſet ſail for *Bantam* in the month of *September*. At their arrival, they found their countrymen in a bad ſtate of health, which the general attributed to their drinking arrack in too great plenty, and he was of opinion that moſt of the diſtempers that ſeiz'd the *Engliſh* in the *Indies*, were owing to their intemperance, rather than to the inclemency of the air.

Having ſettled all matters there, and taken in their loadings, they began to think of home, and accordingly ſet out the 5th of *November*, and arriv'd the 29th of *May* 1617, in the *Downs*.

The Engliſh *ſail for* England.

Before we conclude this ſection, it will not be improper to take a ſhort view of the factory at *Crangalor*, which was ſettled by the general commanding in this voyage, and carried on by perſons who came along with him from *England*.

We have already obſerv'd, that Mr. *Woolman* was left at the head of the factory together with three others, *viz.* *Needham*, *Hawes* and *Stamford*, and one *Peake*, a youth, to learn the language of the country. They ſtaid at *Crangalor* till *April* 1616, and then by the Samorin's permiſſion they went to *Calicut*, where they intended to ſettle. But altho' they were well receiv'd at firſt by the king's orders to the governor there, and had a houſe given them, yet they found the governor, like many of the great men of his country, very covetous, and conſequently very corrupt. The firſt inſtance they had of his corruption, was his refuſing to ſend general *Keeling*'s letters to *Surat*, till they ſhould diſpoſe of all their goods at *Calicut*; and when he did pretend to ſend them, the meſſenger came back

The factory at Crangalor.

back in a few days, telling that he had been robb'd, and the letters taken from him, but he could give no account by whom, and Mr. *Woolman* and his companions thought they had good reason to believe that it was a contrivance of the governor to get their goods sold at low rates, and to put himself in a way to be brib'd both by the buyers and sellers, as appear'd by his after behaviour.

Mr. *Woolman* dying the *August* following, Mr. *Needham* succeeded in his post, and having sold most of their goods; could get no money, and his broker told him, that when he complain'd to the governor, that he could not bring his debtors to do him justice, they underhand brib'd the governor to put him off by delays.

Altho' the king shew'd himself always friendly to the *English*, yet his being at a distance was a great loss to them, so that Mr. *Needham* thought it necessary to return to *Crangalor*, to make complaint of the hard usage they had met with, which he promis'd to rectify, and accordingly writ letters to the governor to do justice to the *English*, and sent some officers call'd *Nayros* to oblige the debtors to pay what they ow'd them, and gave Mr. *Needham* a present. But the governor found new excuses to stave off the prosecution, and the *Nayros* following his example, took bribes to forbear executing their *Samorin*'s orders. The *English* at last wearied with those delays, and being in-

An odd contrivance to get their money made use of by the English.

form'd that the people were so superstitious that they would neither eat nor wash whilst there was an *Englishman* in their houses, they were resolv'd to oblige them to pay them by quartering themselves upon them, and therefore going to the houses of such as ow'd them money, they told them they would not depart till they were paid, and by that contrivance, by degrees, they got the greatest part of their debts. And in this manner they liv'd with the people of *Calicut* after their ships went away.

SECT. XIV.

Captain Martin Pring's *voyage for the* East India *company*, 1616-7.

An imperfect account of a voyage in 1616.

PURCHAS gives an imperfect account of a voyage undertaken, the year before this, upon the company's account, by captain *Benjamin Joseph*; but it is so lame an one, that we did not think it worth a section by itself, and yet we would not with Dr. *Harris* wholly omit it.

Altho' there is not so much as the number of ships which compos'd this fleet of capt. *Joseph*'s, yet by some circumstances we may gather that it consisted of four at least, for capt. *Childe*, from whose journal *Purchas* took it, mentions the *admiral*, the *vice-admiral*, the *Globe*, and his own ship. There is no account when they left *England*, but we find them at *Saldana* in *June*, 1616; and the 6th of *August*, not far from *Mohila*, they engag'd with the admiral of the *Lisbon* fleet, who having attack'd the *Globe*, capt. *Joseph* sent a civil message aboard the *Portuguese*, to know why he had treated the *English* as enemies, and having receiv'd a rude answer, they engag'd. The *English* commodore was unluckily slain with a cannon bullet, which made his ship fall a-stern, and make a signal for the other captains to go aboard, and capt. *Pepwel* taking the command, it was agreed to attack the enemy, which they did by turns the next day. But the *Portuguese* being a large ship, and well mann'd, held out the whole day, but at last her main mast fell over-board, and soon after the fore-top-mast was cut down by their shot, so that the wind blowing her towards the shore, and the sea being high, they durst not pursue her farther; but the commodore sent the cape merchant in his boat to the admiral, offering him good quarter if he would yield, and promis'd to send him to *Goa*. His answer was, that he would not yield, but if he was overcome, and happen'd to fall alive into their hands, he hop'd he should be well us'd. About 12 at night she struck a-ground between two rocks, and the *English* saw her a-fire, but did not know whether it was by chance or design. The next morning the *English* sent some boats towards the shore, to save any of the *Portugueses* who might have escap'd; but at their approaching the island, they saw no sign of any, and the rocks were so high that it was not practicable to land: So they return'd to their ships, and coasted about the island, till they found a landing place, where they bought some beeves, goats, hens, lemons, plantanes, and cocoa-nuts. This island was *Comora*.

Capt. Joseph engages the Portuguese admiral, and is kill'd.

The Portuguese admiral burnt.

Leaving this island, they arriv'd in *Swalley* bay, *Sept.* 24, where Mr. *Kerrige*, the *English* factor at *Surat*, came aboard the general. From this place capt. *Childe* made a voyage to *Jasques* in the gulph of *Ormus* on the coast of *Persia*, in order to land some merchants who were to go from thence to *Mogustan*, and having landed them, he return'd to *Swalley* road. And this is all the account we have of this voyage, unless some of the ships hereafter nam'd were a part of *Pepwell*'s fleet.

Admiral Pring's voyage.

The next voyage we meet with, upon the *East India* company's account, is that of captain *Martin Pring*, which was begun in *Feb.* 1616-7. This fleet consisted of five ships, *viz.* the *Royal James*, of 1000 tuns, the *Anne Royal* 900, the *Gift* 800

800 tuns, the *Bull* 400 tuns, and the *Bee* 150 tuns; *Pring* being commander in chief. About the 25th of *Auguſt*, 1617, in lat. 4 deg. 35 min. upon the coaſt of *Africa*, they found the ſea of a whitiſh colour, which continu'd ſo long as they had the current; but as ſoon as they were free of that, the colour of the water chang'd. In this courſe they paſs'd *Zocotara* without ſeeing it, and the *James* ſprung a leak, which more than once gave them much trouble, but at ſeveral times was ſtopt by a piece of ſail, ſtuft with okham, and put under the ſhip to be ſuck'd in by the current that enter'd the ſhip. In this ſea they took a *Portugueſe* ſhip come from *Moſambick*, laden with elephant's teeth, and bound for *Diu*. Soon after which, they ſaw two *Engliſh* ſhips in chaſe of a junk belonging to *Surat*. The commodore ſent the *Gift* and *Bee* in chaſe of the purſuers, and finding them to be interlopers, not authoriz'd by the company, they ſav'd the junk, which they afterwards found to belong to the great *Mogul*'s mother, and had on board, 20 tuns of ſilver or more, and brought the *Engliſh* ſhips as prize along with them into *Swalley* bay. By this action they ingratiated themſelves much with the *Mogul* and all the natives, ſeeing that they did not ſpare their own countrymen, in doing unlawful actions.

They arrive at Swalley *bay.*

They traded to and again in the *Indies*, all that winter, dividing themſelves as they found it proper, ſome going to *Sumatra*, others to *Java*, and the reſt ſtaying at *Surat*. In *March* the *Anne* went to the *Red Sea*, as we ſhall hear afterwards. As ſome of the fleet ſail'd along the coaſt of *Malabar*, the king of *Calicut* ſent a boat aboard with a woman who ſpoke *Portugueſe*, and four men to invite them aſhore; but they were too far paſt the anchoring ground to comply with it; and therefore coaſted along to *Brinian* or *Briu-Jan*, between *Calicut* and cape *Comori*, where they met with good refreſhment, but treacherous people, who after having agreed with them for what they were to have, exacted more than they had agreed for, and their perfidious governor brought ſeven or 800 men to force them to pay a new tax; ſo they made no long ſtay there, but paſſing cape *Comori*, made the beſt of their way to *Bantam*, where they arriv'd *July* 19, and found a dangerous diſpute a-foot between the *Engliſh* factory and the *Pangran* or ſuperintendant of the commerce there, the occaſion of which was as follows. Captain *Bull*, commander of an *Engliſh* ſhip then at *Bantam*, having ſold goods to the *Chineſes*, to a conſiderable value, and not being able to oblige them to pay him, nor to perſuade the *Pangran* to do him juſtice upon them, and ſeeing his time and buſineſs loſt in a fruitleſs proſecution, reſolv'd to do himſelf that juſtice aboard which was deny'd him aſhore; and therefore he arreſted a *Chineſe* junk, then in the road of *Bantam*. This was grievouſly reſented by the *Pangran*, as an infringement of his authority, and there was all the reaſon to believe that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, revenge it upon the factory; which having been repreſented by the factors to captain *Pring*, he went aſhore to the *Pangran*, taking captain *Bull* along with him. The *Pangran* admitted the general to an interview, but was ſo inſens'd againſt *Bull*, that no perſuaſions could prevail with him to ſee him. The general told him that capt. *Bull* was willing to releaſe the junk upon his promiſe to oblige the *Chineſes* to pay him his money; which the *Pangran* promis'd, but did not perform; ſo that when *Pring*'s fleet ſail'd from *Bantam* there was no end put to that affair.

Treacherous Indians.

A diſpute between the Engliſh *and the* Pangran *of* Bantam.

Captain Pring *removes to* Jacatra.

Upon the firſt of *September*, they ſail'd from *Bantam* road, and the next day arriv'd at *Jacatra*, in the ſame iſland of *Java*, where they found the king well diſpos'd to favour them, and with whom they agreed to pay 700 reals a year for liberty of free trade, and 1500 ready money for a piece of ground to build a houſe for their factory.

Whilſt they were at *Jacatra*, ſome *Engliſh* ſhips arriv'd from the *Molucca's* with letters to the factory of *Bantam*, who gave the general a diſmal account of the baſe uſage all his countrymen had met with from the *Dutch* in thoſe parts; for they not only hinder'd them from trade, but from neceſſary refreſhment, and even proceeded to ſuch barbarity as to plunder their ſhips, and put their men in irons. But ſoon afterwards, the captain of a *French* ſhip (which had been taken by the *Dutch*) coming into *Jacatra* road, gave the general an account of the arrival of Sir *Thomas Dale* with ſix ſtout ſhips from *England*, and that he would ſoon be at *Jacatra*, or *Bantam*, which accordingly happen'd *November* 19. Captain *Pring* went aboard the *Clove*, which was the admiral (having loſt the *Sun* upon *Enganno* iſland, and loſt ſight of the *Globe* to the weſtward of the cape) Sir *Thomas* had in his company the *Moon*, the *Sampſon*, and the *Pepper Corn*. After ſome converſation with this new admiral, to whom *Pring* ſhew'd ſo much reſpect as to order his flag to be taken in, as Sir *Thomas* paſs'd by his ſhip, and ſaluted him with 15 guns, which he had planted on the ſhore from the *James*, which was now careening at a ſmall iſland. Sir *Thomas Dale* ſail'd for *Bantam*; but ſoon after both fleets met again according to concert, with a deſign to purſue the *Dutch*,

Sir Thomas Dale *arrives with ſix ſhips more from* England.

Both fleets agree to purſue the war againſt the Dutch.

Dutch, and to take reparation for the injuries they had from time to time done the *Engliſh* in the *Eaſt Indies*.

The firſt act of hoſtility between them, after this concert was the taking a *Dutch* ſhip from *Potania*, which was given up to them upon condition that the crew ſhould have leave to depart with ſuch goods as belong'd to themſelves particularly; which was granted.

The united fleets conſiſted of 11 ſail. Sir *Thomas Dale* ſail'd in the *Moon*; and capt. *Pring* in the *Gift*. It was agreed in a council of war, that they ſhould go in ſearch of the *Dutch*; which they did, and *December* 20 diſcover'd 7 ſail of their largeſt ſhips in the bay of *Jacatra*, but they got out of the bay before the *Engliſh* were ready to attack them. They ſhifted places two or three times, but at laſt Sir *Thomas Dale* with his *Moon* came up with the *Dutch Sun*, and the reſt of the fleets engag'd by degrees, and fought for three hours, till night parted them, and the next day, the *Dutch* having ſet ſail towards *Jacatra*, the *Engliſh* purſu'd them; the *Dutch* ſent a fire ſhip among the *Engliſh* ſhips, but being aware of her, they eſcap'd the danger.

A fight between the Engliſh and Dutch.

Miſſing the *Dutch* fleet, Sir *Thomas* went aſhore at *Jacatra*, to pay a viſit to the king, whom he found ſo exaſperated againſt the *Dutch*, that he beg'd Sir *Thomas*'s aſſiſtance againſt them; ſo it was agreed that ſix pieces of cannon ſhould be landed to batter the *Dutch* fort; that Sir *Thomas Dale* ſhould ſtay in *Jacatra* road to aſſiſt the ſiege as he ſaw occaſion, and capt. *Pring* ſhould ſail, with ſix ſhips, towards the *Sunda* ſtreights to look for the *Dutch* fleet; all which was perform'd accordingly; and ſome time after the *Dutch* offer'd to deliver up the fort to the *Engliſh* admiral, provided the garriſon, bag and baggage, ſhould have a ſhip for money to carry them to *Cormandel*. But the *Pangran* of *Bantam* having had ſecret intelligence with the garriſon, diſappointed the *Engliſh* of it, altho' he miſs'd of his deſign of getting it into his own hands. The *Engliſh* were ſo exaſperated at this, that the fleet ſail'd to *Bantam*, and ſent to their factors there to come aboard with all their effects. The Pangran ſent to know the cauſe of their departure, pretending that he had never done any thing to their prejudice; but the *Engliſh* preſident, capt. *Jordan*, drew up a memorial againſt him, recounting all the injuries he had done them from time to time: This he had tranſlated into the *Javan* language, and ſent the Pangran a copy of it.

Treachery of the Pangran of Bantam.

After this Sir *Thomas* went back to *Jacatra* in queſt of ſome *Dutch* ſhips ſaid to be come into that road, and captain *Pring* went to the ſtreights to wait for them in caſe they ſhould go that way, as indeed they did; and upon meeting that part of the *Engliſh* fleet under command of that general, they bore up and fir'd a broadſide at him; but the *Engliſh* had no ſooner anſwer'd them in the ſame coin, but their admiral turn'd tail firſt, and the other three immediately after, and being lighter than the *Engliſh* ſhips, they ſoon got out of the reach of their guns, and ſo eſcap'd them. Two other *Dutch* ſhips having been in *Bantam* road, one of them, for haſte to get away upon Sir *Thomas Dale*'s arrival, ſtruck upon a rock, and was ſet a-fire by her own crew; and the other ſhip was caſt away upon the rocks, 10 leagues from *Jacatra*.

Affairs at *Bantam* being but in a bad way, and a great deal of money owing by the *Chineſes* there, they went back with a deſign to perſuade the king to diſcard the Pangran, who had been the author of ſo much miſchief to them. To proſecute this affair, Sir *Thomas Dale* ſtaid there, and capt. *Pring* ſail'd for *Maſulipatan*. But the monſoon being againſt them, they were forc'd to take up with a bay in 17 degrees n. latitude, about 5 leagues eaſt of *Naſſapore*, and traverſing that coaſt, they traded with the natives for proviſions, which they got good ſtore of, and were well receiv'd by the governor of *Vingeron*, who reliſh'd the preſent the captain made him ſo well, that he came aboard his ſhip in expectation of another.

Whilſt captain *Pring* was coaſting hereabouts, Sir *Thomas Dale* left *Bantam*, and got to *Maſulipatan* before them, where that worthy gentleman died ſoon after his arrival: Upon the news of whoſe death, captain *Pring* made what haſte he could to join his fleet, where he was acknowledg'd as admiral of the joint fleet, which, (having landed ſome merchants who were to reſide there) he conducted to *Sumatra*. In this courſe he met with three more *Engliſh* ſhips; but heard from them the mortifying news of five ſhips having been taken by the *Dutch*, and two more in danger. This, and a conſiderable increaſe to the *Dutch* force lately arriv'd to them, made admiral *Pring* reſolve to avoid fighting as much as was poſſible. However there was a neceſſity for their going to *Bantam* and *Jacatra* at all hazards, which they were reſolv'd to undertake: But, to their great comfort, they had ſcarce paſt the ſtreights of *Sunda*, when they met with a ſhip juſt come from *England*, which gave them the joyful news of the peace concluded at home between the king and the ſtates of *Holland* with reſpect to the *Eaſt Indies*: And in token of the truth of this intelligence, the *Dutch* fleet met them before they reach'd

The death of Sir Thomas Dale.

Peace concluded between England and Holland with regard to the Eaſt Indies.

reach'd to *Bantam*, and welcom'd them as friends.

This news was as pleaſing to the *Engliſh* as it was diſagreeable to the *Pangran* of *Bantam*, becauſe he now ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of doing juſtice to the merchants, altho' he had formerly ſtav'd off all efforts made for it; and all that they could get from him at this time was, *Why would the* Engliſh *make peace with the* Dutch? But as the king was a minor, and this man had intereſt enough to be continu'd in the exerciſe of his authority, there was no juſtice to be expected unleſs the general would make war upon *Bantam*, which was not thought adviſeable at that time. And therefore leaving the reſt of the fleet employ'd in trading in *Java* and *Sumatra*, the general ſet ſail for *Japan* with only two ſhips in his company.

Having formerly given ſome account of the courſe from *Java* to *Japan*, we ſhall paſs by all the account here given by the general, and only take notice that they arriv'd in the bay of *Firando* in *July*, where ſoon after they were join'd by other *Engliſh* ſhips, and likewiſe by others from *Holland*, and the peace being known every where, they all united to carry on their buſineſs as one people, and choſe deputies of both nations to manage their affairs at court, and to carry preſents from both nations as united, to the emperor. Thoſe deputies, two for each nation, went to the emperor's court, and return'd in a ſhort time with good ſucceſs, and as this was all that was intended, *viz.* to pave the way for farther correſpondence, general *Pring* return'd for *Bantam*, where he loaded the *Royal James* with pepper, ſilk, and cloves, and made the beſt of his way for *England*, where he arriv'd in *September*, 1621, having been abroad five years.

Captain Shilling's *voyage to the* Red Sea.

In the ſecond year of this voyage, *viz.* 1617, the *Royal Anne*, under the conduct of captain *Andrew Shilling*, ſail'd from *Swalley* road towards the *Red Sea*, ſo that ſhe having been one of general *Pring*'s ſquadron, it may not be improper, in this ſection, to give an account of her ſucceſs in thoſe parts, where the *Engliſh* had been ſo treacherouſly us'd in former voyages.

Capt. *Shilling* left the fleet, by conſent, in *March*, 1617-8, and having as proſperous a wind as could be wiſh'd, arriv'd at *Moka* in *April*, 1618, having been only a month in this voyage between *Swalley* and this place. Upon his appearing in ſight of the city, the *Aga* ſent aboard to learn who they were, and what was their buſineſs, to which the captain having given a direct anſwer, he ſaluted the town, in the uſual manner, by firing ſome pieces of cannon. This civility encourag'd the governor to ſend a perſon of ſome diſtinction to tell them that they were welcome to *Moka*, and ſent a preſent of freſh proviſions to the captain, and deſir'd that ſome of their company might come aſhore. But the captain, who had not forgot the barbarity of the *Turks* towards Sir *Henry Middleton*, gave them to underſtand that he would not ſend any of his people aſhore without having ſufficient hoſtages for their good treatment. As ſoon as this meſſage was deliver'd to the *Aga*, he ſent two conſiderable perſons as pledges, and another preſent to the captain, who thereupon ſent the two chief merchants aſhore with an interpreter to treat with the *Aga* concerning their trade.

He arrives at Moka.

The Aga receives the Engliſh *with much courteſy.*

The *Aga* receiv'd them in great ſtate, but with much civility, and amongſt other things having inquir'd, why they had been ſo cautious about coming aſhore, and having been anſwer'd, that it was owing to the former ill treatment the *Engliſh* had met with, he ſaid, it was very true, that Sir *Henry Middleton* and his people had been baſely treated by the *Aga* of *Moka*, but that was owing to the wickedneſs of the then *Aga*, who had met with the juſt reward of his brutality; but he deſir'd them to aſſure their commander, that they ſhould meet with all manner of good uſage from him, whilſt he ſtaid there. He receiv'd the captain's preſent very thankfully; and diſmiſs'd the merchants with all ſigns of friendſhip. They went from him to the *Scrivano*, who was the perſon next in authority to the *Aga* or governor, and being ſuperintendent of the publick buſineſs, eſpecially with regard to trade, it was neceſſary to get him of their intereſt. He receiv'd them almoſt with equal ſtate, and promis'd them his aſſiſtance and friendſhip; which was of the greateſt conſequence to the *Engliſh*, becauſe he in a manner govern'd the governor. Beſides the good temper which they perceiv'd in the people of *Moka* towards them, they were ſecure of not being inſulted, becauſe the *Aga*, to give them the greater confidence in him, had ſworn by *Mahomet*'s beard, that no injury ſhould be ſuffer'd to be done them at *Moka*.

Being thus ſecure of the *Aga* and *Scrivano*, by their conſent they went to look out for a convenient houſe for themſelves. This city, by their account, was one of the neateſt, cleaneſt cities in the world, every one being oblig'd to keep the ſtreet clean and water'd before his own door twice a day, and the dirt of the ſtreet was conſtantly thrown into a common ſewer, which was ſcour'd by the ſea every tide. The houſes, which are generally of brick or ſtone, are for the moſt part two ſtories high, with a terrace a-top, where they have ſummer-houſes made of canes and mats, in which they paſs the nights, and

that

that part of the day which is the cooleſt, enjoying there the freſh air, and ſea breezes, and when it begins to be hot, they go down to the lower parts of the houſe for ſhelter againſt the ſun.

The merchants having provided themſelves in a houſe, which they intended to fit up in their own way, went aboard the ſhip and gave the captain a full account of all their negotiation. But ſoon after the *Aga* being to remove to another command, they went to take leave of him, and expreſs'd their ſorrow for his removal; but he aſſur'd them his ſucceſſor would treat them with the ſame civility and kindneſs that he had done, of which they might reſt the better ſatisfied, becauſe the baſhaw of *Zenan*, by whoſe orders all the injuries offer'd to Sir *Henry Middleton* had been done, was remov'd with diſgrace. The *Scrivano* likewiſe gave them the ſame aſſurances of friendſhip; ſo that having taken leave of the *Aga*, they return'd to their houſe.

The Aga of Moka remov'd.

Upon the arrival of the new *Aga*, the captain having been appriz'd of it from *Moka*, ſaluted him with his guns, which he took very kindly. But if the *Engliſh* had known that he was the very *Regib* who had put Sir *Henry Middleton* in chains, and exercis'd ſuch cruelties upon their countrymen, it is probable they would not have truſted his word a ſecond time. But as they were ignorant of it for ſome time, they went to wait upon him, and none of them having been in *Moka* during his former government, he took care to conceal the truth from them. He receiv'd them with a frankneſs with which they were pleas'd, and promis'd them all aſſiſtance and good uſage; nor did he deceive them as he had their countrymen before. The reaſon of this change in the *Aga* ſeems to have been the danger he had lately been in of being ruin'd for his miſbehaviour whilſt he was governor of *Moka* before; but having the addreſs to ſkreen himſelf by laying all his own villany upon the baſhaw of *Zenan*, who was likewiſe in diſgrace, and whoſe head it is probable paid for the miſcarriages of both, he was now under a neceſſity of acting in another way, to make it appear that the excuſe he made uſe of was not a feign'd one, and that the wickedneſs he was charg'd with did not proceed from his own inclination, but from the orders he had receiv'd. However this was, the *Aga* treated the *Engliſh* well, and allow'd them great freedom of converſation. Among other familiar diſcourſe, Sir *Henry Middleton*'s name having been mention'd, one of the merchants took the liberty to ask how he came to be ſo treacherouſly dealt with. The *Aga* then exclaim'd againſt the covetous and cruel temper of the baſhaw of *Zenan*, and laid the blame upon him; but withal he charg'd the *Engliſh* who were with Sir *Henry* with crimes which had they been true, would infallibly have occaſion'd the cutting all their throats; ſo that when they diſcover'd that he was *Regib*, they made no doubt but he had forg'd thoſe ſtories of the misbehaviour of the *Engliſh* to excuſe his own crimes. And it was an eaſy thing to have confuted him, by asking, why thoſe crimes were not objected to them when they were in their power? or, why there was no application made to their general to puniſh the firſt tranſgreſſors? or, why thoſe who were found guilty were not proſecuted by the laws of the country? But ſince the *Aga* was civil to them, they did not inſiſt upon that argument long.

In the mean time, they agreed with the *Scrivano*, with the *Aga*'s approbation, to pay three *per cent.* duty for all goods exported or imported; and all coin and bullion, or ſilver and gold of all ſorts, cuſtom free. But altho' the *Aga*, like his predeceſſor, had ſworn by *Mahomet*'s beard to make good all agreements with them, the *Engliſh* not having that veneration either for the prophet or his whiſkers as the *Turks* and *Arabians* had, deſir'd better ſecurity. The *Aga* conſented to this, and ſoon after gave them his *Firman* in manner following.

The Aga's Firman to the Engliſh.

A faithful and perfect Firman, *given by the grace of* God, *to the worthy captain of the* Engliſh, Andrew Shilling, *to the merchants, and to all ſuch as are come with him at preſent, and to all the nation of the* Engliſh *who ſhall come to this port hereafter. For their good uſage and friendly entertainment, by the grace of* God, *and by the faith we have in our holy prophet* Mahomet, *with the licence of our great lord and king, to whom the great* God *of the world give long life. By the fidelity, truth, and authority of the great viſier of* Sinan, Mahomet *baſhaw, whom the great* God *give ſtrength and power in his kingdom, and by the faithfulneſs and true meaning and command of me,* Raiab Aga, *now governor of the town of* Mocha, *to be given to the great nation of the* Engliſh *with all faithfulneſs.*

" THE governor *Raiab Aga* do give " liberty and licence to the *Engliſh* " nation to come to this port, to receive " friendly entertainment, to bring aſhore " their goods, to buy and ſell with all " freedom, to carry aboard ſuch goods as " they buy, without lett or hinderance, " and have made contract with them, that " for all goods they ſhall land, they ſhall " pay three by the hundred, not in rea-

" dy

" dy money, but in goods, and for what " they carry aboard, ſo it be merchandize, " and not proviſion for their ſhips, as " victuals, and ſuch like, that they ſhall " pay ready money at three by the hun- " dred likewiſe, neither more nor leſs, but " as it is contracted by our agreement. " That no inhabitants of this town, nor " people of the country, neither *Turk* nor " *Arab* ſhall injure them, but they ſhall " have their liberty to their content. " And that this my *Firman*, and *Con-* " *tract* is given them with a good heart, " and true meaning to ſee it perform'd, I " witneſs the truth before the moſt high " GOD, and our holy prophet.

Sign'd with my *chop*, the 14th day of *May* in the year of our prophet *Mahomet* 1027.

Captain *Shilling* having procur'd this *Firman*, got likewiſe recommendations from *Moka*, to the baſhaw of *Zenan*, with which Mr. *Salbank* undertook the journey thither, and, by the letters he carried from the *Aga* and *Scrivano*, he was well receiv'd in all cities and towns upon the road, and at his approaching *Zenan*, he was met by a troop of horſe, and by them conducted to a houſe prepar'd for him in the royal city; where he was entertain'd by the *Xeriff*, and the baſhaw's treaſurer for two days, and then had an audience of the baſhaw himſelf, who receiv'd him kindly, and to ſtrengthen the *Firman* given by the *Aga* of *Moka* gave him the following.

In the name of GOD; this letter, written with the Word of truth of the moſt High GOD; *to all nations, governors and officers, over the people under my Government, GOD keep you all.*

The baſhaw of Zenan's Firman.

" KNOW ye, that we have given " our moſt faithful *Firman* into " the hands of Seignior *Andrew Shilling*, " captain of the *Engliſh*, *Joſeph Salbank*, " his companion, and to their friend, *Ed-* " *ward Haynes*, merchant; which are " come to the port of *Mocha*; for them " to go and come to the ſaid port, and " there to buy and ſell all manner of " merchandize freely, and with all con- " tent. And we do farther give them, " by vertue of this our *Firman*, in the " faith of our great GOD, and our holy " prophet *Mahomet*; in the faith of " our great lord, whom GOD preſerve, " and in the faith of ourſelf, governor " of the province and city of *Sinan*, free " licence to ſell and buy there, here, and " in all other of our Ports, and towns " of trade within our government, as free- " ly and quietly, without injury, let, or " moleſtation, as any of the traders or " merchants, which come to that port of " *Mocha*, or any other of what nation " ſoever. And do conſent and agree with " them, to pay for cuſtom of ſuch goods " as they bring, three by the hundred; " and for what they buy and carry forth " three by the hundred likewiſe. And " do promiſe and ſwear, in the true way " of an oath, to keep our word with " them in this agreement, and give you " all hereby to know, that they ſhall " pay neither more nor leſs. And fur- " ther, that they ſhall receive neither in- " jury, hurt, nor danger, nor any diſ- " content given them, either to their " perſons or goods, but they and their " nation ſhall have as from their firſt ſhip " which came to this kingdom, now this, " ſo ever to the laſt ſhip, that ſhall arrive " hereafter, the like friendly entertain- " ment, and good uſage, as we have " commanded to be given them at this " preſent. And that this is my faithful " meaning, this our *Firman* which comes " to your hands ſhall be a witneſs of the " truth.

Written and ſign'd with my royal chop, *from our court of* Sinan, *this* 18*th day of* July, *in the year of our prophet* Mahomet, 1027.

Mr. *Salbank* having receiv'd this *Firman* from the baſhaw of *Zenan*, which was the utmoſt ſecurity they could deſire in that country, return'd to *Mocha*, and gave his countrymen to underſtand that *Zenan* was a very likely place to take off great quantities of *Engliſh* cloth; becauſe in the hotteſt months a fur'd gown is very acceptable, and for nine months together the weather is very cold: And, beſides the inhabitants in and about *Zenan*, there were about 40 or 50,000 ſoldiers under the command of the baſhaw, who wear *Venetian* cloth, or quilted cotton, whereas they might be cheaper cloath'd from *England*.

Captain *Shilling* having thus ſettled a trade at *Mocha* upon the beſt footing that could be deſir'd, and having found *Regib Aga* faithful in all that had been agreed between them, left a factory there, and ſet ſail from the *Red Sea*, and return'd to the *Indies*.

SECT. XV.

A ſhort account of the diſputes between the Engliſh *and* Dutch, *with regard to the* Banda *iſlands, before the peace mention'd in the laſt ſection.*

HItherto we have related ſome of the moſt remarkable voyages to the ſeveral

veral parts of the *East Indies*, collected by *Purchas*, and, from him, retail'd by *Harris*: But we have not ſtuck to the order follow'd either by the one or the other, having varied our method of relating them according to the order of time, in which the ſeveral voyages were perform'd: And if we have not been able to avoid confuſion, we have been careful to keep our traveller as free of repetitions as was poſſible, without omitting particular occurrences neceſſary for giving the reader a diſtinct account of ſettling our trade in that part of the world.

The preſent account is not appropriated to any voyage, and ſome of the ſhips mention'd hereafter in this ſection, were probably part of one of the fleets already ſpoken of, or ſingle ſhips ſent by the company with inſtructions to the factories. The firſt two we have occaſion to name are the *Swan* and the *Defence*, whom we find at *Bantam* in *October*, 1616.

Captain Courthop with two ſhips ſails to Banda.

Theſe two ſhips under the command of captain *Courthop* arriv'd at *Maccaſor*, one of the *Molucca* iſlands in *November*, and ſail'd from thence the month after to *Banda*, in company with a *Dutch* ſhip, to whom they had done ſeveral pieces of ſervice. After the *Dutchman* had ſail'd for *Amboyna*, capt. *Courthop* came to an anchor at *Polaroon*, and ſome *Orankays*, or chief men, coming aboard, complain'd grievouſly of the oppreſſion of the *Dutch*, and voluntarily offer'd to give up the property of the iſland to the *Engliſh*, as they had done before to captain *Elkinton* after the death of admiral *Downton*, 1615; but he could not then accept of the offer, not having inſtructions concerning the aſſiſtance the iſlanders requir'd againſt the *Dutch*, which capt. *Courthop* had, as likewiſe a commiſſion to receive the ſurrender of ſuch of the ſpice iſlands as ſhould freely give up themſelves to the king of *England*.

Upon this new application made by the *Orankays* of *Polaroon*, and other of the *Banda* iſlands, the captain ask'd them, *Whether, at any time, they had made any contract with the* Dutch *inconſiſtent with the offer they now made?* To which they anſwer'd directly and poſitively, *They had not*, adding, *That they had always look'd upon the* Dutch *as their enemies, and were reſolv'd to periſh rather than ſubmit to them.* And therefore they deſir'd the captain to accept of their free and voluntary reſignation of the different iſlands to which they belong'd, and from henceforth they deſir'd to be reckon'd a part of the *Engliſh* empire.

The ſurrender of the Banda iſlands the K. Engd.

All the articles being debated and agreed upon between them, the writings were drawn up in form, and ſign'd by their *Orankays* and *Sabandars*, and likewiſe by the king of *Wayre*; of which, not to be tedious to the reader, this is the ſubſtance. "That the perſons who ſub-
"ſcrib'd the ſaid writings, had of their
"free motion voluntarily reſign'd the
"iſlands of *Polaroon* and *Pulaway*, *Ro-*
"*ſinging* and *Wayre*, into the hands of
"capt. *Courthop*, Mr. *Cozock*, and Mr.
"*Spurway*, for the uſe, and to be under
"the command of his majeſty, K. *James*,
"by the grace of GOD king of *Great*
"*Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and
"now king of *Polaroon* and *Pulaway*"
(as it was in the writing for two iſlands jointly) "and of *Roſinging* and *Wayre*"
(as expreſs'd in the other writing ſign'd by the king of *Wayre*, and the *Sabanders*) The terms were "That they ſhould be
"ſubject to their own laws, both as to
"their religion and manners: And if any
"iſlander (not convicted of any crime or
"capital miſdemeanor) ſhould turn *Chri-*
"*ſtian*, he was to ſuffer no loſs or ill u-
"ſage upon that account; and the *Eng-*
"*liſh* who had a mind to ſubmit to cir-
"cumciſion, ſhould have the ſame privi-
"lege under the ſame reſtriction. That
"the *Engliſh* ſhould take ſpecial care not
"to abuſe their women contrary to their
"laws, nor to keep ſwine upon any of
"the ſaid iſlands, or at any time uſe the
"iſlanders as ſlaves; but that they ſhould
"live as free ſubjects under the ſame
"king. That no other nation but the
"*Engliſh* ſhould have any ſhare of the
"trade of the iſlands, and that the *Eng-*
"*liſh* on the other hand ſhould furniſh
"them with cloth, and ſuch other goods
"of the produce of *England* or the *In-*
"*dies* as they had need of."

Theſe areicles being agreed upon about *Chriſtmas*, 1616, the *Orankays* deliver'd them poſſeſſion by the ceremony of a *turf of earth* and a *nutmeg tree* out of all the iſlands mention'd, and the captain ſet up St. *George*'s croſs upon an eminence in *Polaroon*, and diſcharg'd a round of guns.

But as they were ſufficiently aware that they would meet with ſome diſturbance from the *Dutch* in their new territories, they agreed to put ſome guns aſhore and ſet up a battery upon a point of land which commanded the road; and then they landed moſt of their goods and ſettled a factory. Nor were they deceiv'd in their apprehenſions of the *Dutch*, for firſt one *Dutch* ſhip came into the road with a bloody flag in token of defiance, but upon the ſight of two ſhips and the the battery from the land, ſhe went away. Some days after three others came to an anchor hard by the *Swan*. Capt. *Courthop* ſent aboard the commodore a copy of the ſurrender of *Polaroon* and *Pulaway*, which he had procur'd to be tranſlated, with a deſign, according to his inſtructions from *England*,

England, to make known to the *Dutch*, that they might not pretend ignorance. Mr. *Muſchamp*, who carried it, ask'd the commodore, whether the *Dutch* pretended any prior engagement of the iſlanders to the ſtates of *Holland*, which he could not affirm. Then Mr. *Muſchamp* told him, that his commodore offer'd them watering there, or any other proviſions that they might ſtand in need of; but upon the *Dutch* commodore's anſwering, that he did not come for that end, the other reply'd, that he had better make the beſt of his way out of the road, becauſe the *Engliſh* would not be able to hinder the *Polaroons* from firing upon them from the fort, and therefore the captain had ſent them word that two glaſſes was all the time he could get allow'd them to ſtay where they were, and if they were not gone in that time, they would fire upon them from the battery. Upon this advice they weigh'd anchor and departed. But ſoon after they ſent one of their boats to ſound along the ſide of a ſmall iſland uninhabited, where a ſmall fort with a good battery, might command the road; but the *Engliſh* firing upon the boat, they made off, and the commodore, to prevent their taking that advantage, planted a battery of his own upon that iſland.

Hitherto affairs had gone tolerably well with the *Engliſh*, but now, by their own fault, they began to decline. Capt. *Courthop* being ſick on board the *Defence*, the maſter of the *Swan* would needs carry her to *Wayre* for water, not only againſt the captain's advice, but in ſpite of the earneſt intreaties of the *Bandaneſes*, who offer'd to go for water in their own *Praws*. But he would not be perſuaded, and having taken in his water at that iſland, loſt his ſhip in his return, and he and his crew, taken aboard of her, became priſoners to the *Dutch*. The captain, upon intelligence of this misfortune, ſent to *Nero* road to know why the *Dutch* had taken his ſhip? To which they anſwer'd, that the *Engliſh* had uſurp'd upon them, and thought now to reap all the advantage of their toil, which they would no longer endure, but would chaſe them out of the *Banda* iſlands.

The Swan taken by the Dutch.

The 11th of *March* the captain had a letter from Mr. *Davis*, giving him an account of his having fought an hour and a half with 30 men againſt 160 before he was taken, but now that the *Dutch* had determin'd to bring all their force againſt him, it would be to no purpoſe to reſiſt, and therefore adviſ'd him to abandon *Polaroon*. The captain, who bravely reſolv'd to defend the iſland and his new fellow ſubjects to the laſt, but was not as yet ready, ſent the boat back to deſire that an *Engliſhman* might be ſent to him with letters from Mr. *Davis*, pretending that he was not ſure whether the letter ſent him was genuine or not. This he did to gain time.

In the mean time he deſign'd to bring the *Defence* under the cannon of his little iſland, and to land all his guns and men with all his proviſions, and truſt to the defence of that place, in caſe the *Dutch* ſhould attack *Polaroon*. He likewiſe ſent to the *Polaroons* to be upon the watch and join with him when the enemies approch'd, that they might pepper them off from both batteries. But when he deſir'd the crew to go aſhore, they refus'd, ſaying, they would not leave the ſhip. However, a few of them going aſhore with him, they carried ſome guns and ammunition, together with proviſions, and leaving one *John King* to command aboard, they began to fortify their works in the little iſland call'd *Neyſacky*: But the baſe crew aboard the *Defence*, went off with the ſhip to the *Dutch*. This, together with an inſolent letter from *Davis*, threatning him if he did not abandon *Polaroon*, and giving him very indecent language, was a great grief to him; however he poſitively refus'd to give up the iſland, but condeſcended to an interview upon hoſtages ſent to *Polaroon* for their ſecurity, who ſhould be ſent to *Lantore*. Sufficient pledges having been ſent, capt. *Courthop* went himſelf to talk with the *Dutch* council. They offer'd to reſtore the ſhips, men, and goods, if the captain would give up *Polaroon*, and renounce all title to the *Banda* iſlands. It was to no purpoſe that he repreſented the injuſtice of their demands, and the diſhonour it would to him to comply with them. They had no regard to his repreſenting the unjuſtifiable proceedings of the *Dutch*, which they could not anſwer to their maſters at home, and might breed a war between *England* and *Holland*. In ſhort, they continu'd firm in their demands, and the captain as reſolutely ſtood to the juſtice of his cauſe, ſo that having try'd in vain to bring them to reaſon, he left them, and return'd to *Polaroon*, where, after he had conſulted with the merchants, it was agreed that they ſhould ſend to *Bantam* an account of all that had happen'd, and deſire the advice and aſſiſtance of their friends there: And accordingly Mr. *Spurway* and Mr. *Hinchley* were diſpatch'd in a *Polaroon* Praw with letters to the factory, and inſtructions to communicate all the proceedings both of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

The Defence carried over to them by the treachery of her crew.

Captain Courthop has a conference with the Dutch, but to no purpoſe.

In their voyage thither, they were purſu'd by a *Dutch* ſhip, but by hard rowing got into *Botun*, where they were conceal'd by the king of that iſland, from whom they bought a new Praw, and taking

taking their goods aboard in a place out of ſight of the *Dutch*, they went aboard and ſail'd to *Mocaſſor*, where they found an *Engliſh* ſhip, in which they ſail'd to *Bantam*, having ſome of the chief people of the *Bandas* along with them, who had carried ſome of the earth of the iſlands, and nutmeg trees, to deliver to the *Engliſh* preſident, as tokens of the ſurrender of them to the crown.

All the year 1617 capt. *Courthop* kept poſſeſſion of his little iſland, where he ſtaid with a few men to defend the big one, reſolving bravely to loſe his life rather than give it up. In the mean time the *Dutch* were in poſſeſſion of *Pulaway*, and had made ſeveral attempts upon *Lantore*, but the natives did not give them footing there, but beat them off as often as they attack'd them. In the end of this year, the *Dutch* general having been inform'd by the rogues who carried the *Defence* to him, how weak the captain's little garriſon was, went with one ſhip to attack it, thinking to have frighten'd them to ſurrender; but the captain ſaluted him with 14 ſharp ſhot, which made him give over the attempt, and ſail back to *Nero* road to wait for more help.

In the beginning of the year 1618, the captain had the mortification to ſee two *Engliſh* ſhips attack'd by four *Dutch*, who fought them ſeven hours, but at laſt were taken. Theſe prov'd to be the *Solomon* and the *Attendance*.

Notwithſtanding the great power of the *Dutch* here and in the *Molucca's*, this worthy captain kept his poſt at the little iſland of *Neyſackey* for three full years, without any aſſiſtance. And indeed one would be tempted to believe that the *Dutch* ſpoke truth when they boaſted *that they had as good intereſt in* London *as the* Eaſt India *company had*, when we conſider that the *Banda* iſlands were ſurrender'd voluntarily to the crown of *England* by the *Orankays*, who were lords of them, and ſeveral of them put in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, as we have related above, and as *Lantore* afterwards was; and yet, the right of the crown was never ſupported againſt the encroachments and barbarities of the *Dutch* for four years together, but they were allow'd to hector and domineer both before and after the peace of 1619, taking the *Engliſh* ſhips, abuſing their men, plundering their goods, and at laſt forcing the poor *Bandaneſes* (who ſhew'd their fidelity to the *Engliſh* even beyond what could have been expected of people ſo ill ſupported) to make a new ſurrender to *Holland* of what they have ſince made ſo valuable a branch of their trade, the whole *Banda* iſlands, ſo contrary to their inclination, that they would have join'd with a much leſs force of the *Engliſh* to have oppos'd a great number of the *Dutch*, to whom they bore an inveterate hatred; and not without reaſon, for they did not uſe them as ſubjects but ſlaves, not as men, but as beaſts.

It is probable indeed, that if Sir *Thomas Dale* had liv'd, this brave captain had been reliev'd, and the *Dutch* paid home for their baſe uſage of the *Engliſh*; but upon his Death, by an unaccountable ill conduct, the *Engliſh* ſhips ſeparating themſelves for different places, many of them fell a Prey to the *Dutch*, and were ſent to ſeveral iſlands, ſome to *Polaway*, others to *Amboyna*, and ſome kept in irons a ſhip-board, and no aſſiſtance all the while ſent to poor captain *Courthop*, of which he complains in a very moving manner, as *Purchas* has it in the end of his Journal *. "This year, ſays he, I had "no letter, nor any advice from our "commanders at *Bantam*, nor any ſup- "ply: and am enforc'd to take up all "my mens goods to buy victuals, to pay "50 *per Cent. per Annum* intereſt. The "30th of *March* 1620, I ſent a letter "to the preſident and commanders, ſig- "nifying my wants; and if the *Portu- "gal* frigate had not come in, I muſt "have given over the place, whom yet "I am enforc'd to ſend to *Bantam* for "his payment on my bill". *GOD grant me good getting out of theſe country peoples hands: for they have ſpent their gold and eſtates, beggering themſelves; and divers of them loſing, ſome their lives, others their liberties, in holding out in expectation of the* Engliſh *forces. Can the Heathens ſail to and again, as alſo all other nations*, French *and* Portugueſe, *and only the* Engliſh *fear to adventure the company's goods, paſſing over the matter with*, Rub out another year. *We have rub'd off the skin already, and if we rub any longer, ſhall rub to the bone. I pray you look to it*, &c.

* Purch. Vol. I. B. V. Ch. 9.

The captain having kept his garriſon at the little iſland till the 20th of *October* this year, from whence he had at ſeveral times, during his ſtay there, ſent proviſions to the priſoners at *Pulaway*; now being eager to go to *Lantore* about ſome buſineſs for the ſervice of the company, he ſet out with about 20 *Bandaneſes* arm'd in a boat, and ſail'd thither, where he ſtaid ſome days, but in his return, was attack'd near *Pulaway* by a bark and a praw of the *Dutch*, with above 40 muskets, and after ſome ſtout reſiſtance, the captain was ſhot in the breaſt, ſo that firſt throwing his piece overboard, he leap'd after it himſelf, and periſh'd in the ſea. Thus dy'd this brave man, who had defended the iſland of *Polaroon* for three years with not above 14

The death of brave captain Coutrop.

or

or 15 men againſt any force the *Dutch* could bring againſt it: and by this behaviour of the *Dutch*, and many other acts after the peace was concluded, of which they had intelligence ſoon after; it appears that they had as little regard to publick faith of their *High* and *Mighty Lords*, as they had to their religion at *Japan*, when they declar'd *they were not* CHRISTIANS *but* DUTCHMEN; and perhaps they did not tell a lye.

Upon his death ſeven of the *Bandaneſes* leap'd into the ſea, and got ſafe to land, altho it was five miles from *Polaroon*, the reſt having been kill'd in the action, or ſo wounded that they had not ſtrength to ſwim.

Is ſucceeded by Mr. Hayes.

Mr. *Hayes* ſucceeded to the command of the fort, by unanimous conſent, and got 20 *Polaroons* by turns to aſſiſt his few *Engliſh* at *Neyſackey*; and upon the *Engliſh* declaring that they would obey Mr. *Hayes*, and his aſſuring the *Bandaneſes* that he would ſtand by them, both the *Polaroons* and *Lantorians* continu'd firm in their ſworn allegiance to the crown of *England*. But the account of the peace with *England* made in 1619, came to hand in *November* 1620, upon the receipt of which account the *Dutch* pretended to be good friends to Mr. *Hayes*, and their commodore at *Pulaway* wrote a civil letter to him dated *December* the 9th 1620. But theſe were only words. For, although the *Engliſh* had ſent them copies of the ſurrenders of the ſeveral iſlands, they not only kept poſſeſſion of *Pulaway*, but when the people of *Lantore* refus'd to ſell their ſpices to them, becauſe they had engag'd their faith to the *Engliſh*, they under hand, at firſt, endeavour'd to make the *Bandaneſes* jealous of the *Engliſh*; but when that fail'd, they went with 3000 men, and invaded *Lantore*, notwithſtanding Mr. *Hayes*'s letter to the *Dutch* general, putting him in mind that the attempt he was going about was a breach of the peace. His *High Mightineſs* read the letter, and in an imperious tone bid the meſſenger, *Get him gone*. And upon the firſt of *March* 1620-1, the *Dutch* landed at *Lantore*, and burn'd the town; the inhabitants fled, and Mr. *Randal*, the *Engliſh* factor, ſtaying by their houſe, the *Dutch* plunder'd it, taking away 23,400 pound weight of maces belonging to the company, 120,000 pound weight of nutmegs, 500 reals of money, beſides cloth and other goods, and ſtript the *Engliſh* to the skin, and after having beaten them, ſent them in chains aboard their ſhips.

The Dutch *burn* Lantore.

Having thus forced their way at *Lantore*, they came to *Polaroon*, and pretending to be friends to the *Engliſh*, did not meddle with *Neyſacky*, which indeed now was uſeleſs, having neither men nor ammunition, the *Polaroons* being diſ-ſpirited at the fate of *Lantore*; ſo that they were forced (after having declar'd that the iſland was no longer theirs, having given it to the king of *England*) to deliver it over to the *Dutch* in the ſame manner that they had before given it to the *Engliſh*. And it was no wonder if the poor *Bandaneſes* believed the brags of the *Dutch*, *that the* prince of Orange *was a greater king than the king of* England; ſince in three years time that they had been ſubjects to the latter, they had never been defended from the inſults of the *Dutch*, and now were forced to make a new ſurrender in favour of the former, under the title of king of *Holland*.

Polaroon *ſurrenders to them.*

Soon after this happen'd at *Banda*, the *Engliſh* company took the alarm, but had they done it ſooner, it had been more for their honour and intereſt, and the poor natives of thoſe iſlands who were oppreſs'd and murder'd by the *Dutch*, (1200 *Lantorines* having been put to the ſword at one time in cool blood) might have been profitable ſubjects to the crown of *Britain*, and faithful ſervants and friends to the *Eaſt India* company to this day. But, as if they had been all my countrymen, *wiſe behind hand*, they began then to enquire into the behaviour of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and repreſentations were drawn up on both ſides, the *Dutch* excuſing themſelves and the *Engliſh* anſwering their pretences by unqueſtionable teſtimonies, which they could not invalidate. But as they are tedious to relate, and that we ſhall have occaſion to give an account of the flagrant ſtory of *Amboyna*, which happen'd very ſoon after this *Banda* affair, we ſhall not inſert the different reaſonings *pro* or *con* at this time, it is ſufficient to aſſure the reader that the facts here related are faithfully collected. And from the buſineſs of *Amboyna*, which ſhall be touch'd in due place, we may judge of the ſpirit of the *Dutch* at that time in thoſe parts. *Crimine ab uno, diſce omnes.*

SECT. XVI.

The voyages for the East India *company in the year* 1619 *by Mr.* Hore, *with the* Dragon *and* Expedition, *from* Surat *to* Achen, *&c.*

WHAT the reaſon was that hinder'd Mr. *Purchas* from giving Sir *Thomas Dale*'s voyage a diſtinct place amongſt the many leſs conſiderable related by him, ſince he commanded as great a fleet as moſt of the commanders employed by the company, I cannot tell; but ſo it is, that we have only ſome touches

touches curſorily related of his expedition, and therefore, having no particular relation of it, but as he comes in, among the narratives of others, the reader muſt take up with ſuch as we can afford; although that gentleman's character and behaviour ſeem to have deſerv'd a more pointed relation in our TRAVELLER.

Nor indeed is there any account to what voyage the preſent expedition of Mr. *Hore* belongs. But from finding him at *Surat*, it is plain that he came from *England* in the company's ſervice; but of what fleet the *Dragon* and *Expedition*, at this time, made a part, or when they left *England* is not preciſely told; only that it was under the direction of captain *Bonner*. We ſhall therefore make no farther conjectures about it, but give a ſhort account of the voyage itſelf.

Mr. Hore's voyage with captain Bonner.

In *February* 1618-9 the *Dragon* and *Expedition* came to the road of *Dabul*, about half way between *Surat* and *Goa*. But altho' the people of the town ſeem'd to receive them with all civility, and brought proviſions aboard in great plenty, ſome by way of preſent, and others ſold cheap, yet when they came to talk of diſpoſing of their goods, the merchants, however frank they ſeem'd to be at firſt, put them off with promiſes of buying their goods at another time; ſo that being diſappointed of trade there, they ſet ſail, coaſting along towards *Malabar*, and caſt anchor at *Batacala*, between *Goa* and *Calicut*; having been invited thither by two maſters of *Malabar* juncks, who pretended authority from the king for what they did. Upon their arrival, the king having been conſulted, came to terms with them, but his conditions were ſo unreaſonable, that it appear'd he valu'd the *Portugueſe* trade above theirs; holding his pepper at ſo extravagant a rate, and valuing their cloth ſo low, that they muſt have been loſers to deal with him. And therefore leaving this place, they went to *Calicut*, where the king pretending to encourage them, came to the town, and the captain going aſhore with a guard, the *Samorin* promis'd to pay the debt due to the *Engliſh* in a former voyage, and offer'd them pepper at 30 reals a *candea*, which is 502 pound weight; this they agreed to upon condition that they might have the pepper view'd by perſons who underſtood it, and that the price ſhould be paid in goods. A time being fix'd for viewing it, Mr. *Hore* and another went aſhore for that purpoſe; but the officers told them, that the king had countermanded it till further orders.

The king of Calicut offers to trade,

but diſappoints them.

Upon this they went to court twelve leagues from *Calicut*, but the *Samorin* delay'd them with fooliſh entertainments of dancing and monkey tricks, which they being ſoon weary of, told him, that they would drill away their time no longer, and he muſt either make good his promiſe in paying the debt due to the company, and let the pepper be view'd, or they muſt take other courſes to get juſtice. This briſk language ſtartled him a little, and then he told them with a ſerious air, that he had ſome important affairs to tranſact with their general by himſelf, and therefore deſir'd he might come to a ſmall houſe of pleaſure he had not far from his court, where they might converſe privately, and deſir'd Mr. *Hore*, to perſuade the general to come thither. But Mr. *Hore* told him, he muſt ſee that houſe before he would give his advice that his general ſhould truſt himſelf there; which, with ſome difficulty, the *Samorin* yielded to; but upon his going thither he found it ſo fit for an ambuſcade, being in a wood, that he had great ſuſpicion of ſome ill deſign; ſo that he excus'd himſelf to the king for not undertaking the commiſſion. The king finding that he could not prevail, told them plainly, that he could not ſell the pepper for leſs than 40 reals, pretending that it was not his own, but repoſited with him.

They leave Calicut.

Upon this diſappointment Mr. *Hore* return'd to their ſhips, and the next day captain *Bonner* ſent the king word, that he would pay himſelf for the company's debt, and the loſs of his time, by ſeizing all the juncks that came in his way belonging or trading to *Calicut*. With this threatning meſſage they departed, and Mr. *Hore* was diſpatch'd for *Bantam*, and was there to receive capt. *Jordan*'s orders, whilſt the general ſail'd for *Argin*. As the *Portugal Prize*, in which Mr. *Hore* ſail'd, paſs'd the Streights of *Sunda*, he ſaw ten ſhips and four juncks, which happen'd to be Sir *Thomas Dale*'s and captain *Pring*'s united fleets, which, had they ſail'd all together to *Banda*, might have ſecur'd the property of all thoſe iſlands to the crown of *England*, and have paid the *Dutch* ſome part of the treatment they had given to the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts for two years paſt, and have prevented the barbarities committed by them afterwards.

Mr. Hore meets with Sir Thomas Dale.

Having ſtaid ſome time in their company, the *Portugal Prize* held on her courſe, and traded between *Bantam* and *Tecoa*. In this laſt port they were baſely us'd and cheated both by the vice king and the people, who made bargains with them, and broke them as faſt, or at leaſt clog'd them with impoſitions not mention'd when firſt made. And the inhabitants were ſuch thieves, that they were forc'd to get a watch about their houſe

every night. But it ſeems the watch was no honeſter than their neighbours; for one night ſome people broke into their houſe, a young man, who happen'd to be in that part of the houſe wak'd, and caught hold of one of them, calling out, *Thieves! I have one of them*; but before the reſt could come to his aſſiſtance, they heard him cry out again, *The villain is gone, and I am kill'd.* As ſoon as they could get lights, they found the poor lad lying dead, having receiv'd two wounds with a *creeze* or dagger. They ſent immediately to the watch, but no body being there, they went to the officer, who affirm'd he had ſet a watch. Upon this Mr. *Hore* ſent to the vice-king, who came himſelf to the houſe, and at the deſire of the *Engliſh* order'd all the watch to be ſent for, who one by one took the dead man by the hand, the *Engliſh* thinking, in thoſe days, that a dead body would bleed afreſh if touch'd by the murderer: But the king being inform'd that one of the watch was ſick in bed, order'd him to be brought, who look'd ſo frighten'd, and was ſo unwilling to touch the corps, that the king as well as the *Engliſh*, believ'd him guilty. Yet, being made to take the dead man's hand, nothing happen'd upon it; ſo that there being no proof, and he denying the fact, the king propos'd a trial according to the laws of that country; which I ſhall here inſert, and leave the reader at his liberty to believe or not what Mr. *Hore* affirm'd he ſaw, and with him all the *Engliſh* then at *Tecoa*.

One of the Engliſh *kill'd at* Tecoa.

Having made a fire, they pour'd about a gallon of oyl into a veſſel, and putting it upon the fire, let it boil, till it was ſo hot that a green herb being put into it was conſumed in a moment. Then the perſon accus'd ſtripping his arm bare to the elbow, in the preſence of the king and all the *Engliſh*, thruſt his hand into the boiling oyl, and took out a ſmall braſs bullet about the bigneſs of a musket bullet. This the fellow did to all their ſeeing, and no ſign of ſcalding having appear'd upon his hand or arm, he was acquitted by law. If this ſtory had no trick or legerdemain in it, it is much a-kin to the *Trial Ordeal*, once in vogue in *England*, and as unaccountable as it.

A ſtrange trial of one ſuſpected for murder.

Captain *Bonner* coming to *Tecoa* with the *Dragon* and *Expedition*, and having heard of the inſults of the *Dutch* in thoſe ſeas, reſolv'd not to load the *Dragon*, but to make uſe of her for a man of war; and had he kept that reſolution, perhaps it had been better for the *Engliſh* there; but upon the *Bear*'s coming to that road, he chang'd his mind, and loaded his ſhip ſo deep, that his great guns were buried under the goods ſtow'd in the ſhip; and, by a ſtrange overſight, he had not left the acceſs to his ammunition free. In this condition he lay at anchor in the road of *Tecoa*, where his own ſhip, the *Dragon*, lay, accompanied with the *Expedition*, the *Bear*, and the *Roſe*, whoſe boats being all aſhore upon the firſt of *October* to bring pepper aboard the other ſhips, they ſaw ſix ſhips making towards the road. At firſt the *Engliſh* believ'd they were Sir *Thomas Dale*'s fleet; but when they came nearer, without any flag to diſcover who they were, and finding by their make they were not *Engliſh*, the general began, too late, to repent that he had loaded his ſhip ſo deep. But the whole fleet of the enemy (for they were *Dutch*) making the beſt of their way towards the *Dragon*, began to fire upon him, which he return'd with only one gun which he had free; but being reſolv'd to ſell his ſhip and life together as dear as he could, he maintain'd the fight for three glaſſes againſt all their force, altho' they attack'd him at once. But at laſt the general having receiv'd a ſhot in his ſide which diſabled him, his crew, wanting his preſence to encourage them, were overpower'd by the *Dutch*, who boarding them, clap'd them all in irons. The other three ſhips, whom the wind hinder'd to come to his aſſiſtance, ſeeing the *Dragon*, which was the ſtouteſt ſhip, in the power of the enemy, yielded without firing a ſhot.

The Dutch *attack captain* Bonner.

And he having receiv'd his death's wound, they became maſters of four ſhips.

Mr. *Hore*, who gives an account to the company, of this action, was aſhore at *Tecoa* whilſt it happen'd, but he had ſufficient reaſon to know the truth, not only from what he ſaw from the land, but by being inform'd by the men whom the *Dutch* ſent aſhore there, in the moſt miſerable condition imaginable; and even from the general himſelf, who was ſent aſhore two days after the engagement; and ſo barbarous the *Dutch* were, that they order'd the poor bed, upon which he was ſent to land, to be brought from the water ſide aboard, but that Mr. *Hore* bought it at twice the value, rather than let the worthy general wait for bringing a better from their houſe.

The inhabitants of *Tecoa* regain'd all the credit they had loſt with the *Engliſh* before, by their behaviour upon this occaſion; for their king came almoſt every day to viſit captain *Bonner*, and brought him the beſt things his palace or country afforded, during the few days he liv'd, and the inhabitants kept a conſtant market before the *Engliſh* houſe, and ſold proviſions of all kinds, cheaper than they had done before. So much more like Chriſtians did the infidels ſhew themſelves, becauſe they were not *Dutchmen*.

The Tecoans *ſhew great humanity to the* Engliſh.

In the mean time, the *Dutch*, beſides the pepper they had taken in the four ſhips,

ſhips, loaded their other ſhips with the ſtores laid up by the factory at *Tecoa*, and ſet ſail for *Bantam*; but out of their great generoſity, left the *Roſe*, which to be ſure was of no uſe to them, in the road.

Captain *Bonner* dying, in a few days, much lamented by his countrymen, his poor crew, by good providence were reliev'd in a month after, and put aboard three *Engliſh* ſhips commanded by captain *Cliffingham*, which together with the *Roſe* ſet ſail for *England*, where Mr. *Hore* arriv'd ſafely with them in ſummer, 1620.

SECT. XVII.

Captain Shilling's *voyage to* Surat *and the* Perſian *gulf, in* 1619, *in the ſervice of the* Eaſt India *company.*

Captain Shilling's voyage to the Perſian gulph.

TOWARDS the end of *February*, 1619-20, the *Eaſt India* company fitted out four new ſhips, the *London* of 800 tuns, *William Beffin* maſter; the *Hart* of 500 tuns, *Richard Blithe* maſter; the *Roe-buck* of 300 tuns, *Richard Swan* maſter; and the *Eagle* of 280 tuns, *Chriſtopher Brown* maſter. All theſe under the command of captain *Andrew Shilling*, formerly mention'd, ſet ſail from *England*, *February* 26, and anchor'd at *Saldana June* 24, of which, by what ſtipulation is not menion'd, they took poſſeſſion in K. *James*'s name, and erected a mount there, call'd K. *James*'s mount.

Sailing from thence, they arriv'd at *Dabul*, *October* 26, where having ſtaid ten days to refreſh, the *Hart* and *Eagle* went for *Perſia*. The *London* and *Roe-buck* proceeded to *Swalley* bay, where after having convers'd with the *Engliſh* factors, they heard that the *Portugueſe* galleons were upon the *Perſian* coaſt in order to attack any *Engliſh* ſhips they ſhould find there; which determin'd them to follow the *Hart* and *Eagle*, and to ſave them from being overpower'd, in caſe of any attempt made upon them.

The fleet parts.

In this courſe towards the *Perſian* gulph, they took a *Portugueſe* ſhip of 200 tuns, in which they found 42 *Arabian* horſes, with ſome dates and raiſins. About the beginning of *December*, they met their two ſhips, returning from their intended expedition to *Perſia*, upon the report of the *Portugueſes* being there: But being reinforced by the *London* and *Roe-buck*, they ſhifted their helm, and all together made towards *Jaſques*. As they held their courſe, they came in ſight of the *Portugueſe* fleet, conſiſting of four large galleons and two other ſhips, beſides frigates. Capt. *Shilling* held a council of war, in which it was agreed to put powder and other combuſtible matter aboard the *Portugueſe* prize, and with her to board the enemy's admiral, and ſo to ſet her a-fire; and ſome of the ſeamen offer'd themſelves to execute it.

But upon intelligence of the Portugueſe deſign upon them, they unite again.

The *Portugueſe* fleet ſet ſail to meet them, and the fight began about nine in the morning, and continu'd till ſix at night, during which time they pepper'd them off with their guns; but the men who had undertaken to manage the fire ſhip, judging the diſtance ill, or being too careful of their own ſafety, ſet fire too ſoon to the train, and made their eſcape in their boat: But the current bore the prize quite by the enemy's fleet; ſo that when ſhe took fire, ſhe burn'd none but herſelf, to the great mortification of the *Engliſh*. However, the *Engliſh* having got the weather gage of them, rak'd the enemy, and eſpecially their admiral ſhip, *fore* and *aft* with their guns in whole broadſides, whereas they themſelves were very little obnoxious to any but their chaſe guns. But a dead calm hinder'd them from proſecuting the victory; ſo that they parted, and the next day they ſaw the *Portugueſe* fleet about ten miles off at anchor.

They fight the Portugueſes.

Holding a council of war, they agreed to make to *Jaſques*, and there to land money and goods deſign'd for that port, which they did without any attempt made by the *Portugueſes* to hinder them. Having finiſh'd what they came for, they ſet ſail after the *Portugueſe* fleet, which having receiv'd a recruit of men and ammunition from *Ormus*, made towards them upon *Innocents* day, and having the wind ſo favourable for them, that ſome blacks aboard the *Engliſh* fleet ſwore,, they had brought a wizard with them from *Ormus*, to give them a wind, they came up with the *London* and *Hart*, who were forc'd to ſuſtain the whole burthen of the fight for above an hour, before the other two come up; but at laſt they got within ſhot of the enemy, and all the four fought with ſuch reſolution and bravery, that the *Portugueſes* cut their cables and went off with the current, the *Engliſh* following them all that night. But taking an account of their ſtores, they found that they wanted ammunition, and therefore they thought it better to let them retire.

A ſecond engagement.

The Portugueſe fleet retires.

In theſe two engagements the *Portugueſes* had ſuffer'd moſt in the hulls of their ſhips, and eſpecially the admiral, having been oblig'd to turn up her ſide to ſtop leaks; whereas the greateſt loſs the *Engliſh* ſuſtain'd was in their rigging. They could not preciſely tell the loſs of men on the enemy's ſide, but they believ'd it was conſiderable; but their own loſs was only ſo by a mortal wound general *Shilling* receiv'd in the ſecond engagement,

Captain Shilling dies of his wounds.

ment, whereof he died a few days after. They had ſpent, in the *London*, 1382 ſhot; in the *Hart*, 1024; in the *Roe-buck*, 815; and in the *Eagle*, 800; in all 4021, in this laſt fight, beſides ſmall ſhot.

As ſoon as they had given their general and ſome others as decent a burial at *Jaſques*, as the occaſion allow'd, they open'd a white box, in which their inſtructions were, and found capt. *Blithe* was appointed to ſucceed as admiral, who, removing from the *Hart* to the *London*, capt. *Swan*, the author of this account, was advanced from the *Roe-buck* to the *Hart*, capt. *Brown* to the *Roe-buck*, and capt. *Taylor* to the *Eagle*. Having taken their poſts accordingly, they ſail'd for *Surat*, where they arriv'd the firſt of *February*, taking a ſmall *Portugueſe* ſhip by the way.

Upon their coming to this bay, the governor began to play the old tricks with them about trade, and hinder'd them to load their ſhips, ſo that they were fain to ſend the *Eagle* to ſeize one of their juncks lately arriv'd, for the releaſing of which, the governor complied with reaſonable terms, and took off his former interdict, ſuffering the merchants to deal with them. The like ſtratagem they were forc'd to make uſe of at *Decan* for the recovery of ſome goods, belonging to the company, which had been ſeiz'd by ſome ſoldiers, but were ſent back upon threatning their juncks.

Having taken in what goods they found for their purpoſe in thoſe parts, they divided company, ſome going towards *Sumatra*, and others towards the *Red Sea*. The admiral and two others loaded for *England*, where, with ſeveral ſtops by the way, they arriv'd in 1622.

CHAP. III.

Some Dutch *voyages to the* Eaſt Indies, *with an account of their ſettlements there to the year* 1624.

ALTHO' the *Dutch* were but a very young republick when the *Portugueſes* had got the way to the *Eaſt Indies*, and were in a fair way of making a conſiderable trade there; yet being an induſtrious people, or neceſſity making them ſo, as ſoon as they found themſelves cut out of the *Spaniſh* trade, which they had been indulg'd in for ſome time, even after their revolt from that crown, they caſt about how to make it up another way: And having in vain eſſay'd the north eaſt paſſage, and loſt ſome ſhips in that attempt, they now turn'd their heads towards the *Indies*, by the fartheſt way about, ſome time before diſcover'd by the *Portugueſes*, as we obſerv'd in the beginning of the firſt book, and in a ſhort time got ſuch footing in that country, eſpecially in the *Molucca* and *Banda* iſlands, that they made themſelves not only conſiderable in the *Eaſt India* commerce, but even maſters, in oppoſition not only to *Spain* and *Portugal*, but to *England*, and even to the lawful proprietors of the places where they ſettled.

But as this was a work of time, it will not be improper to take a ſhort view of the progreſs of it, and therefore we propoſe to give ſome account of their voyages to thoſe parts, and their working the *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* factories out of ſome advantagious poſts of which they were poſſeſs'd.

By what we had occaſion to relate in the former book, of the behaviour of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes*, in the ſeveral countries newly conquer'd by them, we may eaſily conjecture, altho' it were not expreſsly ſaid, that thoſe new diſcoverers were not very acceptable to the natives of the *Eaſt*, more than they were to thoſe of the *Weſt Indies*. Their manner of taking poſſeſſion, and their unjuſt oppreſſion and cruel uſage of the poor people, as if they had been a ſpecies of beings far beneath themſelves, ſoon gave them ſuch a diſguſt at their new maſters, that they would gladly have thrown themſelves into the arms of any nation, which they had thought capable of reſcuing them from the ſlavery they were in. This inclination in the natives to liberty made the *Dutch* deſign of eſtabliſhing a trade in the *Eaſt Indies* much eaſier to them than it would otherwiſe have been, and made way for their ſettling themſelves there, in ſuch a manner, as they are not ſecurer in *Holland* than they are, to this day, in ſome of the iſlands of the *Indian* ocean.

The cruelty of the Spaniards and Portueſes a ſtep to the ſettling of the Dutch in the Indies

SECTION I.

Hejink's *voyage to the* Eaſt Indies.

IN *April* 1595 captain *Hejink* was employ'd by the city of *Amſterdam* to ſail to the *Eaſt Indies* with four ſhips, *viz.*

viz. the *Maurice*, the *Holland*, the *Amſterdam*, and a pinnace, to go by the way of the cape of *Good Hope*, whilſt others went a wild gooſe chaſe after the north eaſt paſſage to the ſame country. But this rout by *Africa*, being new to them, they were above a whole year before they arriv'd in the *Indian* ocean; and whether their heads were ſo bent upon the *Eaſt Indies*, that they did not think it worth their while to relate any adventures they met with by the way, or that they really wander'd all that while in the wide ocean, without touching land, I ſhall not pretend to determine, but we have no account of any memorable occurrence, till we find them at *Sumatra* in *May* 1596, where they made a ſhort ſtay, and paſſing thro' the ſtreights of *Sunda*, they arriv'd in *June* at *Bantam*.

The Dutch fleet arrives at Bantam.

As this firſt attempt was only an introduction to the *Eaſt India* trade, there was little done to their advantage, nor did they ſtay long enough in the country to make any ſettlements, only they ſoon ſaw that there was no good to be done with the natives by fair means, becauſe they were not maſters of themſelves, or at leaſt, that they were ſo far under the influence of the *Portugueſes*, at that time ſubjects of *Spain*, that they could not expect great encouragement from them.

Are viſited by the Portugueſes.

The firſt umbrage they took of any danger from that quarter, was their being viſited by the *Portugueſes* in *Bantam* road, who, altho' they profeſs'd friendſhip to them, they perceiv'd that they were very diligent in making obſervations of every thing aboard; and it having been but a very ſhort time before that, that the *Dutch* had revolted from their obedience to the king of *Spain*, it is no wonder if admiral *Hejink* and his fleet were jealous of the *Portugueſe* behaviour. However, they treated them handſomely aboard, and ſuffer'd them to go aſhore again without ſhewing any ſign of miſtruſt.

The government of *Bantam* was, at that time, in the hands of a protector, or viceroy; becauſe the ſon of their late king having marry'd a *Portugueſe* wife, and been bred among the *Portugueſes*, they did not think fit to allow him the exerciſe of the government. It is true, they did not baniſh him, but they oblig'd him to ſubmit to a protector, and allowed him the name of king, and moſt of them ſhew'd all the honours due to his dignity, bating obedience: and they kept him in ſufficient ſtate, and, by the example of his tutors the *Portugueſes*, they call'd him *Ceſar*.

This *Ceſar*, at the inſtigation of the *Portugueſes*, by following whoſe counſels he had been depriv'd of his *Birth Right*, went aboard of the *Dutch* fleet, and intended in a very ſolemn manner to have invited the admiral and all the officers of the fleet to come aſhore to an entertainment he was to prepare for them. But before this happen'd the protector having been aboard, had given them ſome account of *Ceſar*'s attachment to the *Portugueſes*, and of their danger from the hatred they bore to their nation: He had likewiſe appriz'd them of the ſtate of the government at that time. So that the *Dutch*, to whom the renouncing the authority of kings was not at all diſagreeable, treated with the *Vice Roy*, as if he had been the *Sovereign*, and enter'd into ſtipulations with him for future trade.

But as they found that *Ceſar* had ſtill great intereſt in the iſland, they thought it not amiſs to gain his good graces, or at leaſt to take off the edge of his malice to them: And therefore as he was upon the point of going aboard to invite the officers, and that the *Portugueſes* were as good as ready to attack the ſhips with a conſiderable force, in the abſence of their officers, having ſtipulated with *Ceſar* that he ſhould have all the goods aboard, with an addition of 3000 ducats from the *Portugueſes*, in conſideration of giving them the *Dutch* ſhips; as this plot was juſt ripe for execution, a good preſent to *Ceſar* from the *Dutch* admiral, gave a turn to the whole affair, and inſtead of going on with the ſcheme agreed upon with his old friends, he went directly to *Jacatra*, ſaying that the *Dutch* were honeſt people, and the *Portugueſes* were unjuſt in their deſign againſt them.

A plot againſt the Dutch prevented by a bribe.

This diſappointment was a great trouble to the *Portugueſes*, but not being in a condition to attack the *Dutch* fleet in fair war, they gave over thoughts of it at that time; and the *Dutch* enter'd into articles with the vice roy, and the people of *Bantam*, and began an open trade. But as the kindneſs of this protector, in diſcovering the plot of the *Portugueſes* againſt the *Dutch*, was only to have it in his power to oppreſs them himſelf, and to become maſter of their ſhips and goods, after he had ſav'd them from the others, all the articles he had made with them came to nothing, and he iſſu'd out a proclamation prohibiting all trade with them, and was manning a fleet of ſmall ſhips to fall upon theirs when the greateſt number of them were aſhore. But the *Dutch* being apprehenſive of ſome ill deſign, and now confirm'd in it, by this unpolitic proclamation, made what haſte they could aboard; but the vice roy getting intelligence of it, ſent a party and ſtopp'd ſome of them. The admiral ſent him a meſſage to releaſe his men, and upon his re-

Another plot.

The Dutch canonade Bantam.

fusing to do it, advanc'd with all his ships, and cannonaded *Bantam*. This sav'd the *Dutch* prisoners for that time; but the *Bantamese* being enrag'd at firing upon their town, resolv'd to put them all to death, which had been executed, if they had not been divided about the manner of their death.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* seiz'd some junks and other vessels belonging to *Bantam*, and sent a thundering message to the vice-roy that they would burn all the vessels with the men belonging to them, unless he releas'd their prisoners, which had the wish'd effect, and the *Dutch* set sail for *Jacatra*.

As this breach of faith with the *Dutch* had been carry'd on by means of the *Portuguese* interest at *Bantam*, they of that nation had some hot words with the vice-roy, for having prosecuted the *Dutch* with so little vigour, and the contest growing high, the *Portugueses* seiz'd some of the junks which the *Dutch* had releas'd. This the vice roy dissembled his resentment of, for the present, but soon after took his opportunity of revenging, for, under colour of solemnizing a marriage at *Jacatra*, he fitted out a fleet at *Bantam*, and fell upon the *Portuguese* galleys, who were not prepared for the attack, and having boarded them, kill'd all they found aboard, and divided the spoil; the other ships belonging to *Portugal* cut their cables, and made the best of their way to *Malacca*.

The *Dutch* were receiv'd with much civility at *Jacatra*, and staid there some days to refresh themselves; but kept still upon their guard, having little reason to trust the honesty of the *Javans*, after the treatment they had met with from their countrymen at *Bantam*. Leaving that bay in *December*, they sail'd to *Tuban* and *Cidaia*, two towns in the same island of *Java*, where they traded for cloves and nutmegs; but the *Cidaians*, at the instigation of the *Portugueses*, set upon the *Amsterdam* and the pinnace, with twelve arm'd praws, and kill'd 12 of the *Dutch*, and wounded two; but the other two ships coming to their assistance, the *Cidaians* fled, and the *Dutch*, in the pursuit, kill'd 150 of their men.

The Dutch attack'd at Cidaia.

But put the Javans to the rout.

Finding no encouragement any longer there, they coasted along the island of *Java*, and stopp'd at *Madura*, which is govern'd by a king of its own, who sending a message to them that he would pay them a visit aboard their ships, they sent him word, that he should be welcome, provided he only brought six men with him: But his majesty, probably having some other view besides a bare visit, came to the *Amsterdam* with a great number of arm'd praws, and when he would have forced his way aboard, the *Amsterdam* fir'd upon him, and in this action, the king and most of his company were kill'd, and the king's son taken prisoner, with some others, who discover'd to them, that the king intended to have taken that ship by force.

They go to Madura.

From thence, they remov'd, and by stress of weather were fain to put into the island of *Bali*, a place near the south east point of *Java*, about twelve *German* miles in circuit, but very rich, and populous. The king of this island is serv'd in great state, and is but seldom seen; his common utensils, especially for his table, are all solid gold. The *Dutch* sending to him for leave to refresh at his island, he come along with the messengers with his guards, and his chariot drawn by buffalo's, he himself driving it. It seems (altho' there is no account given of it in the authors we make use of) that the king allow'd them to come ashore; for they give an account of the fertility of the place, and of some of their customs, particularly, that the religion of the island is heathenish, and that they hold transmigration of souls; that they consequently abstain from eating any thing that ever had life. That they marry only once; and if the wife dies first, the husband lives a mournful widower all his life after; but if he dies first, she must burn for company at his funeral pile.

And Bali.

The *Dutch* having staid at this island some time, where among other things the natives told them of Sir *Francis Drake*'s having been there some years before, they began now to think of returning home, which they put in execution in *February*, and in *August* they arriv'd with three of their ships in the *Texel*. The *Amsterdam* they burn'd before they left *India*, for want of men to work her, having been reduced from 249, which was their complement at setting out, to 90. This voyage cost the merchants of *Amsterdam* 290,000 florins; and altho' there was little got by it, yet they were satisfied that they had found the way to a country where good traffick might be had, and indeed they did not neglect to improve it.

They return to Holland.

SECT. II.

The second Dutch *voyage, to the* East Indies.

THE *Dutch*, who are seldom blind to their own interest, and leave no stone unturn'd to promote the trade of their nation, finding by the account given them by those who had been employ'd in the last voyage, that there was vast advantage to be had among the islands in the *Indian* ocean, if it were not interrupted

rupted by the power of the *Portugueſes*, reſolv'd to encreaſe their fleet, and to loſe no time in getting at leaſt a ſhare in that commerce, of which the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* made ſo conſiderable an harveſt. And therefore;

Admiral Neccius *with eight ſhips ſets out for the* Indies.

In the year 1598 they fitted out a fleet of eight ſail, *viz.* the *Maurice*, the *Amſterdam* (a new ſhip) the *Holland*, the *Freezland*, and *Zealand*, the *Gelderland*, the *Utrecht*, and the *Over-iſſel*, giving them thoſe names, becauſe prince *Maurice* and ſome of the *States* were concern'd in the undertaking. This fleet was commanded by admiral *Neccius*, aboard the *Maurice*, and in the whole fleet were 560 men. They ſet ſail the firſt of *May*, and all got ſafe to the cape of *Good Hope* without ſeparating, but there they parted by foul weather, or want of care, ſome getting to St. *Mary* iſland near the ſouth coaſt of *Africk*, and others to the iſland of *Cerna*, to which they gave the name of *Maurice* iſland near *Madagaſcar*. This laſt place they commend as a very fruitful plat of ground; and there they ſaw tortoiſes ſo large, that ten men could ſit in one of their ſhells.

Having left this iſland, they went to *Bantam*, where after ſome ſtruggle, they were allow'd trade, and about a month after, were join'd by the reſt of their fleet from St. *Mary*'s. Having laded four ſhips, they ſent them home, and with them *Neccius* himſelf went, leaving the command of the reſt to *Wibrand Warwick*. The four ſhips which ſtaid, deſign'd for the *Moluccas*, but, in their way thither, parted to take in proviſions at different places, in the iſland of *Java*: The *Amſterdam* and *Utrecht* going to *Araſhay*, a town of *Madura*, ſent a boat aſhore to deſire leave to water, the people detain'd them, and upon their ſending others to ask the reaſon of it, they likewiſe were made priſoners, and an exorbitant ranſom demanded for them. But the captain ſending to *Jortam* for the other two ſhips, they landed a conſiderable number of men to force the *Javans* to releaſe the priſoners, they perceived the enemy were headed by two *Portugueſe* officers. Juſt as they had engag'd, a ſtorm riſing, the *Dutch* thought fit to go and ſecure their ſhips, and therefore retir'd fighting to their boats, two of which overſetting, they loſt 25; and between 40 and 50 were taken; ſo that they were fain to redeem the priſoners at 2000 reals.

They are ill us'd in Java.

Two of their ſhips arrive at Banda.

Setting ſail for the *Moluccas*, they paſs'd by many iſlands, and at laſt arriv'd at *Amboyna*, where they hir'd a houſe, but not finding goods ſufficient to load all their ſhips, two of them went to the *Banda* iſlands, where they had liberty of trade.

One would have thought that the *Dutch* ſhould have been well us'd in the *Banda* iſlands, becauſe they had no king there, but were under the government of the *Orankeys* or lords, and perhaps they might have been better treated than they were, and might have got poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands, as they did ſoon after of the *Moluccas*, if they had only confin'd themſelves to trade. But of this more afterwards.

The ſhips which ſtaid at *Amboyna* took in ſome part of the lading there, and the reſt at the *Moluccas*, where they ſettled a correſpondence, and took a view of all the iſlands of any note thereabouts, and then, according to concert, met their companions at *Bantam*, and being all richly loaded, they return'd to *Holland* in the year 1600, where admiral *Neccius* had ſafely landed in *April* that ſame year.

SECT. III.

The farther progreſs of the Dutch *trade in the* Eaſt Indies.

THE after voyages from *Holland* were ſo frequent, and ſuch ſhort accounts given of them, and thoſe ſo blended together, that there is no diſtinguiſhing them by ſections, we ſhall therefore follow the example of others, and give the reader as diſtinct and chronological a relation as we can, in one view.

The *Dutch* had now got a taſte of the ſpices brought from the *Indies*, and they pleas'd their palates ſo much, that they were reſolv'd to have them at any rate; and therefore they did not, like the *Engliſh*, wait for the return of one voyage, before they ſet out upon another; but in the year 1599, before they could know what ſucceſs their laſt fleet had, they ſet out three ſhips, under the command of *Steven van Hagen*. And that they might carry on the buſineſs in good earneſt, as ſoon as *Neccius* came home in 1600, as has been already related, they gave them only time to unlade, and adding ſix ſhips to them, ſent them directly back under the ſame admiral's command. In ſhort, in the ſpace of three years, there were employ'd in the *Dutch* ſervice above 26 ſhips in the *Eaſt Indies*, moſt of which return'd home with rich cargoes.

Several fleets ſent from Holland.

This encourag'd them to that degree, that they made it a national concern, and the ſeveral companies which had before traded by themſelves now united, and became one, and this by order of the *States*; ſo that joining all their ſtocks into one

bank

bank, they had ſix millions of florins for the *Eaſt India* trade.

Harminius ſail'd to the *Indies* with five ſhips, and upon his going to *Sunda* had intelligence of the *Portugueſes* beſieging *Bantam* with eight large ſhips and 20 frigates. The *Dutch* conſidering that by defeating this armado, they ſhould at once diſable the *Portugueſes*, and ingratiate themſelves with the people of *Bantam*, and ſo facilitate their commerce, ſail'd directly thither, and falling in with the enemy's fleet, after a ſharp fight, he put them to the rout, ſunk ſome, took others, and ſome of them ſet fire to their own ſhips. A few of the frigates made off, whom they had not time to purſue; and ſo they ſav'd *Bantam* to the great joy of the people, who careſs'd them after an extraordinary manner.

Harminius *defeats the* Portugueſe *fleet at* Bantam.

The remains of this ſcatter'd fleet went to *Amboyna*, and there vented their ſpleen againſt the poor inhabitants for the miſchief the *Dutch* had done them at *Bantam*.

Whilſt *Harminius* was complemented by the people of *Bantam* for having ſav'd their town from being deſtroy'd by the common enemy, *Hemskirk*, another *Dutch* captain, who commanded a part of the *Amſterdam* fleet, took a rich *Portugueſe* ſhip of 1400 tuns, laden with ſilk, ſugar, musk, cotton, &c. valu'd at ſeveral millions of florins. She had on board 700 men and 100 women. *Hemskirk* return'd to *Holland* in 1604.

A rich Portugueſe *ſhip taken by captain* Hemskirk.

About the ſame time likewiſe *Spilbergen*, another of their ſea captains, traded in and about the iſland of *Ceylan*, which was divided into ſeveral diſtinct kingdoms. The king of *Batecoli* or *Baticola* receiv'd him kindly, and allow'd him to trade in his country; and the king of *Candea* having expreſs'd a deſire to ſee him, he was furniſh'd at *Baticola* with conveniencies of travelling by land, and had a good retinue to accompany him to the frontiers of *Candea*, where he was met by the elephants and a guard ſent by the king to conduct him to his court.

Spilbergen *comes to* Ceylan

In the dominion of *Candea* the *Portugueſes* had a fort call'd *Colombo* ſome ten years before *Spilbergen* arriv'd in *Ceylan*, in which fort the king *Fimala*, who now invited *Spilbergen*, had been educated by the *Portugueſes* during the life of *Darma*, the former king. They had baptiz'd him by the name of *Don John of Auſtria*; and he being a perſon of great intereſt in the kingdom, (for indeed he was their lawful king) got himſelf declar'd king upon the death of *Darma*. But the *Portugueſes* having a deſign upon the kingdom by a marriage between the late king's daughter, whom they had likewiſe baptiz'd by the name of *Catharina*, and their vice roy of *Malacca*, *Lopez de Soſa*; and their power was ſo great at *Goa*, *Malacca*, and *Ceylan*, that they oblig'd *Fimala* to leave his palace and retire to the woods, and they had the lady among them, being then about ten years of age, and her deſign'd husband was likewiſe at *Colombo*, and had taken poſſeſſion, in right of *Catharina*, of the city of *Candea*. But *Fimala* having a great number of friends who reſorted to him, altho' they were not ſufficient to take the city, they were able enough to meet the *Portugueſes* in the field. And therefore he ſhut up all the ways by which proviſions could be brought into the city, which ſoon had the deſir'd effect, and *Lopez* leading his forces againſt *Fimala*, they ſoon engag'd, and the vice roy was kill'd in the battle. After this *Fimala* was univerſally acknowledg'd by the *Candeans*, and took peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne.

A revolution in Candea, *a kingdom in* Ceylan

Fimala's father was the lawful king of *Candea*, but had been diſpoſſeſs'd of it unjuſtly by *Darma*, a neighbouring prince, and was oblig'd to have recourſe to the *Portugueſes* for refuge againſt the uſurper. The *Portugueſes*, thinking, perhaps, that their putting it in the young prince's power to acquire an heavenly crown by becoming a Chriſtian, was ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of that which was his own by inheritance, contriv'd this match with the uſurper's daughter, after her father's death, reſolving to make *Lopez* king, by the ſame tenure that *Darma* had held the crown. But *Fimala*, wiſely thinking that religion was not inconſiſtent with claiming his BIRTH RIGHT, and that however good the religion was of ſuch as would cut him out of it, yet he was ſure they did not act upon good principles, by perpetuating USURPATION upon his natural born ſubjects, *upon any pretence whatſoever*, he reſolv'd to ſet up for himſelf, againſt the invaders of his right, and with the aſſiſtance of thoſe who durſt join him againſt thoſe *foreign invaders*, he attempted to aſſert his ſovereignty, and to chaſe the *uſurpers* out of his dominion. And providence favour'd his righteous cauſe, and he got the better of thoſe who would have kept him out of his throne *in the fear of the* LORD; and was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Candea*, when *Spilbergen* arriv'd there; for he had not only expell'd them from the capital city, but had beaten them out of *Colomba* too; and had made them pay for having kept him out of his right, and for having plunder'd his people, altho' they ſtill had ſome forts in the iſland.

When *Spilbergen* appear'd at court, the king receiv'd him graciouſly, and entertain'd him friendly. The *Dutch* obſerv'd that the furniture of the palace was, at leaſt, in the *Portugueſe* faſhion, either as having

having been taken from those people, (and justly, for the injuries they had done him) or that he affected ornaments like those us'd by the *Portugueses*. The king seem'd surpriz'd that the *Dutch* were fair men, for he had been made to believe that there were no other white people in *Europe* but the *Portugueses*. When the admiral talk'd to him of trade, he relish'd it very well, and told him that he and his queen should carry mortar themselves, rather than they should want any thing necessary for building a fort for their defence, and for all other purposes they had occasion for.

The Dutch settle a factory at Ceylan.

To engratiate the *Dutch* farther with this prince, *Spilbergen* having return'd to his ships, cruis'd about the coast of *Ceylan*, and brought in three *Portugueſe* ships, which he burn'd, and brought all their men prisoners to the king, which was a most agreeable present; and finding likewise that he was a great lover of musick, he bestow'd on him two musicians, one of whom his majesty advanced to the post of secretary; but whether his talent was as good for this last employment as he thought it was for the other, I cannot say.

In this island *Spilbergen* got good store of cinnamon, and many precious stones, particularly one carbuncle of a surprizing bigness, weighing 400 carats, and here they fix'd a trade and factory, which has been of great use to *Holland*, and where they have a colony to this day. The *Dutch* for the most part call'd prince *Maurice* their king, and *Spilbergen* had given the king of *Candea* that prince's picture; and having settled his affairs there, departed to other parts of the *Indies*.

Neccius arrives at Bantam.

In the mean time *Neccius*, who, as we observ'd before, was come to the *Indies* with a new fleet, being arriv'd at *Bantam*, the *Dutch* had a good understanding with the *Indians*, so that the governor gave them to understand, that the *Portugueses* had sent to him, by means of the king of *Tuban*, for leave to attack them in that road, having 40 ships ready for that purpose at *Jacatra*. Whether *Neccius* believ'd this report or not, is not certain; but he left *Bantam*, and sail'd to the *Molucca's*, and at *Ternate* had a scuffle with some *Portugueſe* ships, where he came off with loss, being himself wounded, as were several of his men. His next course was towards the *Philippin* islands, and from thence to the coast of *China*, and landing some men at *Macao*, they were kept prisoners, and the admiral not being in a condition to force the natives to release them, they were fain to sail without them. Coming to an island near the coast of *Cochinchina*, in 11 degrees 30 minutes, call'd *Avarella Talca*, they found no inhabitants, altho' they saw the track of men and beasts. But by eating some certain fruit, as they suppos'd, the people run distracted for some time, and in different manners: Some fancy'd they were haunted by devils, others were conversing with angels of another kind; some were fighting with serpents, or wild beasts. And it was a wonder that they did not murder one another whilst this madness continu'd. But it seems there were some left who had not eaten of that mad fruit, and so conducted their ships to *Patana* in *Malacca*, where they met with kind entertainment; and their men having recover'd their senses, the queen of the place allow'd them to trade. Here they heard that the men whom they believ'd to have been surpriz'd by the *Chineses* at *Macao*, had been taken by their friends the *Portugueses*, and sent to *Goa*. In this place they had store of provisions, and saw how the *Malaccans* caught the wild elephants, by sending the tame ones loose among a drove of them, and when they were engag'd in battle together, the people threw ropes about the wild ones, and caught them.

Madness occasion'd by a fruit

In the year 1602, a new fleet sailed from *Holland*, consisting of 14 sail, whereof *Warwick* was admiral, and *Waert* vice admiral. At their coming into the *Indian* ocean, they dispers'd, some to *Ceylan*, some to the *Molucca's*, some to *China*, and others to *Bantam*. It was *De Waert's* chance to go to *Ceylan*, where the good usage *Spilbergen* met with was a great inducement to hope for trade.

Warwick admiral of 14 Dutch.

At his arrival in *Fimala's* dominions, he was receiv'd after a most magnificent manner, the road above a mile from the city of *Candea* being lin'd on both sides with soldiers. As soon as he came into the chamber of presence, he saw the king sitting in great state, and near him was placed in full view prince *Maurice* of *Nassau's* picture which his majesty had from *Spilbergen*. *De Waert* having kneel'd before him, according to the custom of the country, and being rais'd up by the king with great civility, was ask'd by him, *What was his country and business?* To which he readily answer'd, That *he belong'd to the country where that prince* (pointing to the picture) *govern'd, and that his business was trade and commerce.* This rais'd an universal joy in all the audience, because they had some suspicion that he might have been from some other country. Having been ask'd again, how he came to venture ashore without having security for his safety; *De Waert* answer'd with address enough, That *he would trust more than his and his people's lives to his majesty's honour and generosity.* The king was well enough pleas'd with this compliment,

The vice admiral Waert goes to Ceylan.

Is well receiv'd by king Fimala.

ment, and entering into a more particular converſation with him, expreſs'd great animoſity towards the *Portugueſes*, and aſſur'd *De Waert*, that if he would join him, and with his ſhips, and thoſe of his country, now in the *Indies*, ſecure him againſt any invaſion from *Goa* by the *Portugueſes*, he would attack their forts in *Ceylan* with 20,000 men, and as faſt as he ſhould conquer them, he would put them into his hands. At the ſame time made him a preſent of a gold bowl, in which, to do him honour, he made his daughter drink to him, and afterwards preſent him with it as her gift. He likewiſe gave him 25 quintails of cinamon, and 16 of pepper, and ſent him back to his ſhips in a very honourable manner, becauſe *De Waert* had told him that he muſt conſult his admiral concerning the propoſal made to him.

As ſoon as *De Waert* went aboard, he ſail'd for *Achen*, where having a conference with the reſt of the *Dutch* who were there, they agreed to accept of the propoſal, and fitted out ſix ſhips to go to the aſſiſtance of the king of *Candea*. The king of *Achen*, to whom they communicated their deſign, promoted it all he could, to leſſen the ſtrength of the *Portugueſes* in the *Indies*; and when the *Dutch* ſhips ſet out for *Ceylan*, according to concert, he ſent an ambaſſador along with them.

At their arrival, under the command of *De Waert*, at *Baticala*, they ſent to acquaint the king of *Candea* of their being there. The king having march'd his troops to *Manatrawari*, towards the ſouth point of the iſland, deſir'd *Waert* to ſail towards *Punto de Gallo*, a *Portugueſe* fort upon that point, which he deſign'd to attack by land. But before this meſſage came to him, the *Dutch* had mortally offended the king of *Baticala* and all his people, by having kill'd ſome cows which they refus'd to ſell them for food, out of an apprehenſion, that the ſouls of the creatures, kill'd to be eaten, went to hell, for ſo their religion taught them; how ridiculous ſoever this notion was, the *Dutch*, who knew it to be their opinion, had better have kept *Lent* for ſome time, than to have diſoblig'd their friends by eating fleſh: for it was with much to do that they could make up matters with them by all the acknowledgments they could make.

A ſtrange notion concerning the ſouls of beaſts.

The Dutch ſail to Punto de Gallo to aſſiſt at the ſiege of it.

After this breach was made up, they ſet ſail for *Punto de Gallo*, where they caſt anchor to guard the coaſt, whilſt *Fimala* came with his land-forces to attack the fort. Here the *Dutch* took four *Portugueſe* ſhips, but having promis'd upon their ſubmitting to ſend the men out of thoſe parts, and not to deliver them to the king of *Candea*, they put them all in one ſhip, and ſent them away.

This was worſe than killing the cows; for the king of *Candea* was ſo diſoblig'd at *Waert*, that he was reſolv'd to be reveng'd; for he had expected to have had the priſoners given up to him. He ſent, probably with that view, to deſire *De Waert* to come and ſpeak to him, who accordingly landed with 200 men; but the king pretending to take his advice about the ſiege, or ſome other affair which could not be ended at one conference, perſwaded the vice-admiral to ſend the greateſt part of his men aboard, and himſelf to ſtay with him ſome days with a ſmall retinue; which he, without ſuſpecting any foul play, conſented to. After they were gone, the king, who had hitherto been ſo good a friend to the *Dutch*, fell upon *De Waert*, and cut him and all his followers to pieces.

De Waert *kill'd by the king of* Candea *whom he had aſſiſted.*

After this execution, he ſent a meſſage aboard the fleet, with an account of it, pretending that *De Waert* had behav'd with inſolence towards him, which had provok'd his people to kill them; but he aſſur'd the *Dutch* he would make good all that he had promis'd, provided they would aſſiſt him in reducing the fort; but they had enough of his promiſes, and being reſolv'd not to truſt to his word any longer, and not being in a condition to revenge the death of their vice-admiral, they made the beſt of their way to *Achen*, leaving the king to take the fort by himſelf.

The fleet ſails to Achen.

Altho' nothing can excuſe the barbarity of this act in murdering people in cool blood, yet conſidering the friendſhip ſhew'd by this king to the *Dutch* all along, and the preſent uſe he had for them, one would be tempted to believe that ſome occaſion muſt have been given by *De Waert*, beſides the ſending away the priſoners. Perhaps the king's expoſtulating too warmly with him for that action, might have provok'd the *Dutchman* (little us'd in his country to have much reſpect for kings) to ſay ſomething that might breed a quarrel, and the people about the king being accuſtom'd to ſhew more than proper regard for him, might have kill'd the vice-admiral and his people in the firſt ſally of their fury. However this was, the poor *Dutchmen* loſt their lives, and *Holland*, for that time, the fair proſpect of the ſole trade of that iſland.

Veer Hagen's *fleet of 12 ſhips ſent out* 1603.

Whilſt theſe tranſactions were carrying on by *De Waert* in the *Indies*, the *Dutch* company ſent another fleet of 12 ſhips the ſame way, under the command of *Veer Hagen*. They ſet ſail from *Holland* in 1603, and coaſting along the *African* ſhore, from the cape of *Good Hope*, they

they came to *Mozambick*, a ſmall iſland upon that coaſt in 15 degrees ſ. latitude, where was a *Portugueſe* fort, which they deſign'd to attack; but finding it too ſtrong for all their force, they contented themſelves with having taken ſome *Portugueſe* ſhips, in ſight of the caſtle, and held on their courſe towards *Goa*, with the ſame intention to drive the *Portugueſes* out of that place. But upon their arrival there, they found the enemy ſo well prepar'd for them, that they believ'd their inſtructions had been betrayed in *Europe*, before they ſet out, and that intelligence had been ſent from *Lisbon* to put them upon their guard.

His deſign upon Goa miſcarries.

Finding it impracticable to do any good here, they ſail'd to *Cananor*, and from thence at the deſire of the *Samorin*, to *Calicut*, where they took a *Portugueſe* ſhip with powder and ammunition for *Ceylan*; and, in a few days afterwards, engag'd with nine *Portugueſe* ſhips, and kill'd a great many of the enemy's men, without encumbering themſelves with priſoners. Here they enter'd into articles with the *Samorin*, by oath and writings.

He beats the Portugueſes at Calicut.

Having ſettled matters at *Calicut*, they diſpers'd to different iſlands, ſome going to *Sumatra*, others to *Ceylan*. But uniting again the *February* following, they ſail'd to the *Moluccas*; and in the way thither, they attack'd the caſtle of *Amboina*, which was deliver'd up to them by the *Portugueſes*, upon condition that ſuch of their nation as had a mind to ſtay upon the iſland ſhould be allow'd the ſame liberties the *Dutch* enjoy'd, and ſuch as would leave it, might have leave to retire; this being agreed to, the *Dutch* took poſſeſſion of the caſtle with all the ordnance and warlike ſtores; and 40 *Portugueſe* families ſtaid, having ſworn allegiance to the ſtates of *Holland*; about 600 more were ſhip'd off to other *Portugueſe* colonies.

The Dutch take poſſeſſion of the caſtle and iſland of Amboina.

After this ſucceſs, they proceeded to *Tidore* in the *Molucca's*, and ſummon'd the caſtle to ſurrender. In this they were ſupported by the king of *Ternate*, who accompanied them with 14 *Corocoras*, or large barks, full of ſoldiers, by which he kept the king of *Tidore* in awe, ſo that he durſt not move to give the *Portugueſes* any aſſiſtance. However, the garriſon in the caſtle behav'd with great courage, and in all probability had oblig'd the *Dutch* to give over their attempt as impracticable, if, by an unlucky accident, of which the cauſe is uncertain, their magazine had not taken fire, and blown up a part of the caſtle with about 70 men. This ſo diſcourag'd the *Portugueſes*, that being no longer in a condition to hold out, they ſurrender'd the place in the ſight of the king of *Tidore*, who, as we obſerv'd, durſt not move to aſſiſt them. This crown'd the ſucceſs of the *Dutch*, by putting them in the poſſeſſion of all the *Molucca* iſlands, except *Solar*, which the *Portugueſes* ſtill kept. This happen'd in 1605.

And afterwards of that of Tidore.

The *Dutch* were now triumphant in the *Indian* iſlands, nor did their countrymen at home ſtarve the cauſe for want of due ſupplies. For, this year, notwithſtanding all the bluſter and noiſe made by the king of *Spain* in forbidding them trade in all his dominions, they ſent out *Matlief*, with 12 ſhips, to purſue the conqueſts in the *Indies*, giving him inſtructions to make alliances with as many kings and ſtates, as he could bring into the *Dutch* intereſt, againſt the *Portugueſes*. *Matlief*, having comunicated his orders to the king of *Jor*, heard from him that the vice roy of *Goa* was with a fleet at *Achen*, ready to attack that place. This determin'd the *Dutch* admiral to raiſe what friends he could among the neighbouring princes, and to lay ſiege both by ſea and land to *Malacca*, a town belonging to the *Portugueſes*, upon that part of *India* call'd the *Aurea Cherſoneſe*, oppoſite to the middle of *Sumatra* eaſtward. This gave the alarm to the *Portugueſes* at *Achen*, and made the vice roy leave that place, and ſail, with his whole fleet to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen at *Malacca*, which was an acceptable deliverance to the king of *Achen*, who run no ſmall hazard of being undone.

The Dutch beſiege Malacca.

Upon the ſight of the *Portugueſe* fleet, *Matlief* gave over the ſiege, and prepar'd for a ſea battle, which was fought with great bravery on both ſides, and many men kill'd, till being both weary of killing one another, they parted, the vice roy repairing to the road of *Malacca*, to brag of a victory he had not obtain'd, and to encourage his countrymen to defend the place; whilſt the *Dutch* admiral retir'd to *Jor*, to adjuſt his ſhips, and put them in order for a ſecond battle. The vice roy believing they were quite gone, triumph'd at *Malacca* as if he had deſtroy'd the whole *Dutch* force by ſea. But he ſung the triumph before the victory; for *Matlief* having repair'd his ſhips, came unexpectedly into the bay of *Malacca*, and falling in with the *Portugueſe* fleet, when many of their officers were aſhore, ſunk and deſtroy'd them with a great ſlaughter of their men; and what were not demoliſh'd by the *Dutch* were blown up by the *Portugueſes* themſelves, to hinder them from being of uſe to their enemies. It is ſaid, that 6000 *Portugueſes* periſh'd in theſe two engagements. The whole fleet was loſt except five or ſix, which the vice roy had ſent away before the *Dutch* appear'd. The vice roy had the mortification to ſee this tragedy from the ſhore, but

A battle between the Portugueſes and them at ſea.

The Portugueſe fleet deſtroy'd in a ſecond engagement.

but I don't find that he attempted to get aboard to prevent it. He died ſoon after in a kind of a plague at *Malacca*, which ſwept away moſt of his countrymen at that place.

Nor were the *Dutch* idle in other places of the *Indies*; for about the ſame time they carried on a trade to *Japan*, and it is reported that, in one voyage to that great iſland, they made 40 tuns of gold. For, not being *Chriſtians*, but *Dutchmen*, they got into favour with the emperor of *Japan*, and with his licence, ſettled a factory in his dominions.

There were many other voyages undertaken by the *Dutch* to the *Indies* before the *Banda* diſpute happen'd, but we have no particular account of them from their own authors, and have had occaſion to mention ſome of them in relating the *Engliſh* voyages.

But becauſe the *Banda* affair made ſuch a noiſe at that time, and had like to have occaſion'd a war between *England* and *Holland*; and it was pity it did not; it will not be amiſs to give the reader a true ſtate of that controverſy, by ſhewing what the *Dutch*, in their own vindication alledg'd in anſwer to the complaints made by the *Engliſh*, together with the confutation of that vindication, by the *Engliſh* in 1622.

SECT. IV.

An abſtract of the Dutch *declaration with relation to the affairs of the* Eaſt Indies, *printed at* Amſterdam, 1622, *with the anſwer to it.*

AFTER the outrages done to the *Engliſh*, ſome of which we mention'd in the laſt chapter, the *Eaſt India* company at *London* having complain'd to the king and council, procur'd an order to his majeſty's ambaſſador to repreſent the matter to the ſtates. To obviate this, a declaration was drawn up, and printed at *Amſterdam*, 1622, call'd, *A true relation of that which paſs'd in the iſlands of* Banda, *in the* Eaſt Indies, *in the year of our Lord GOD*, 1621, *and before.* Of which this is the ſubſtance.

The Dutch *declaration with regard to the* Banda *iſles.*

1. *Agreement between the* Dutch *and the* Bandaneſes.

" That all the *Banda* iſlands, from " the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1609, were put un- " der the protection of the ſtates of *Hol- " land*, by a ſpecial treaty and agreement " made with their *Orankays*; who, up- " on condition that the *Dutch* ſhould de- " fend them from the *Portugueſes*, and " all other enemies, covenanted to deliver

2. *Pretended to be broken by means of the* Engliſh.

" all the fruits and ſpices of the *Banda* " iſlands at the caſtle of *Naſſau*, at a cer- " tain price.

" That this agreement was violated by " the *Bandaneſes*, in ſeveral inſtances " there expreſt, which violations were at " different times encourag'd by the *Eng- " liſh*, which occaſion'd ſome hoſtilities " between them and the *Dutch*, till the " peace of 1619 was publiſh'd the year " following in the *Eaſt Indies*.

3. *A pretended concert to allow the* Dutch *to make themſelves maſters of* Banda.

" That during the diſpute between the " two nations about theſe iſlands, the " natives not only ſold their ſpices to the " *Engliſh* in prejudice of the *Dutch*, but " likewiſe to others, and particularly to " the *Portugueſes*, the common enemy. " To remedy which, after the foreſaid " peace between *England* and *Holland* " relating to the trade of the ſpice iſlands, " it was agreed by the common council " of both nations, held *January* the 1ſt " 1621 N. S. that they ſhould take poſ- " ſeſſion of *Banda* by force. But the " *Engliſh* being, at that time, unprovided " of ſhipping, the *Dutch* general gover- " nor offer'd to do it with the ſingle force " of the *Holland* ſhips, then in thoſe " parts.

4. *Said to be betray'd by the* Engliſh.

" That, to that end, the governor ge- " neral ſail'd to *Jacatra January* the " 13th, without any oppoſition made by " the *Engliſh* council, and arriv'd at " caſtle *Naſſau*, in the iſland of *Nera* on " the 27th of *February*, but one of the " *Engliſh* council having written letters " by the *Dutch* fleet to ſome of the *Eng- " liſh* at *Polaroon*, they having been in- " form'd of the general's deſign, diſco- " ver'd it to the *Bandaneſes*, and not on- " ly ſo, but ſent ſome cannon and am- " munition to *Lantore*, and join'd the " people of that iſland. By which dou- " ble dealing of the *Engliſh*, two at- " tempts made upon *Lantore* were fru- " ſtrated, the *Engliſh* firing upon the " *Dutch* from batteries made with the " cannon they had ſent thither.

5. *The* Engliſh *refuſe to leave* Lantore.

" That the governor ſent to the *Eng- " liſh* in *Lantore* to depart from the ene- " my, and proteſted his innocence in caſe " any harm happen'd to them, which " they refus'd to do.

6. *A new ſurrender of the* Banda *iſles to* Holland.

" That the ſaid general governor divi- " ding his forces, at laſt with much diſ- " ficulty and danger made himſelf maſter " of the city of *Lantore*, and, by de- " grees, of the other towns belonging to " the great iſland of *Banda*. Soon after " which all the other iſlands ſubmitted, " and gave up themſelves to the obedi- " ence of the *States General*, and ſwore " allegiance to them.

7. *The* Dutch *leave the* Engliſh *at* Neyſacky.

" That, upon the ſurrender of *Pola- " roon* to the *Dutch*, the general ſhew'd " ſuch regard to the *Engliſh*, that he " would not ſo much as mention ſeven- " teen pieces of cannon with an *Engliſh* " garriſon, which he knew to be in a " ſmall iſland near *Polaroon*, but left " them in poſſeſſion of it.

" That

8. *An English captain solemnizes the taking of* Lantore, *&c.*

" That captain *Fitzherbert*, being " with an *English* ship at *Amboyna*, when " the news of the surrender of the *Banda* " islands to the *Dutch* arriv'd there, shot " 14 guns for joy of the said news.

This, says the declaration, *is the true state and proceedings of that which has been done now lately, and before in the island of* Banda, *wherein nothing has been done, but that which (according to the law of nations, and the aforesaid contract made and promis'd to be holden, and without any wrong done to the liberties of the* English *company, agreed upon with the company of the* Netherlands) *might and ought to have been done.*

Thus did the *Dutch*, in those days, endeavour to palliate their cruelties and injustice by specious pretences of right and surrender; and by recriminating upon the *English*, thought to justify the injuries done to, and oppression as well of the natives as of the *English* in those parts.

But they were not left unanswer'd to this declaration, the substance of which answer we shall likewise give, making the numbers in the margin of the answer correspond (for making it clearer and more distinct) with the numbers placed in the margin of the declaration.

Answer to the declaration.

1. " To begin with the first assertion in " the *Dutch* declaration, *viz. That the* " Banda *islands were given up by the* " Orankays *into the protection of the* " States General *in* 1609.

To set this matter in a true light, let the fact be related from the *Dutch* accounts.

When past'd between the Dutch *and the* Bandaneses *in* 1609.

Verheuf having left *Holland* in 1607, and spent all the year 1608 in fruitless attempts upon the colonies of the *Portugueses* in *Africa* and the continent of *Asia*, came at last in 1609 to the *Banda* isles, where, in odium of the *Portugueses*, he was well receiv'd to trade with the natives, who shew'd them all civil usage, and gave them friendly entertainment. They had letters with them from prince *Maurice*, (for in his name they treated with all the *Indian* princes) which they shew'd to the *Orankays*, complaining that the islanders had admitted different nations to treat with them for their spices, but because that might have been owing to their not being in a condition to defend themselves against foreigners, *he desir'd leave to build forts upon such places as* Verheuf *should pitch upon, not to keep the natives in* SUBJECTION, *with whom they desir'd to trade as with a* FREE PEOPLE, *but to* PROTECT *them from all insults of other nations.*

Verheuf desir'd liberty to build forts in Banda.

This proposal was no sooner made, but the people were in an uproar. They were wise enough to understand the meaning of allowing foreign garrisons in their country, and wisely foresaw that *Dutch* forts upon their islands, was the way to put them under the yoke of *Holland*, which they would by no means allow. But being afraid of *Verheuf*'s ships, they kept from cutting the throats of those who had made this proposal to them, and dissembling their Resentment, they desir'd time to consult among themselves what was to be done. After having communicated the matter with the *Orankeys* of all the islands, by the unanimous consent of the whole they told the admiral, that they would not allow the building of one fort in their islands, but he was welcome to traffick among them as long as his people behav'd themselves civilly.

The Dutch *begin the fort at* Nero.

This not being sufficient to satisfy the *Dutch*, *Verheuf*, thinking *Nero* a proper place to erect a fort, landed some companies of men, march'd to the town, which they found deserted of all its inhabitants. Having plac'd a sufficient guard there, they set about building a fort, and having wrought some 20 days at it, they had a message from the principal people of the island to give them a meeting near *Nero*; which being agreed to, *Verheuf* with his council and some servants went to the place appointed, but having order'd a guard of 150 soldiers to advance for his security, the *Orankeys* sent him word, that they would not trust themselves to his guard, and therefore desired he would retire from them to a more private place, where they might converse without fear. This he likewise comply'd with, but he was no sooner out of the reach of his people, but the *Bandaneses* treacherously cut his throat, with the throats of all his council, and of the other attendants, not suffering one to escape to give the alarm. The soldiers hearing a couple of shots go off, sent six of their number with a corporal to see what the matter was, who, at the entry of a wood, where this tragedy had been acted, found a company of Blacks in arms; and they firing at one another, the whole guard run to the place, and pursu'd the Blacks, who run away, and the *Dutch* following them, found the bodies of *Verheuf* and his company lying dead, but the islanders were all fled towards the mountains. In this skuffle the Blacks kill'd 42 *Dutchmen*, and lost a good many of their own number.

Verheuf *murder'd*

Notwithstanding the death of their general, the *Dutch* finish'd their fort, and call'd it *Nassau* castle; and sending parties out into the countries, kill'd all that came in their way; so that the *Orankeys* sent to desire peace, which was granted them upon condition that they would swear upon the *Alcoran* to allow trade, in the *Banda* islands, to none but the *Dutch*;

which they were forc'd to comply with, that they might get leave to live at home, and to hinder the *Dutch* from deſtroying their country, and making it uſeleſs either for them or any one elſe.

From this account of the *Dutch* poſſeſſing themſelves of *Nero*, it appears, that the *Bandaneſes* were far from giving up their country to the *States* of *Holland*, but that they took poſſeſſion by force, and paid for having done ſo, by the murder of the author of it, and the principal inſtruments of the violence offer'd to the natives. So that whatever treaty could be alledg'd, it is plain it was no better than a highway-man's taking poſſeſſion of a man's purſe, or obliging him for ſaving his life to promiſe to give him ſuch a ſum as he pleaſes to name. When the *Dutch* can ſhew that they enter'd peaceably upon poſſeſſion of the *Banda* iſlands, either by having been invited to ſettle and build forts upon any of them, or by a voluntary ſurrender of them by the *Orankeys* without compulſion, then the *Engliſh* may own their firſt plea to have been good.

2. It is pretended, in the declaration, that the *Bandaneſes* broke articles with the *Dutch* by the encouragement given by them to the *Engliſh*. But to this it is very well anſwer'd, that the *Banda* iſlands were the property of the natives before they voluntarily ſurrender'd them to the *Engliſh*. For, as appear'd from the *Dutch* account, the poſſeſſion they had of them was forced, and therefore could no longer oblige them than they had an opportunity to do themſelves juſtice. And altho' I do not at all doubt, but the oppreſſion of the *Portugueſes* firſt, and then of the *Dutch*, was the cauſe of their ſurrendering thoſe iſlands to the *Engliſh*; yet their ſurrender was upon ſuch ſtipulations, and reaſonable conditions, and that of their own free offer, without the leaſt compulſion on the part of the *Engliſh*, that any impartial reader may ſee the difference. And as it is evident from all the accounts we have from authors of all nations that the *Engliſh* gave no cauſe of quarrel to any *European* nation, at peace with the crown of *England*, either in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, or in that of K. *James*, in their many voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, without repeated provocation; nay, it may juſtly be ſaid, that they ſuffer'd too much from ſome of their neighbours, and it was pity they did not teach them better manners, than to inſult them in a foreign country; ſo it cannot juſtly be objected as a crime to them, to protect a people who had voluntarily put themſelves under the protection of the crown of *England*, and made themſelves their fellow ſubjects, eſpecially when thoſe people declar'd that they were under no obligations to any other ſtate, which the *Engliſh*, who receiv'd their ſubmiſſion, knew, in a great meaſure to be true, and which they who pretended a prior ſurrender afterwards, in order to excuſe their own injuſtice, and barbarity, could not make good by any ſhadow of proof. And I cannot help thinking, that if the *Engliſh* had ſent ſuch a ſufficient force to maintain their right to the *Banda* iſlands, againſt both *Dutch* and *Portugueſes*, they might have juſtified their proceedings by a better claim, and with more juſtice than either of the other nations laſt mention'd ever poſſeſs'd a foot of ground out of *Europe*, and perhaps with a better right than one of them could ſhew for what they then poſſeſs'd in it.

3. As to the third article of the declaration, *viz.* that the *Engliſh* conſented to the conqueſt of the *Banda* iſlands by the *Dutch*, and then betrayed the ſecret, to the hazard of the *Dutch* fleet, it is falſe in fact. For, copies of the ſurrender of *Polaroon*, *Pulaway*, *Lantore* and *Wayre* had been ſent to the *Engliſh* council before this attempt was made, and captain *Courthop* had more than once repreſented the injuſtice of their attempt againſt people who were become ſubjects of *Britain*, as has been already related; and for the *Engliſh* council to have conſented to this expedition by the *Dutch*, is contrary to common ſenſe, and had they done it, they ought to have been hang'd as traitors, if they had not been ſpar'd as ideots. So that thus repreſenting the *Engliſh* as conſenting to the invaſion of *Banda* or *Lantore*, and baſely betraying the concert, is much of a piece with the other villainous actions committed by the *Dutch* in other places of the *Indies*, and by them laid upon the *Engliſh* to leſſen their reputation, or to get the next cargo of them, that ſhould load at the place where the miſchief had been done, knock'd on the head for the crime of the *Dutch*.

4. To aggravate the injuſtice of the proceedings of the *Dutch*, the anſwerer goes on to their ingratitude to the *Engliſh*, by uſing them ill notwithſtanding the many good offices done them by *England*, whoſe power and aſſiſtance alone brought them, from being the POOR, DISTRESSED STATES *of* Holland, to be able to boaſt themſelves, and by degrees to be call'd by others, THE HIGH AND MIGHTY STATES *of* HOLLAND. But this is a truth ſo well known, that we need not inſiſt upon it. He likewiſe brings ſome inſtances of the cruelty and ill uſage of the *Engliſh* by the *Dutch*, given upon oath by thoſe who ſuffer'd by their tyrrany, and were eye-witneſſes of the ſufferings of others. The common uſage they gave to ſuch *Engliſh* as they took, without any juſt provocation given them, was to

load

load them with irons, and *Laurence Real*, the *Dutch* general at the *Banda* iſlands, made iron grates above deck, where he kept the *Engliſh* merchants and captains to broil in the ſun, and in deriſion expos'd them to the view of the *Indians*. A thouſand other cruelties they exercis'd towards them, of which there was ſufficient proofs, as has been hinted at in ſeveral parts of our TRAVELLER, which are ſufficient to juſtify the *Engliſh* in doing all that they could to keep themſelves and their new fellow ſubjects from falling into the hands of their new allies the *Dutch*.

5. As to their pretence of great friendſhip in warning the *Engliſh* to leave *Lantore*, it is eaſy to ſee through the grimace of that. Captain *Courthop* had, with a ſmall party, kept them three years out of *Polaroon*, and when *Lantore* had ſurrender'd to *England*, there was a factory (ſuch as they could ſpare at that time) ſent thither, and to protect their trade, they convey'd, with the full conſent, and at the deſire of the *Orankeys* and people, ſome pieces of cannon to that iſland, to protect the factory and the trade of the iſland. So that the *Dutch* meſſage to them to be gone, was more upon the account of their own ſafety than out of favour to the *Engliſh*; becauſe a few *Engliſh*, when forced to defend themſelves from falling into their unmerciful hands, had done them more miſchief than a much greater number of natives of the *Banda* iſlands. And therefore they would have been glad to have got them away any how, ſince they own themſelves, that, by the aſſiſtance of the very few *Engliſh* who were there, two attempts upon *Lantore* had prov'd abortive.

6, 7. And this too was, probably, the reaſon why they left them in free poſſeſſion of the little iſland of *Neyſacky*, becauſe they were afraid of loſing a much greater number in reducing it, than there was, at any time, of *Engliſh* to defend it. And when they had by force oblig'd the people of *Polaroon* to what they call'd a *ſecond ſurrender*, which gave them as good a title to thoſe iſlands, as a robber has to a man's purſe, by threatening to kill him if he does not deliver it, after having ſhot ſome other honeſt men before his face for reſiſtance, they could not but ſee, that *Neyſackey* was like to be of no conſequence, but muſt be deſerted as ſoon as the brave men who were in it, could have an opportunity of getting to *Bantam*, or any other place where they could be ſafe: They therefore prudently conſider'd that it was better to ſleep in a whole skin, than to risk an attack upon that little garriſon, which, in all appearance, they muſt have bought very dear if they had carried it. And their uſage of the *Engliſh*, who fell into their hands by ſurprize, without any declaration of war, and when there was peace between *England* and *Holland*, and their barbarity to ſuch as they took in *Lantore* and other places, are convincing indications of their great regard for the *Engliſh* nation.

8. If capt. *Fitzherbert*, then at *Amboina*, was impos'd upon by the *Dutch* miſrepreſentation of the *Banda* affair, and not knowing the truth of the cheat, fir'd his guns for joy of a ſucceſs which was a moſt grievous injuſtice, and of pernicious conſequence to his country, it is a ſtrange way of arguing to prove, from his behaviour, the juſtice of an action, which, upon examination, appears to have deſerv'd the reſentment not only of thoſe who immediately ſuffer'd by it, in their perſons and effects, but indeed of the whole *Engliſh* nation, unleſs the *States*, at home, had been more forward, than it ſeems they were, to do juſtice to the ſufferers, and to the honour of the *Engliſh* name.

Altho' we have not follow'd preciſely the method of the anſwer made to the *Declaration*, we have advanced nothing but what there are good vouchers for, and have added ſome hints from the repreſentation made by men of unqueſtionable characters, whoſe accounts of the behaviour of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*, we have had occaſion to touch at before.

If any one ſhall be of opinion that we have ſhew'd too much warmth in this ſection, we can only ſay, that we have ſpoke truth; and to get out of this diſagreeable ſubject once for all, we deſire thoſe *moderate* gentlemen to follow us through the following ſection, and then if they are not inſpir'd with a becoming indignation, as far as chriſtian charity will allow, we ſhall not envy them the character juſtly due to them.

SECT. IV.

The account of the Dutch *treatment of the* Engliſh *at* Amboyna, *in* 1623, *with the anſwer to their repreſentation of it. Taken from the publick papers publiſh'd by authority*, London, 1624.

IT may be thought, by ſome a needleſs, and by others, an invidious labour, to repeat a ſtory of 110 years ſtanding, which ſome are of opinion ought to be buried in oblivion, leſt in ſhould ſtir up ill blood by the revival of it. But as this happens to come in my way upon the very beginning of the 30th of *January*, I muſt take the liberty to ſay that I think neither the one nor the other tragedy ought ever to be forgotten in *England*, they

they having been, in their different kinds, the two moſt unprecedented actions that ever happen'd in any nation.

I have liv'd to hear, and before an auguſt aſſembly, a perſon in a gown, who had, or ought to have, been by and have join'd in the moſt excellent ſervice of our church upon this day, gravely tell the congregation, that there was no occaſion for deprecating GOD's wrath for the murder of K. *Charles* I. becauſe the perſons who were the authors of it were dead long ago, and this generation had nothing to do with it: As if the reverend gentleman (for ſo he ſeem'd to be by his garb) had been utterly unacquainted with the ſecond commandment, and a great number of other texts of the old teſtament; and as if it were not neceſſary to keep up the horror of ſuch execrable villany in the minds of every generation to the end of the world, in order to make all mankind deteſt the principles by which it was brought about, and to teach them *to fear the* Lord *and the* King, *and not to meddle with them that are given to* change.

I beg pardon for this digreſſion, but the day put me upon the thought: And altho' I do not put the buſineſs of *Amboyna* upon a level with the murder of K. *Charles*, yet they being both extraordinary in their kind, I think the memory of them ought never to be forgotten as long as the *Engliſh* nation exiſts, and I am ſure they never will, whilſt it continues FREE. I would not be thought to ſtir up the nation to revenge. The deſign of the 30th of *January* is to excite repentance and to put the nation upon their guard againſt ſeditious principles; and the remembrance of *Amboyna* (which I hope is not juſtified by our good allies the *Dutch*) may put *England* upon her guard how ſhe is dup'd by her neighbours, when ſhe has it in her own power, by the bleſſing of GOD to do herſelf juſtice, if ſhe will exert herſelf as ſhe ought; and *may ſhe always do ſo when ſhe is in danger*. But to come to our purpoſe.

Altho' it might have been expected, that upon the peace of 1619, by which the *Dutch* were allow'd two thirds of all the trade of the ſpice iſlands of the *Molucca*'s and *Banda*, and the *Engliſh*, with great condeſcenſion, took up with the other third, and were to pay equal taxes, upon all goods belonging to the merchants, in all thoſe places, which one would think ought to have ſatisfied our good allies; I ſay, altho' it might have been reaſonably preſum'd, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* might have liv'd as good friends, when they could ſend two ſhips for one (either to *Europe*, or any where elſe) laden with the produce of the ſpice iſlands; yet the inſatiable luſt of dominion and wealth ſoon ſhew'd itſelf in ſpite of articles, and our allies the *Dutch*, having more men and ſhipping than the *Engliſh* in thoſe ſeas, let them quickly ſee, that they deſign'd to interpret all the articles of the treaty as they thought fit, notwithſtanding the plain words agreed upon by the companies at home, and confirm'd by the government and councils of both nations.

We have ſeen how they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Banda* iſlands by force and treachery, having kidnap'd our ſhips in time of peace, which, had they been aware of their deſign, would not have become ſo eaſy a prey to them, for all their numbers. We come now to relate the moſt deteſtable piece of barbarity, that ever was committed by one nation againſt another, under colour of law, and with the formality of a trial, without the leaſt appearance of provocation, or pretence of danger; which makes this action at *Amboyna* more barbarous than even the treatment the *Spaniards* us'd to the poor *Indians* of *Mexico* and *Peru*, (which GOD knows was unjuſt and cruel enough in all conſcience) becauſe the *Spaniards* had their own ſafety to plead, and pretended that they were in danger from the great numbers of the natives in thoſe places, from whoſe treachery, ſhew'd on ſome occaſions, they had reaſon to apprehend the ruin of their armies. But at *Amboyna*, there was no ſuch pretence, nor the leaſt umbrage for ſuch an excuſe.

The *Dutch* had us'd the factory there, in ſeveral reſpects, contrary to the treaty of 1619, by making them pay an equal ſhare of the charge, laid out upon building and fortifying the caſtle, which was entirely under the command of the *Dutch*, whilſt the *Engliſh* took up with a houſe in the town; beſides the *Dutch* paying their two thirds of the charge of the garriſon, in *Cormandel* cloth, at the price they thought fit to put upon it, whilſt they oblig'd the *Engliſh* to pay their quota in ready money; that in effect, the *Engliſh* got the two thirds to pay, and the *Dutch* only one.

It may ſeem natural enough that the *Engliſh* ſhould have complain'd of thoſe hardſhips, as indeed they did, ſending a memorial to the *council of defence*, as it was call'd, ſitting at *Jacatra*; but the matter not being determin'd there, they appeal'd (according to the treaty) to the deputies of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* companies in *Europe*; and in caſe they did not agree, to the councils of both nations. But it will appear before we have done this ſection, that the *Dutch* were in no danger, even if the *Engliſh* had been inclin'd to hurt them.

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The cauſe of the *Engliſh* thus depending, they waited, ſtill ſubmitting to the ſame hardſhips, for orders from home to redreſs their grievances abroad. But the *Dutch* governor and council at *Amboyna* found a ſhort way to decide the controverſy in their own favour, as we are now to relate.

* *See*, True relation of the unjuſt, cruel, and barbarous proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna* &c. London printed by *H. Lowns* for *Nath. Newberry* 1624, and publiſh'd by authority.

* *Amboyna* being an iſland near *Seran*, about 40 leagues in circuit, the *Engliſh*, after the treaty of 1619, had planted five different factories, *viz.* three upon different places of this iſland, and two in *Seran*; but the town of *Amboyna* itſelf was the chief, where Mr. *Muſchamp* was the agent, at its firſt ſetting up, to whom ſucceeded Mr. *Gabriel Towerſon*, ſome time before the beginning of the year 1622. This factory at *Amboyna* had power over the other four, *viz. Hitto* and *Larica* upon the iſland of *Amboyna*, and *Loho* and *Cambello* in *Seran*.

Upon the iſlands now mention'd the *Dutch* had four forts, the chief of which was likewiſe at the town of *Amboyna*, where they had a caſtle conſiſting of four baſtions with their curtains, upon each of which they had ſix pieces of braſs cannon. This caſtle was waſh'd by the ſea on one ſide, and had a ditch of five fathoms broad on the other, very deep, and conſtantly full from the ſea, with which it had communication. The garriſon conſiſted of 200 *Dutch* ſoldiers, and a company of free burghers, beſides 400 *Mardikers*, or free natives, who were ready to ſerve the caſtle upon a call, but did not lodge within it.

Whilſt the *Engliſh* liv'd in their own houſe in the town, under the protection of the *Dutch* caſtle, the diſputes above mention'd happen'd, and the *Engliſh* had complain'd of them for two years together without any redreſs.

The beginning of the plot againſt the Engliſh.

Upon the 11th of *February*, 1621-2, a *Japaneſe* ſoldier belonging to the *Dutch* garriſon, being one of the *Mardikers*, walking in the night upon the caſtle wall, enter'd into converſation with the *Dutch* centinel, (as the *Dutch* alledg'd) and among other things ask'd him ſome queſtions concerning the ſtrength of the garriſon and the number of ſoldiers. The centinel having given an account of this converſation, the *Japaneſe* was apprehended, and being accus'd of a deſign to betray the caſtle, was put to the torture to make him confeſs it; and as the *Dutch* ſaid, he did accordingly confeſs, that he and ſome of his countrymen had plotted to ſurprize the caſtle. This occaſion'd the ſeizing the other *Japaneſes*, and the maſter of the ſlaves under the *Dutch*, who was a *Portugueſe*; who being alſo tortur'd, confeſs'd the ſame wicked plot, as the *Dutch* pretended, but, in truth, they confeſs'd whatever they put in their mouths to be freed from the torture.

This torturing theſe poor wretches continu'd four days; during which time the *Engliſh* went frequently to the caſtle, as they us'd to do: but as they were not conſcious to themſelves of having had any converſation with the *Japaneſes*, altho' they ſaw thoſe miſerable creatures mangled, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any danger to themſelves. But they were ſoon made ſenſible of it; for one *Price*, ſurgeon to the factory, having in his cups offer'd to burn a *Dutch* houſe, and being then a priſoner in the caſtle, was ſent for on the 15th of *February*, and being brought to the place where the *Japaneſes* were moſt grievouſly tortur'd, the *Dutch* fiſchal told him, they had confeſs'd the *Engliſh* were in the conſpiracy to ſurprize the caſtle, bidding him confeſs the ſame, threatning to uſe him as they had done the *Japaneſe* if he refus'd to do it. And upon his declaring that he knew nothing of it, they immediately put him to the queſtion by torture, and ſoon brought him to confeſs whatever they pleas'd to dictate.

Price *an* Engliſh *ſurgeon put to the torture confeſſes what the* Dutch *deſir'd.*

Having thus gotten what they call'd an *Engliſh* evidence, about nine a-clock they ſent to Mr. *Towerſon* to come to the caſtle, with all the factory about earneſt buſineſs. They went accordingly all but one, who ſtaid to look after the warehouſe. As ſoon as they appear'd, being eight in number, they were tax'd with a conſpiracy to ſurprize the caſtle, to murder the *Dutch*, and burn all their ſhipping. They all deny'd that ever they had ſo much as heard of any ſuch thing projected; but the governor order'd Mr. *Towerſon* to be confin'd to his chamber with a guard, kept Mr. *Thomſon* in irons in the caſtle, and ſent the other ſix aboard the ſhips then riding in the road, where they were ſeparately kept in chains. The man who had ſtaid to look after the warehouſe was likewiſe ſeiz'd, and the *Dutch* took poſſeſſion of all their effects and papers: and the ſame day parties were ſent to the factories of *Hitto* and *Larica*, who brought three out of each of them to *Amboyna* upon the 16th; and four days afterwards ſix more were brought from *Loho* and *Cambello*. So that they had in all 22 *Engliſh*, which were all that belong'd to the *Amboyna* factories.

All the Engliſh *impriſon'd.*

But before they arriv'd the governor and fiſchal being reſolv'd to proſecute this pretended plot to the utmoſt ſtretch of cruelty, ſent for *Beomont* and *Johnſon* from on board the *Unicorn*; and *Beomont* being left with a guard in the hall, *Johnſon* was taken to another room, and in a little time his poor comrade heard him roar

Johnſon *tortur'd.*

roar out for pain, and after ſome reſpite, he exclaim'd again. This was occaſion'd by his having been tortur'd, and after having recover'd a fainting fit, their torturing him a ſecond time. After this, as he himſelf told his friends before his death, they brought *Price* to confront and accuſe him. But he confeſſing nothing upon *Price*'s accuſation, he was put to the torture anew; and then *Beomont* heard him, as before, cry out in the greateſt agony for a while, and then all was quiet for ſome time, and of a ſudden he heard him roar out afreſh. After an hour had been ſpent in this helliſh imployment, *Johnſon* was brought to the hall all wet, and cruelly burnt in ſeveral parts of his body, and laid down in a by-place of the hall, with a ſoldier by him to hinder his ſpeaking to any one.

After him Thomſon.

The next who was brought to the queſtion in the ſame manner, was Mr. *Thomſon*, whoſe intermitting cries *Beomont* likewiſe heard, but did not ſee him. His trial continu'd for about an hour and a half.

After him, it came to *Beomont*'s turn, who, like the reſt, denying all knowledge of any deſign upon the caſtle, or any the leaſt intention to injure the *Dutch*, he was ty'd up to be tortur'd; but the merciful governor gave him reſpite for a day or two.

The manner of the torture.

The manner of their torture was by drawing them up with cords about their wriſts, thro' rings fix'd in a door, till their feet were about a foot from the ground, and then, at the utmoſt ſtretch their arms could go, the ropes were made faſt, and their feet after the ſame manner ſtretch'd aſunder in the form of a St. *Andrew*'s croſs. Then a cloth was ty'd cloſe about their chin and neck, making it hollow to hold water up to the noſe. When the perſon was thus fix'd, they pour'd water ſoftly upon his head, which trickling down, was ſtop'd by the cloth, ſo that the party could not draw his breath without ſwallowing the water; and this, being continued, fill'd the body ſo with water, that the parts of it were ready to burſt. And if they were in danger of being ſtifled, or if they ſwooned away thro' pain, they took them down till they had voided ſome of the water, and as ſoon as they recover'd, they began the operation afreſh. If they would not confeſs with this torture, they burn'd candles under their ſoles, their palms, elbows and arm-pits, till the greaſe dropping from their bodies put out the lights, and then new candles were applied; and ſome of thoſe poor men were ſo cruelly burn'd under the arm-pits, that their bowels were to be ſeen. And after all theſe cruel uſages, they were thrown into dungeons without any aſſiſtance, till their fleſh putrify'd after ſuch a manner as is nauſeous to imagine.

It would be tedious to the reader, as I own it is very diſagreeable to me, to read the whole proceedings of this tragical ſtory; I ſhall therefore forbear to tranſcribe any more particulars of the tortures exercis'd upon the *Engliſh* upon this occaſion. Let it ſuffice then to ſay, that the torture was ſo extreme, that moſt of them who had nothing to ſay, and had not heard the concerted plot contriv'd by the *Dutch*, deeply proteſted their innocence; but at the very ſound of the fiſchal's voice, ordering them to be hoiſted up, they beg'd of him to ſay, or write what he would, and they would anſwer YES, or ſubſcribe any confeſſion that he could frame for them. Some of them confeſs'd their having been preſent at a conſultation at *Amboyna* upon New-years day 1622-3, when captain *Towerſon* complain'd of the injuſtice of the *Dutch*, and ſwearing all the *Engliſh* preſent to ſecrecy, diſcover'd a plot to ſurprize the caſtle, with the help of the *Japaneſes*; when at the ſame time there were *Dutchmen* preſent who declar'd, that ſome of thoſe who confeſs'd ſo, had been at *Loho* with them, and others at *Cambello*, at the very time when they accuſed themſelves of making the plot of *Amboyna*. And altho' thoſe *Dutchmen*, not much to the governor's good liking, gave this evidence, and that the *Engliſh*, when ask'd why they would accuſe themſelves, declar'd that all they had ſaid was falſe, and only ſaid to avoid the torture; yet the juſt governor, and the upright fiſchal, made 'em ſign the fram'd confeſſion, which was ſo evidently prov'd to have been forg'd, and not only condemned them by it, but brought it in evidence againſt captain *Towerſon* and ſome others of their countrymen, to take away their lives.

The fiſchal, by leading queſtions, made the Engliſh accuſe one another.

In ſhort, there was ſcarce one but what accus'd another as they were bid to do, altho' ſeveral of them, before they were condemn'd, and every one of them after their condemnation, declar'd in the moſt ſolemn manner, and offer'd to take their ſacrament upon it, (had there been any one there who had had power, and durſt have had the courage to give it them) that they were intirely innocent of what was laid to their charge; and that what they had confeſs'd with their tongues, or ſubſcrib'd with their hands, againſt captain *Towerſon*, or any of their countrymen, was only done to prevent farther torture.

This bloody proceſs laſted from the 15th of *February*, (or according to the *Dutch* account, who reckon'd by the N. S. the 25th) to the 24th of that month,

month, every day preſenting new ſcenes of mangled bodies. Upon the 26th they were all brought into the hall, to receive ſentence, except *Towerſon* and *Thomſon*, but after a while, the firſt of them (who it ſeems had not before that confeſs'd any thing) was brought thro' them all, and carry'd to another place, out of their hearing. There were two jars of water carry'd after him, but what he ſuffer'd they did not know, only it appears that he had ſign'd a confeſſion they had pen'd for him, either then or before.

Altho' the governor and his council ſeem to have been poſſeſs'd with the ſpirit of the devil in this affair, yet it muſt be own'd there were ſome *Dutchmen* there who were not ſo bloody as the reſt; for they prevail'd with the court to ſave the lives of Mrs. *Powl*, *Ramſay*, *Ladbrook*, *Sadler* and *Collins*, which laſt caſt lots with Mr. *Colſon* and Mr. *Thomſon* for his life. And the next day they reſpited *Beomont* and *Sharrock*, with ſome others, and afterwards ſent them to *Jacatra* to be at the mercy of the *Dutch* general.

When they were brought into the hall, the poor *Japaneſes* (who had, by the ſame arts, been forced to accuſe them,) being in the hall to receive ſentence of death, call'd out to them, *O ye* Engliſh! *when did we ever eat, or converſe with you?* One of the priſoners turning to them, ſaid, *Why then did you accuſe us?* To which thoſe poor wretches, ſhewing their mangled bodies, reply'd, *If a Stone were thus burnt, would it not change its nature, how then could we hold out who are fleſh and blood?*

Captain Towerſon and nine other Engliſhmen murder'd

Having receiv'd their ſentence, capt. *Towerſon* with nine *Engliſh*, one *Portugueſe*, and nine *Japaneſes*, were executed upon the 28th of *February* 1622-3, all of them proteſting their innocence at the very place of execution. The *Dutch* had provided a velvet cloth to receive captain *Towerſon*'s body in, which being ſtain'd with his blood, they had the impudence afterwards to charge to the account of the *Engliſh*.

There were ſeveral remarkable things happen'd at, and ſoon after this execution, which the very heathens reckon'd judgments from heaven upon the *Dutch*; and one particular accident was a plain evidence of guilt in the perſon to whom it happen'd. One *Duncken* had been an evidence againſt the *Engliſh* at their trial, and had declar'd that *Robert Brown* had ſaid to him, that *he hop'd in ſix months the* Engliſh *ſhould have as much to do in the caſtle as the* Dutch. This, altho' it did not amount to a plot, yet it was falſe, as *Brown* proteſted; and a few days after the murder, this *Duncken* coming to the grave where all the *Engliſh* were buried together, except capt. *Towerſon*, he fell down, and having lain a little while, he got up ſtark mad, and ſo continued two days, and died.

A remarkable judgment upon a falſe evidence.

This is the truth of this horrid maſſacre, as it was taken upon the oaths of ſix of the *Engliſh* who eſcap'd, and was publiſh'd by authority in *England* in the year 1624. But that it may appear that we have not done injuſtice to the *Dutch* in taking this relation from the *Engliſh* accounts, without taking notice of what their authors ſay of it; we ſhall give a ſhort view of their manner of repreſenting it, and ſhew that it cannot be credited.

The Dutch account of the affair of Amboyna.

In the ſame year, 1624, there was a pamphlet printed, call'd, *A true* DECLARATION, *concerning a conſpiracy diſcover'd in the iſland of* Amboyna, *and the puniſhment following thereupon, according to the courſe of juſtice*, &c. *ſent from a friend in the* Low Countries *to a friend of note in* England, &c. of which we ſhall give a faithful abſtract, and then ſhew what anſwer was at that time given to it, to let the reader judge of the truth.

1. Pretended cauſes for ſuſpecting a plot.

The *Dutch* declaration begins with the cauſes (as they pretended) of the governor's and council's ſuſpicion of a plot; which were theſe following, *viz.* 1. The great licentiouſneſs of the *Ternatans* in the *Moluccas* and *Amboyna* iſlands, who attempted to make peace with the iſland of *Tydore*, and ſo caſt off all reſpect for the *Dutch*, and made a truce with the *Spaniards*, who were at that time ſtrong at ſea. 2. The *Engliſh* unwillingneſs to furniſh their quota of ſhips ſtipulated by the treaty of 1619, to protect the trade; by reaſon of which the *Spaniards* run away with the *Molucca* trade, and the *Ternatans* inſulted the *Dutch*, and kill'd ſome of their people, and burn'd their houſe at *Loho*, and threaten'd to root them out of *Amboyna*. 3. The current report in the *Banda* iſlands, that *Amboyna* caſtle was to be taken, and the frequent cabals held there gave the *Dutch* council grounds to ſuſpect an intelligence with ſome *Europeans*, it being very unlikely that they would undertake any thing againſt the *Dutch* without aſſiſtance.

2. The pretended manner of the diſcovery of the plot.

The governor and council of *Amboyna* being thus alarm'd, but not ſuſpecting the *Engliſh*, a horrid conſpiracy was diſcover'd. The *Japaneſe*, firſt ſuſpected by the many curious queſtions he put to the centinel, being put to the queſtion, freely confeſs'd, that he and his countrymen had covenanted with the *Engliſh* to ſurrender the caſtle. The other *Japaneſes* being examin'd, freely declar'd that capt. *Towerſon* and the *Engliſh* merchants had hir'd them to aſſiſt them in the plotted attempt,

attempt, and that they had frequent conferences with *Towerſon* and *Price* the ſurgeon upon that account.

Altho' the confeſſions of the *Japaneſes* were ſufficient ground to build an accuſation upon, yet the council had ſuch regard for the *Engliſh*, that they would not take them up upon what infidels ſaid; but having had *Price* in cuſtody upon another account, they examin'd him, who likewiſe confeſs'd ſeveral times and places where he had convers'd with the *Japaneſes* upon that affair, by order from capt. *Towerſon*, and that the neighbouring factories were privy to it.

Thereupon they ſent for all the *Engliſh* as well reſiding at *Amboyna* as in the other four factories; and out of regard to captain *Towerſon*'s quality, as chief of the merchants, they made his own apartment his priſon. Having examin'd the other *Engliſh*, they unanimouſly confeſs'd, that upon new year's day, 1623, captain *Towerſon* call'd them all to his chamber, and, having firſt ſworn them upon the goſpel to be ſecret, told them, that he had a plot to ſurprize the caſtle; to effect which, he had already engag'd the *Japaneſe Mandericks*, who ſerv'd the *Dutch*. That they only waited for the arrival of ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, and the governor's abſence: He likewiſe told them that he knew how to be ſupplied with men enow, and did not fear ſucceſs, if they kept the matter ſecret, and gave their aſſiſtance chearfully. He told them further, that two *Japaneſes* were to be at each baſtion, and the reſt to be ready to kill the governor, when he ſhould come out upon the alarm given, by the murder of the *Dutch* at the baſtions, upon a ſignal from the *Engliſh* houſe. That all the *Dutch* effects ſhould be divided between the *Engliſh* and *Japaneſes*, and 1000 reals a-piece given to the latter beſides. That the time was to be fix'd at their next conſultation.

3. *The deſign'd attempt projected.*

This being unanimouſly confeſs'd by nine of the *Engliſh*, they examin'd captain *Towerſon*, who likewiſe confeſs'd, that all this was true, and having been ask'd, *What mov'd him to ſo wicked a deſign?* anſwer'd, *honour and profit*. Being ask'd, *For whom he would have done it?* he ſaid, *If the council at* Jacatra *had authoriz'd him, he would have kept the caſtle for the* Engliſh Eaſt India *company*; *but if not, he would have kept it, and the whole iſland for himſelf.* The governor upbraided Mr. *Towerſon* for his ingratitude to him who had us'd him kindly; at which he fetch'd a deep ſigh, and ſaid, *Oh! if it were to be begun, it ſhould not be done.*

4. *Captain* Towerſon's *pretended confeſſion.*

After this repreſentation of the pretended diſcovery of the plot, and this forged ſtory, the author of the declaration proceeds to anſwer ſome objections. Which I think may be reduced to theſe two. 1. The incompetency of the trial and judgment. And 2. The uſe of torture. In anſwer to the firſt, the declarer alledges the conqueſt of *Amboyna* by the ſubjects of *Holland* from the mortal enemies of their ſtate, the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes*; and therefore, the governor and council there, having been veſted with power from the ſtates, were as competent judges as the judges of any other nation whatſoever to try criminals, and to puniſh with death ſuch as have conſpir'd to ruin the ſtate. And he endeavours to ſhew that by the peace of 1619, they were under no obligation of ſending the *Engliſh* to be tried by the *council of defence* at *Jacatra*. As to the objection of their confeſſions being extorted from them by torture; the declarer ſays it is the practice of almoſt all nations. Nay he ſays it is us'd in *England* in ſome caſes, and endeavours to bring the practice of *preſſing* (in caſe of one's refuſing to plead either *guilty* or *not guilty*) upon a parallell with torturing; but denies that it was us'd in this caſe, or if it was, it was only a TOUCH, as he calls it.

5. *The right of the* Dutch *at* Amboyna *to judge them.*

This is, without diſguiſe, the ſubſtance of the Dutch *declaration*, which no ſooner appear'd in *London*, but there came out an anſwer to it, printed at *London* in 1624, I ſuppoſe, by the direction of the *Eaſt India* company; at leaſt, it appears that the author had acceſs to the company's journals and letters of the factories abroad; by which he anſwers diſtinctly to all the ſeveral allegations of the Dutch *declaration*; how truly let the reader judge by obſerving the numbers in the margin, compar'd with the marginal numbers in the abſtract of the *declaration*.

As to the cauſes of the *Dutch* jealouſy. He ſhews that the declarer has miſplaced the miſunderſtanding between the *Dutch* and the *Ternatans*, and from the *Eaſt India* journals makes it appear, that the endeavours of the people of *Ternate* to join with the *Spaniards* againſt the *Dutch* were in the year 1621, full two years before this *Amboyna* maſſacre. He proves, by ſeveral inſtances, that during the year 1622, the *Dutch* and they had a good correſpondence, and that the *Ternatans* took many *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* ſhips, and ſold the men to the *Dutch*; and they were ſo good friends, that whenever their *Coricories* came before *Amboyna* in thoſe hoſtile expeditions, as they often did, they were ſaluted from the caſtle and the *Dutch* ſhips; nor

1. *The* Dutch *miſrepreſent things as to time.*

nor was there any ſign of miſunderſtanding between them when the *Engliſh* were accus'd of this plot, nor any union between the kings of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, or any league of the former with the *Spaniards* at the *Molucca's* till after the *Amboyna* affair, *viz.* in *July*, 1623. As to the pretended ſtrength of the *Spaniards* at ſea in 1622, the frequent prizes taken from them by the *Coricories* mention'd is a ſufficient confutation.

As to the cauſe of jealouſy to the *Dutch*, by the unwillingneſs of the *Engliſh* to ſend their quota of ſhips to the ſeveral places upon the *Indian* coaſt, this author anſwers, that the *Engliſh*, by the orders of the *council of defence* at *Jacatra*, maintain'd five large ſhips of good force for two years together, to be join'd with the like number of *Dutch* for the *Manillas*, the charge and profit to be common to both.

The reaſon why the Engliſh *did not employ as many ſhips as the* Dutch.

Beſides theſe, the *Dutch* prepar'd another fleet of ſeven ſhips for *Macao*, without giving warning to the *Engliſh*, or conſulting the council of defence, at leaſt the *Engliſh* part of the council, until they were ready to ſail; and knowing that it would be impoſſible for the *Engliſh* then to provide ſuch a number, they honeſtly call'd them to make out their quota. As this fleet paſs'd the *Manillas* two of the *Engliſh* ſhips riding there, ſaluted them, and offer'd to join them for the expedition, but the *Dutch* told them, they were going upon their own account, and that they would neither allow them to have any ſhare in the action they were going about, nor of the profit of it. Another fleet of ten ſhips, at the common charge, being fitted out for *Malabar*, by order of the *council of defence*, two of the *Dutch* ſhips, being inſufficient, were ſent back to *Jacatra* after having been only one month at ſea; and two more were diſpatch'd to the *Red Sea*, contrary to the inſtructions of the council, which ſo weaken'd the fleet, that they durſt not attack four large carracks of the *Portugueſes*, which would have been a noble prize. So juſt was the complaint againſt the *Engliſh* in this particular. As to the *Ternatans* inſolence at *Loho*, it was as much againſt the *Engliſh* as the *Dutch*; the occaſion of it was their having taken one of Mr. *Beomont's* ſervants, and if a *Dutchman* was kill'd in the ſcuffle, the arrow was aim'd at Mr. *Beomont*, and he was wounded in the hand by another. It is true, the warehouſe was burnt, but the *Engliſh* loſt their goods as well as the *Dutch*, there being but one common houſe for both. So that there was not the leaſt umbrage of any underhand dealing between the *Engliſh* and the natives. And as to the laſt cauſe of jealouſy mention'd in the *declaration*, that the natives of *Banda* boaſted that the *Dutch* would ſoon be diſpoſſeſs'd of *Amboyna* caſtle, and that the *Engliſh* had private cabals with the people of *Loho* and *Cambello*, there is not the leaſt proof of either of theſe ſo much as alledg'd, but a bare aſſertion to ſupport a barbarous action. And if ſaying *it was underſtood*, without offering to tell how, is a ſufficient ground for attempting ſo wicked an act, let the world judge.

But now the anſwerer proceeds to the matter of the plot, and very juſtly obſerves, that the declaration all along ſays, that the firſt *Japaneſe*, and afterwards his countrymen confeſs'd the plot; but it takes no notice of their having been tortur'd to make them confeſs it. It is true, that putting people to the queſtion, as they call it, that is, putting people to torture, is us'd in ſeveral countries; the more is the pity. But I have been inform'd by people of good ſenſe in ſome of thoſe countries, that no perſon is put to torture to make him confeſs a crime, unleſs there be at leaſt ſuch plain circumſtances and preſumptions to induce the court to believe him guilty, as would go near without confeſſion to condemn him. And indeed if it were not ſo, who could be ſafe in thoſe countries, that had any one enemy publick or private?

2. *No notice taken in the* declaration *of the tortures.*

But the author goes on to the merits of the cauſe, and very reaſonably asks whether it ſeems agreeable to common ſence, that Mr. *Towerſon* ſhould have truſted a ſecret of ſuch conſequence to ſuch a drunken ſot as *Price* was known to have been, who for drinking's ſake made no diſtinction between *Japaneſes*, *Blacks*, *Dutch*, or *Engliſh*, and was ſo outrageous in his cups, that he was then in cuſtody in the caſtle for having ſet fire to a *Dutch* houſe when he was drunk. And yet this forc'd evidence is, by the *declaration*, made the ground of ſeizing all the *Engliſh*.

But the plot, as laid in the *declaration*, confutes itſelf, as our author has plainly ſhew'd. It had been the greateſt madneſs to have attempted an enterprize of this kind. For all the *Engliſh* belonging to all the factories in this and the neighbouring iſlands were but 22; and had the *Japaneſes*, as was alledg'd, promis'd to join them, they did not exceed 20 in number. There was not ſo much as an *Engliſh* ſhip or pinnace nearer than *Banda*, and even there was only a factory of nine perſons at *Polaroon*, who had ſettled there after the peace of 1619. Theſe 41 perſons therefore were to attack a caſtle well fortified, garriſon'd with between 2 and

3. *The plot confutes itſelf.*

300 disciplin'd soldiers, and this without having any arms to offend the *Dutch*; for it appear'd that the *English* had but three swords and two guns, and half a pound of powder, and the 20 formidable *Japaneses* had only short swords allow'd them. So that ten of them, which were all that were admitted into the castle at one time, were, according to the confession, to go by two and two, one couple was to kill the governor, and the other four were to seize, each of them his bastion, and kill all the soldiers upon guard there. But there was still the soldiers of the main guard, and no account how they were to be disposed of, nor any one to open the gates to let capt. *Towerson* and his great army enter. But supposing this *Don Quixote* expedition to have been projected, and,

4. contrary to common sense, to have succeeded; what was to have been done with eight ships which the *Dutch* had in the road? or how should they have manag'd the other forts on other parts of this island, and at *Lobo* and *Cambello*? They had no ship nor pinnace to send for assistance; nor could they imagine, that the *East India* company in *England*, much less the king and council or parliament, would approve of what they had done; so that, according to the confession they cook'd up, for capt. *Towerson*, he was to have set himself up with about 40 men as king of *Amboyna*, or more properly of the *castle* of *Amboyna*, in opposition to *England* and *Holland*, and likewise to the natives, who did not appear to have been in his interest, even by the *Dutch* account.

5. The answerer, having thus shew'd at large how impracticable the whole scheme was, as told by the *Dutch*, he goes on to take notice of their answers to the objections justly made, against the governor of *Amboyna*'s power to try the *English*, and likewise against the manner of trying them. He quotes the 30th article of the treaty of 1619, which he says the declarer could not see, by which it was expressly stipulated, that all disputes which could not be adjusted by the council of defence, should be remitted to *Europe*; and this article, as explain'd and agreed to be understood, by the commissioner of both nations in 1619, shews that this was a proper affair to have been examin'd by the council at *Jacatra*, and not at *Amboyna*. And as to the manner of the trial by torture, he shews it to have been expresly contrary to the law and practice of the *Dutch* at home; who never allow a process to be begun by torture, nor a set of leading questions to be ask'd of a suspected person, in sight of the torture, with which he is threaten'd if he refuses to confess them without it. Besides this water and fire torture is not practic'd in the *Netherlands*, and consequently was against their own laws.

It would be a tedious task to transcribe all that was written that year, *pro* and *con*, upon this subject. The *Dutch* process was procur'd by the *English East India* company, and was afterwards printed, to shew the prevarications of the *Dutch*, in a remonstrance of theirs some years after; both which were translated and printed *by authority* in 1632, together with a reply to the remonstrance, by which it is very evident that the account given, upon oath, by the six *English*, the substance of which has been faithfully given in this section, is true and genuine, and that the *Dutch* evasions and prevarications are too apparent to invalidate it.

I must refer the reader, who desires farther information in this affair, to the remonstrance, and the answer just now mention'd, and I shall at present take notice of one circumstance, which is sufficient to shew the *Dutch* candour in reference to the affairs of the spice islands in general. We have formerly shew'd how the *Dutch* dispossess'd the *English* of the *Banda* islands, altho' they had surrender'd to the crown of *England*; but finding that, by the treaty of 1619, they were oblig'd to relinquish their forcible possession, at least, of *Polaroon*, they, out of their great regard to the *English* nation, and to justice and equity, did indeed give up that island, but it was after they had rooted up all the *nutmeg* trees that were upon it, by which they made it not only useless to the *English*, but put the natives in a condition of starving. Besides, they sent for the inhabitants of *Polaroon* to come to *Pulaway*, where, by the same justice and mercy shew'd to the *English* at *Amboyna*, they tortured and executed above 160 of the most considerable people of the island.

The treachery of the Dutch.

Their cruelty to the *English* at *Amboyna* and in the *Banda*'s was inquir'd into, and reparation demanded for it, as well as for other insults and depredations, in the year 1624, and then satisfaction was promis'd, but the *Dutch* had art enough to stave it off till king *James* died. King *Charles* design'd to have done the nation justice, but he soon got other affairs to mind, and other enemies to battle. In short, altho' *Oliver Cromwel* kept them from insulting the *English* during his usurpation, yet it was rather for *form*'s sake, than out of a real design, that he demanded reparation for past injuries. What pass'd after the restoration is well enough known. I shall only say, that, notwithstanding

two

two wars with the *Dutch*, there was no reparation for damages old or new, till they found a way to get the debt diſcharg'd at once, and the ballance turn'd to the other ſide, ſo that inſtead of getting any thing from *Holland*, for loſſes ſuſtain'd in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*, the *Engliſh* commenc'd debtors to them for 600,000 *l.* for their good ſervices at the revolution.* And thus we take leave of the *Dutch* for this time.

* *See* The dear bargain, &c. Vol. 1 p. 5.

CHAP. IV.

French *voyages to the* Eaſt Indies.

Having given a ſhort abſtract of the moſt remarkable voyages of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* adventurers, about the end of the XVIth and the beginning of the XVIIth centuries, and likewiſe of the *Dutch*, as being thoſe in which *England* was moſt principally concern'd, we ſhall now proceed to thoſe of the *French* about the ſame time, and therefore we ſhall begin with

SECTION I.

The voyage of Francis Pirard de la Val.

IN the year 1601, a company of merchants of St. *Malo's* fitted out two ſhips for the *Eaſt Indies*, call'd the *Creſcent* and *Corbin*, the one of 400, and the other of 200 tuns, commanded by the *Sieur de la Bardeliere*, as admiral, and monſieur *Grout* of *Cloſneuf* as vice admiral; on board whoſe ſhip monſieur *de la Val* ſail'd, and gave the account from which the following was taken.

At their firſt ſetting out in *May* they fell foul with ſome *Dutch* hoys, by the miſtake of a drunken *Dutch* gunner, who in ſaluting them brought down one of the *Corbin's* ſails, by having charg'd the gun with a ball; at which both the ſhips fir'd ſharp upon the *Dutch* fleet; but the commodore ſtriking ſail, ſent aboard the admiral to excuſe the miſtake, ſending the gunner to be puniſh'd. The *French* captain, finding that it was not intended, diſmiſs'd the gunner, and deſir'd he might be forgiven.

Anabon *iſland.*

Proſecuting their voyage, they touch'd at the iſland of *Anabon*, in one degree and an half ſ. latitude, about 50 leagues from the *African* coaſt. The iſland belong'd to a *Portugueſe* nobleman, by the gift of the K. of *Spain*, and this proprietor kept a colony of his countrymen there, as his commiſſaries and factors, all the natives, who are blacks, being his ſlaves. The iſland had great plenty of fruit and cotton, in which all the revenue is paid; they have likewiſe ſtore of excellent fiſh. Here the *French* ſtaid ſix or ſeven weeks, but for what reaſon is not ſaid. Near *Madagaſcar* they had a ſtorm which laſted from *February* the 7th to the 11th, with ſuch darkneſs that they could not ſee one another upon deck even in the day time. Upon the 11th the *Corben* arriv'd at St. *Auguſtine's* bay, where they ſtaid ſome days, and were join'd by the *Creſcent*, which had been ſeparated from them in the ſtorm. Here many of their people contracted diſtempers by the exceſſive heat, and their own intemperance, beſides that they were infeſted with fleas and gnats.

Sailing through the *Comoro* iſlands, they traded with the natives, who made them pay for the liberty of watering. From thence they got to the *Maldivia* iſlands, but miſtaking them for the iſland call'd *Diego di Roes*, the *Corbin* ſtruck upon a rock ſix leagues from land, and was there caſt away. The men getting aſhore, with what they could ſave of money, and a piece of ſcarlet cloth, upon a little iſland call'd *Puladon*. When they got near the ſhore the natives got to arms to oppoſe their landing; but they, caſting away their arms, yielded themſelves at diſcretion, upon which they ſuffer'd them to go aſhore. The governor of this little iſland having receiv'd a preſent of about three yards of ſcarlet cloth, was very civil, and monſieur *De la Val* applying himſelf to learn the language of the country, was ſoon afterwards ſent by the governor to the king's iſland, where he was graciouſly receiv'd, the king being pleas'd to hear him talk in his own tongue, and give ſo diſtinct an account of *England*, concerning the manners of which his majeſty asked him many queſtions; and he became ſo great a favourite with the king, altho' he was a priſoner, that he ſtay'd a long time in that country, and has given a very particular account of the *Maldivia* iſlands; which will not be amiſs to inſert.

One of their ſhips caſt away near the Maldivias.

A deſcription of the Maldavia *iſles.*

The *Maldivias* are a knot of iſlands lying between 4 degrees ſouth latitude, and 8 degrees north latitude, to the ſouthward

ward of cape *Comorin* about 150 leagues. They are reckon'd by ſome to be about 12000, but the greateſt part of them are only heaps of ſand, appearing above the water. But the inhabitants told *De la Val*, that the ſea had made many more iſlands than were formerly, having cut a paſſage through many places by the force of the currents, which were one continent in former times.

Theſe iſlands are divided into 13 provinces, which they call *Attalons*, each *Attalon* being about 39 leagues about, taking in ſea and land: And the water which divides ſome of thoſe provinces, or cluſters of iſlands from another, is ſo ſhallow, that, at low water, one might wade it over, if it were not for the untoward bottom, which conſiſts of ſharp pointed rocks, which no ſhoes are proof againſt, and the waters of thoſe ſeas are full of *Paimones*, which come againſt a man's leg with ſuch force that they are able to break it. Many of thoſe iſles have nothing upon them but trees and graſs, others nothing but ſand, and ſome are quite under water, when the tide comes in. Some are ſo full of *Penguins*, that you can ſcarce tread upon it without feeling either the eggs or birds of thoſe creatures, or elſe the old ones; for they cannot fly; and ſome of the iſlands are as much overſtock'd with crabs and craw-fiſh. Some of them want freſh water, ſo that, if they are inhabited, the people are forced to ſend to the neighbouring iſlands for water when they have not rain for ſome time.

The Maldivias divided into 13 provinces.

The firſt province or *Attalon*, beginning from the north, is call'd *Tilla don Matis*, or the *High Point*, and the cape of it is call'd by the *Portugueſes*, *Cabexa de las Ilhas*; the ſecond is *Milla de Madonna*, or, as *Echard* has it, *Milladove*. The reſt are *Padipole*, *Maloſmadan*, *Arratollon*, *Male-Attollon*, *Poliſdous*, *Molucque*, *Nillandous*, *Collomandous*, *Adoumabis*, *Souadon*, *Addon* and *Pona*, which two laſt are join'd together to make up the 13th. *Male* is reckon'd the chief iſland of the *Maldivias*, where the king keeps his court. Theſe numerous iſlands are ſurrounded almoſt with rocks and ſhallows, ſo that it is dangerous to come near them, without a good pilot; there being but four entries navigable by great ſhips. Our author ſays, the natives are very dextrous in avoiding the rocks, and he affirms, that he had ſeen them touch upon them on both ſides, without any damage: And they are all enured to the navigation of their own ſeas, from their infancy.

Theſe iſlands hot, but fruitful.

Theſe iſlands lying not far from the line on both ſides, they muſt be ſuppos'd to be hot; but as the days and nights are always of a length, the nights are cool and dewy, which tempers the ſun's heat by day, and makes thoſe iſlands fruitful, where there is tolerable ſoil. Their winter commences in *April*, and laſts till *October*, and the other ſix months is their ſummer. And the rain which almoſt continues from *April* to *October*, gives that part of the year the denomination of winter.

Theſe iſlands are ſaid to have been peopled from *Ceylan*, but the people of *Ceylan* are blacker, and not ſo handſome, as the natives of *Maldivia*, eſpecially towards the north, which our author conjectures, may have been owing to the many ſhipwrecks happening in thoſe parts, where different nations, by that means, help'd to mend the brood. And this he aſſigns for the reaſon of the north parts of thoſe iſlands being more polite and more civiliſ'd than the ſouth; altho' he ſays that thoſe in the ſouth are not inferior to the others in acuteneſs and ingenuity. They apply themſelves to arts and ſciences, eſpecially to aſtrology, of which they are very fond.

Their women.

Their women are handſome, only for the moſt part of an olive complexion, altho' ſome are as fair as the *Europeans*; and all black hair'd either by nature or art. For, to make their hair of that colour, they ſhave all their daughters heads till they come to be eight years old, ſo that *De la Val* ſays he has known half flaxen hair in thoſe iſlands turn black by being ſhav'd once a week. But leſt that ſhould not do, when they begin to wear their hair, they waſh it frequently with a ſort of lye, which brings it to a good black. After it is waſh'd and dry, they tie it back, without leaving one ſtragling hair before, and in the tie, bind in a ſort of a peruke of man's hair, which hangs over their ſhoulders like a horſe's tail. The better ſort of their men, eſpecially about court, wear long hair, and tied like thoſe of the women, but with this difference, that the man's is tied on the crown of the head, or on one ſide, but the women's behind; and the men uſe no perukes. Every one is his own barber, except the king and ſome of the prime nobility, who are ſhav'd by perſons who are fond of doing them that office, without any other reward than the honour of it. Before the girls be eight years old they have no clothing, except a cloth that hangs from their middle to their knees; but, when their breaſts begin to form, which is at that age in thoſe warm climates, they have garments provided for them, it being as immodeſt for a woman to ſhew her breaſts to men, in thoſe iſlands, as it is for our women to pull up their petticoats.

The men ſhave their upper lip, and as much of the under as to keep their mouth clean

clean when they eat or drink, they likewiſe ſhave their breaſts. But they are ſuperſtitious in ſaving their hair thus ſhav'd, and the parings of their nails, both which they bury as parts of their bodies.

These iſlands are very fertile. The *Maldivias* are very fruitful; there is great plenty of millet, which they call *Pura*, and another grain call'd *Brinby*, of which they make meal, and have two crops of each every year. They likewiſe make meal of a certain root which they call *Nelpoul*; it grows wild, is round, and as big as two fiſts: When it is broken between two rough ſtones, and expos'd to the ſun, it turns white like flower, and ſerves for cakes or pottage. Other roots they cultivate, as the *Alas*, which is as big as one's thigh, which they boil like carrots or parſnips, and eat with fleſh or milk, &c.

Fruits of the iſlands. They have great plenty of fruits of ſeveral ſorts, particularly, citrons, oranges, pomgranates, &c. But the moſt profitable fruit they have is the *Coco*, which they call *Koul*, and it alone is able to ſupply all the neceſſaries of life, for it affords both meat and drink to them; beſides that moſt of their veſſels are made either of the ſhells of this fruit, or of the bark and wood of the coco tree. Other timber they have in great abundance, which they uſe only for burn wood, there being many iſlands uninhabited, full of trees which ſerve for that uſe.

But Mr. *De la Val* obſerves, that of all thoſe numerous iſlands, there was ſcarce one, which could ſubſiſt ſo comfortably of itſelf, but that it wanted the aſſiſtance of the others. So that, there was a regular commerce in the *Maldivias*, altho' under one ſovereign, as if they had been different ſtates. Their different arts and manufactures were carried on in the ſeveral iſlands appropriated for them. Thus the goldſmiths, for inſtance, liv'd in ſuch iſlands, their weavers in another, and ſo of the reſt: And thoſe artificers had boats for conveying their merchandize to the others, and had their ſhops ſet up aboard, ſo that he ſays, ſome of them would have ſtaid a whole year from home, ſelling their wares among the iſlands that wanted them.

Mutual commerce between them.

They bred no tame beaſts, in theſe iſlands, except about 400 cows and bulls and a few ſheep, in the iſland of *Male*, which the king cauſed to be brought from the continent for his own uſe. But they had wild animals in great plenty, eſpecially wild fowl of ſeveral kinds, nor had they any poiſonous creatures among them, but ſnakes, which frequented the ſea. They had ſuch an averſion to dogs, that when the king of *Portugal* ſent the king a preſent of a couple, he order'd them immediately to be drowned.

Wild animals.

Fiſh. They had ſuch plenty of fiſh, that the inhabitants not only lived upon them for the moſt part, but ſent ſhip loads of them to *Sumatra* and other places.

All proviſions cheap. It is very cheap living in thoſe iſlands. A *Larin*, which is about the value of eight pence, will purchaſe 400 coco nuts, or a dozen of fowls, or 300 pound weight of roots, or 100 large fiſh. So that if the people were as induſtrious as they might be, they might make much greater advantage of foreign trade than they did in *De la Val*'s time.

Their houſes. The iſland of *Male*, where the king's court was, lay very conveniently, almoſt in the middle of the reſt; the towns, even in it, were not wall'd or inclos'd, but lay open; nor were the ſtreets regular thro' all their cities. The houſes, for the moſt part, are built of coco trees, and cover'd with the leaves of the ſame, ſewed double. But many of their lords had houſes of ſtone, which they got out of the ſea by admirable art. For, having a tree call'd *Candou*, about the bulk of our walnut tree, but lighter than cork, they ſaw'd it in boards, and the natives, being expert divers, went to the bottom of the water, with a rope, which they tied about the ſtone they propoſed to take up, and when they had it ſure, they took thoſe planks of *Candou*, and having made a hole in the middle the width of their cable, they ſtrung the boards upon the rope, and by force or weights ſunk them one by one, till the firſt touched the ſtone, and the reſt lay cloſe to one another; and when there was a ſufficient number of them, they roſe by their natural levity and the force of the water, and ſo made the ſtone float, and the people pull'd them aſhore by the cable. And our author ſays, they will float anything of 100,000 weight after this manner, and he himſelf ſaw them bring up the heavieſt cannon out of their ſhip (when ſhe was broken to pieces) by the help of thoſe boards. And by the ſame method they clear'd the harbour of *Male* of great rocks that choak'd it up. They alſo make floats of this wood, on which they go from one iſland to another. But it has another wonderful property, conſidering the lightneſs of it, which is that by ſtriking one piece of it againſt another, it will take fire. Having by means of the *Candou* furniſh'd themſelves with ſtones for their houſes, they make a cement of the ſhells which they gather in great plenty upon the ſhore.

An artful way of raiſing ſtones out of the water.

Their language The language of theſe iſlands was peculiar to themſelves, altho' they had likewiſe the uſe of the *Arabian*, beſides that by their having been often viſited by

ſtrangers, there were people in thoſe iſlands, who ſpoke the *Guzarat*, *Cambaian*, and *Portugueſe* languages.

Their religion. They were *Mahometans* in their religion, and every inhabited iſland had ſeveral temples, or *Moſchs*, each of which had its own prieſt or *Moudin*. In thoſe moſchs, every man above 15 years of age appear'd every morning, where they made profeſſion of their faith, in which, as our author relates it, there is ſomething very particular. Among other things, they believe that the earth is flat, and ſurrounded with a brazen wall, which hinders it from being overflowed: That every night the devil is at work to cut through this wall, and that he wants but very little of effecting it, when he is interrupted by break of day; ſo that every day this breach is repair'd, and his labour render'd uſeleſs, and they think themſelves oblig'd to give thanks to GOD every morning for his having defeated the devil's deſign. Another oddity he obſerves in their worſhip, *viz.* That in their penitential prayers, which they repeat aloud in preſence of all their neighbours, they confeſs all the crimes they have been guilty of, with ſuch circumſtances as often diſcover intrigues which would not, probably, have come to light, but for ſuch open confeſſions. Nor are the women more cautious than the men; for altho' they do not go to the moſch with it, they confeſs aloud at home; ſo that their families are privy to their ſecret faults; if indeed it can be imagined that they are ſuch fools to make ſuch diſcoveries.

Some odd rites.

We need not tell the reader, after having ſaid they were *Mahometans*, that the male children are circumcis'd, when they arrive at the age of ſeven years, but our author ſays, that their *Moudins* likewiſe take ſome drops of blood from the ſecrets of the females, at the age of two years.

Feaſts in their religion. Beſides their Sabbath, which is every *Friday*, they have new moon feaſts, not on the days when they fall, but when the moon firſt appears after the change; ſo that thoſe feaſts happen upon different days in different places of the ſame climate. And at the different ſeaſons of the year, they have more ſolemn feſtivals, which we omit as too tedious to be inſiſted on.

Marriage In theſe iſlands a man may, by the law, have only three wives, which, our author ſays, the women would gladly exchange for a law allowing a plurality of husbands. One cuſtom they had in marrying, which I think is a very good one,

A laudable way of chuſing a wife. *viz.* That the husband got no portion with his wife, but ſettled a jointure upon her, which at once prevented the unhappy practice of men's marrying women they did not like, for intereſt, and brought the women under ſome obligation to their husbands, for having choſen them rather than others, for their companions. But as the common practice at home is againſt me, I don't expect that any thing I can ſuggeſt in favour of the *Maldivian* cuſtom, will have any weight to reform the mercenary humour, I ſhall return to my iſlanders.

When a couple are to be married, the bridegroom, with his friends, meets the bride's relations, without herſelf; and there the prieſt, having enquir'd, if all preſent conſent to the marriage, and been certified that the man has given ſufficient ſecurity for the jointure, he pronounces them married, and then the whole company go to find out the bride, where they are entertain'd, and have preſents made to them; there are likewiſe preſents to the king and his court, ſent by the bridegroom, and to the queen and her ladies, by the bride. But all this at the man's charge. And ſometimes if the prieſt knows the man not to be able to pay all the charge of the marriage, and to ſettle ſuch a jointure as the woman's mother had, he refuſes to marry them. But if there be an underſtanding between the man and the woman, he may promiſe a great jointure, but retrench it after marriage, as they ſometimes did when the relations of the woman were unreaſonable. All our forbidden degrees, and, beſides thoſe, firſt couſins, were not allowed to marry, with them: And if there was ſuch an intimacy between families, that they call'd brother and ſiſter, altho' no relation, no marriage could be contracted between them or their children. The women there were fit for marriage at ten years of age; and their parents, thought it a ſin to refuſe their daughters to the firſt ſuitors, if there was an equality in the rank, and the ſuitor agreed to their demands.

Divorces After marriage, the husband might put away his wife: And if ſhe was willing to leave him, the jointure was void; but if it was againſt her will, he was oblig'd to pay the ſtipulated jointure, if ſhe inſiſted upon it. And when ſuch a divorce was made before witneſſes, they were both at liberty to marry elſewhere. Nay the law allows that the ſame divorced couple may marry but not after three divorces, altho' that was eluded by the inconſtancy of their mind, and the fondneſs of change. But after a divorce, no woman could marry another man till ſhe gave proof that ſhe was not with child.

The

Burying. The burying of the dead is performed with great ceremony. Six persons of the same sex wash the corps, and then wrap it in cotton, and cover it with a fine cotton cloth (which is the priest's perquisite after the interment) the right hand of the deceas'd is laid upon his ear, and the left upon his thigh, and then the corps is laid, upon the right side, in a coffin of *Candou*, and carried to the grave by six relations, attended by the other relations and neighbours without invitation: And all the way they distribute rice and millet, as also they scatter shells for the use of the poor. Gold and silver is given to the priest, according to the quality of the deceas'd, to be distributed by him to such as have pray'd for the soul of the defunct. The clergy all the way singing psalms, and a person of quality sprinkling water, full of odoriferous flowers, all round among the company. The grave is covered with a large piece of silk or cotton, which is likewise the portion of the priest. When the corps is interr'd, with the face towards *Meccha*, the tomb of *Mahomet*, they cover it with white sand sprinkled with water: And when all is over, the chief mourners entertain the company. Every *Friday*, for three weeks, they return to the grave to pray for the soul of their friend, and then, upon the priest's declaring that it is gone to paradise, there is a new entertainment.

Praying for the dead.

But it seems in that country, the souls of their great lords, but particularly of their kings and queens, are in a worse state than those of lower rank. For when a lord dies, they pray for them a whole year, and for their king or queen they continue their ceremony till the successor relieves them. A shrewd indication, that the more victuals and drink that are to be expected upon those occasions, the poor souls are the later of going to heaven. Thus are many good customs perverted, by the avarice and luxury of those *whose lips should preserve knowledge.*

Burying such as die at sea.

If the king dies in any other island than where he ordinarily resides, they bury him where he dies; and whoever dies at sea, they put him in a *Candou* coffin, with pieces of gold and silver, and a writing declaring his religion, and praying the people where the coffin shall be put ashore to bury the corps, and take the money for the charge.

The men's habit.

Their dress is modest both of the men and women. The men wearing a sort of drawers of blue or red cotton down to the knee, and over that a garment of cotton or silk, which reaches to the ancle, girded about them with a handkerchief embroider'd with gold and silk, which covers their back, and is tied before; and over all a piece of transparent particoloured silk, like our running footmen, reach'd to to the mid thigh, bound about their waste with a green silk girdle fringed, with the ends hanging before. And every one has a knife hanging at his girdle on the right side, the handle of which is of a fish bone, for the ordinary sort, and those of better condition have theirs of wrought silver: And this is all the arms they are allowed to wear, except the king's soldiers, who wear daggers by their side, and a sword drawn in one hand, and either a javelin or a buckler in the other, as they walk the streets. The richer sort have chains of silver hanging at their girdles, which they are proud of multiplying for shew; and the poor pick up some, but are not allow'd to wear them in sight. And both the one and the other keep them for the expence of their funerals. They have turbants of red or particoloured silk for the better sort, and cotton for the commoners. The king's officers have theirs embroider'd. But all of them go barefooted without doors, and if they wear sandals at home, they must put them off when visited by any of superior rank.

The women's dress.

The women have a coat of cotton from their middle to their feet; and above that a robe of taffata or fine cotton, which covers the whole body, and is fasten'd with two gilded buttons at the neck, where the only slit is in it, so that when they give their children the breast (which even their queens do, by a more laudable custom than is practis'd by more polite nations) they are oblig'd to pull up their robe from the bottom, that they may not expose their breasts to be seen. Upon their arms, from the wrist to the elbow, they wear bracelets of silver, in such quantities, that some of them have three or four pound weight of that metal about them; the better sort being pure silver, and the more ordinary have theirs mix'd of silver and brass: And the women of quality wear gold about their necks, and rich pendants in their ears, the grisly part of which are bor'd in above 20 places for hanging gold and jewels to them: They likewise wear rings upon their fingers, according to their different qualities: The queen has hers upon her fore-finger, the ladies of best quality upon the middle, and those of lower degree upon the ring finger, and little finger, and the men upon the thumb. Only strangers are free from any restriction, and may wear what ornaments they please.

Their manner of eating and drinking.

Nor are they less decent in their eating than in their apparel. They sit upon the ground cross-leg'd, their victuals being plac'd upon *Banane* leaves, in porcelain dishes before them; and they are so nice that not so much as a crum falls upon the floor,

floor, nor is there a drop of water to be ſeen there after their repaſt, altho' they waſh their mouths both before and after meal. But they never drink till they have done eating, and then only one draught of water, or cocoa wine newly drawn. And one laudable cuſtom they have of having prayers (which in the days of yore we call'd *Grace*, but now not ſo faſhionable among the more polite) before and after meals.

Superſtitions. They have ſeveral ſuperſtitions among them, beſides what are enjoin'd by the *Alcoran*; for, they worſhip a certain deity, whom they call *the king of the winds*, and offer boats and little ſhips to him full of gums and perfumes, ſetting them a burning upon the water, ſo that they are carried by the wind till they are conſum'd. They wear certain ſpells and charms under their garments to prevent or cure diſeaſes; and the magicians, from whom they buy theſe trinkets, are the only phyſicians they have.

Diſtempers. Among the other diſtempers, to which they are liable (ſuch as fevers, and a ſpecies of the ſmall pox, which, once in ten years, ſweeps off numbers of them) they are very ſubject to diſorders in the eyes, and to cure thoſe, they ſwallow the liver of a cock boil'd, after the ſun goes down, having firſt written certain words by way of charm upon it. And monſieur *De la Val* ſays, that he and his companions had great benefit from the remedy, without the ſuperſtitious part of it.

A cure for weak eyes.

Inſects and worms. During the heats, they are infeſted with inſects, and particularly with piſmires, which obliges them to keep their meat and drink cloſe cover'd, and themſelves to lie in hammocks. But in the winter, when it is wet, they are plagued with a ſmall worm, bred in the mud, which, by its bite, occaſions ulcers in the ſoles, and between their toes. They are troubled with catarhs, defluxions, and rheumatiſms; but were unacquainted with venereal diſeaſes, till the *Europeans* brought them to their iſlands, and thoſe they cur'd with *China* wood, without ſweating. They never have the tooth-ach, which is prevented by rubbing their gums conſtantly with *Betel*.

The ſtudies of the Maldivians. They learn to read, and write upon white tables, which they deface as ſoon as they have finiſh'd their leſſon. Their maſters take great pains to teach them the *Alcoran*, and other particular precepts of their religion: And ſome of them proſecute their ſtudies very far, eſpecially to ſome branches of the mathematicks; but they run out extravagantly into aſtrology, which they conſult not only with regard to nativities, but before they undertake a voyage, begin to build, or any other material affair in life.

Their exerciſes. They have ſchools for exerciſing all ſort of weapons in uſe among them, which are the bow, the ſword, the gun, and the pike. But as to diverting exerciſes they uſe none but the foot-ball, which they are very dextrous at. They apply themſelves to manufactures, and mechanicks; and make ſuch things as they have occaſion for, either for neceſſity or ornament, with a great deal of ingenuity. But their chief employment thro' all thoſe iſlands, is fiſhing; which is not the province of any particular ſociety or ſet of men, but every one, from the king to the beggar, fiſhes at pleaſure.

Fiſhing. Their manner of fiſhing is different; for ſometimes they tie a great number of ſmall fiſhes to their boat, with cotton cords; and their lines to which the hooks are made faſt, play among the ſmall fiſhes: When they come to the deep water, the great fiſhes, allur'd by thoſe baits, follow them in great numbers; and their hooks being made as near the colour of their bait as can be imitated, the great fiſhes catch the hook, and ſo are brought aboard. They do not caſt anchor when they fiſh, but are ſtill ſailing or rowing along.

But at the two equinoxes, they have a general fiſhing, which is thus. The flood and ebb being, at thoſe times, greater than ordinary, moſt of the inhabitants of each iſland go to the flats, now uncover'd at low water, and there encloſe a large ſpace with a wall round, to near the heighth that the water riſes at full ſea, having a door on one ſide. And when the tide makes, they make a large circle without the wall, with coco cords, at each fathom of which is tied a large piece of coco nut, which caſts ſuch a dark ſhade upon the water, that all the fiſh that happen to be within the circle, flee from it inwards; ſo that rowing about, and ſtill contracting the circle, the fiſhes are brought within the wall, which is about 13 or 14 paces diameter. Then they ſtop up the entry of it, with ſuch ſtuff as will let the water run out, but keep the fiſh; ſo that when the tide is ſpent, multitudes of fiſhes of ſeveral ſorts are dry within the wall.

This author having thus ſhew'd their manner of living, proceeds to ſpeak of the temper of the *Maldivians*. He ſays, *The tempers of the iſlanders.* they are a briſk, active people, diſcreet in moſt of their actions; they have courage, and delight in arms and exerciſe, induſtrious in arts and manufactures; remarkably religious, even to ſuperſtition, as to the outward performance of their ceremonies. But they are abandon'd to luſt, and both men and women give a looſe to their carnal deſires. And altho' inceſt and adultery are ſtrictly forbidden by their laws, they made no bones of committing both:

both: And as to fornication, it was a greater reflection upon a young girl to allow a man a ſight of her naked breaſt, than to grant him the laſt favour, even if it was diſcover'd. And indeed it is not to be wonder'd at, if in a country where the girls are fit for a man's embraces at an age when it is ſcarcely to be ſuppos'd that they are capable of juſt notions of vertue and honour, they ſhould yield to temptation if not ſtrictly guarded. And yet in ſuch awe do they ſtand of their parents, and ſuch regard is paid to them, that no indecency in words or behaviour dare appear before them, be the man or woman ever ſo leud in their intentions.

The women viſit at night. The women make all their viſits in the night, and have a man along with them; who, if he ſees any one meeting them, calls out thrice *Gas*, that is, *Take Care:* And if it be a man, he is oblig'd to go to the other ſide of the ſtreet, and takes no notice of the woman; and if it is a woman, ſhe muſt quit the ſtreet to her whoſe guard calls firſt. But the whole family muſt be at home by midnight. In their viſits to one another, they don't knock at the door, but enter the houſe, which is always open, only at the ſecond door, the viſiter coughs, upon which ſignal, the family come to receive their gueſt.

The government of the Maldivias. The government of the *Maldivia* iſlands is abſolute monarchy, all the 13 *Attalons* being ſubject to one king, to whom they pay the moſt profound ſubmiſſion. Under him, there are 13 *Naybes*, or governors, one for every province; thoſe are prieſts and doctors of the law; and govern both in a civil and eccleſiaſtical capacity. *The Naybes and Catibes the ordinary judges.* Under each of the *Naybes*, are *Catibes*, one *Catibe* for every iſland within the *Naybe*'s juriſdiction; and to theſe the prieſts of the ſeveral *moſchs* are accountable. Every *Naybe* makes a circuit round his *Attalon* once a year (as our judges do at the aſſizes) where they receive preſents from moſt of the inhabitants, which are the beſt part of their revenue.

The Pandiare, a ſort of Lord Chief Juſtice. But the 13 *Naybes* have a ſuperintendant over them, who always reſides in the iſland of *Male*, and receives appeals from them. This officer is call'd *Pandiare*, and from his ſentence they may only appeal to the king, who in ſome caſes appoints ſix judges to examine the cauſe. They have no councils nor attornies, but every man pleads his own cauſe, and brings his witneſſes to prove facts.

If any man is kill'd by another, his widow cannot purſue his murderer, but he muſt give ſecurity to appear when the ſon of the deceas'd ſhall arrive at the age of ſixteen; and then it is in his power to proſecute or not. The moſt ordinary puniſhments for crimes are, baniſhment to the ſouthern iſlands, cutting off a limb, or whipping; the laſt is the moſt common, and very often ſo ſevere that the perſon dies upon the ſpot. This is the ordinary puniſhment for adultery, inceſt, rapes, and other grievous crimes.

Four ranks of people among the Maldives The diſtinction of rank is exactly kept up here. The king and royal family are the firſt; the ſecond are the chief officers of the crown; the third are thoſe who are born noble, in which are comprehended the ancient gentry; and the fourth rank conſiſts of the plebeians, who had no liberty to ſit down in the others company. If a noble woman marry'd one of the fourth rank, ſhe did not loſe her own, and her blood enobled her children; but a noble man's marrying beneath his quality did not make his wife noble. Only the king might give nobility by patent, as with us.

There is exact decorum kept at the king's palace. Every rank of people have their rooms, and dare not advance farther, but muſt wait there for his majeſty's coming out; and ſtrangers who do not live in *Male* muſt bring preſents when they are to ſee the king.

The palace. The palace is built of ſtone, one ſtory high, but takes up a good ſpace of ground, there being many apartments in it, the floors boarded and covered with mats of different colours, wrought in pretty figures. The walls are adorn'd with ſilk tapeſtry.

The king's habit. The king's apparel is a cotton caſſock reaching a little below his girdle, edg'd with white and blue ſilk, and faſten'd before with maſſive gold buttons; and then from the girdle as low as his feet, he wears a tunick of red taffata embroider'd, and girt about the waſte with a girdle of ſilk fringed with gold, with a great gold chain hanging before, to which is fix'd a pendent as big as one's hand, ſet with the richeſt jewels; and at his girdle, after the cuſtom of the country, hangs his knife, the handle of which is very rich. Upon his head, he wears a bonnet of ſcarlet, laced with gold, with a gold button at top and a jewel. This ſort of turbant was only worn by the king, nor was it permitted to any other to uſe it. When he goes abroad, he has a *Paraſol* of white ſilk held over his head, and ſandals of copper gilt upon his feet. Three pages walk before him, one with a fan, another with the king's ſword and buckler, and the third carries a box of *Betel* and *Arequa*, one of which he is continually chewing.

The king's diverſions. The king who reign'd when *De la Val* was there, us'd to ſpend his time in ſeeing many different artiſts at work, whom he employ'd in his palace, and he lov'd to work himſelf at ſeveral mechanical fancies, and encourag'd any ingenious workman

in any trade. He always walk'd a-foot, for they had no horſes, and he did not care to be carried by men. He is conſtantly attended by 100 ſoldiers, and as he returns from the *Moſch*, all the men where he paſſes accompany him to the palace.

The queen's way of going abroad.

When the queen goes abroad, which is ſeldom, a number of ſlaves march at a good diſtance before, to warn the men to get out of the way, and the women to go to meet her majeſty. Four of her principal women carry a canopy over her head, with curtains hanging to the ground, ſo that ſhe cannot be ſeen. The queen and ladies of honour often bathe in the ſea, and have a place fitted up for that purpoſe, as likewiſe a freſh water bath.

The king's revenues.

The revenues of the crown conſiſt of many iſlands, entirely the king's property, of duties and taxes upon the ſeveral commodities conſum'd in the iſlands, or exported to other places, beſides a tax extraordinary, impos'd at the pleaſure of the king, according to the circumſtances of every inhabitant. All theſe are paid in goods, which are kept in the king's ſtorehouſes till they can be diſpos'd of to advantage: Nor is there any part of the revenue paid in money, except what is given for new patents, and for leave to wear ſuch and ſuch ornaments, which is not lawful to be done without the king's permiſſion. All ſhips that come in muſt give an exact bill of loading to him, nor dare they break bulk till he has agreed with them for ſuch merchandize as he likes, of which he makes conſiderable profit. Likewiſe all wrecks (which are frequent in thoſe dangerous iſlands) belong entirely to the king; and amber-greaſe, which is found in great plenty, is brought to his ſtorehouſe with the greateſt exactneſs. He alſo makes advantage of certain nuts, call'd *Tavarcar*, which they ſuppoſe to grow upon trees at the bottom of the ſea, and are eſteem'd very medicinal: They are as big as a man's head, and the *Portugueſes* call them *Maldivia Cocos*. The black coral is alſo fiſh'd up at his charge, and brings him good profit.

Coin.

The coin of the *Maldivias* is only the *Larins*, which are pieces of ſilver of about eight pence value: Other foreign gold and ſilver paſs by weight: And for ſmaller money they make uſe of ſhells, 12,000 of which go to a *Larin*.

Trade.

They have a great trade with the merchants of the continent all along the *Indian* coaſt, and the iſles of *Sumatra* and *Ceylan*, who bring them rice and cotton, which they exchange for cocos, with which they load above 100 ſhips a year at *Male*, beſides oyl and honey made of the coco tree. Another commodity they have which is of great uſe to them, *viz.* little bright ſhells, much eſteem'd at *Bengal*. The women pick them out of the ſand, and lay them up in places appointed for them, till the ſhips come to take them off. They have likewiſe black tortoiſes, whoſe ſhells make fine work.

This is the ſubſtance of what Mr. *De la Val* ſays of the *Maldivias*; who having ſtaid in *Male* five years, being ſtill a priſoner, altho' in favour with the royal family, at laſt was releas'd by an unexpected adventure. He tells us that he had dream'd about ten days before it happen'd, that he was ſet at liberty, and as ſoon as he waked he vowed a pilgrimage to *S. Jago di Galicia* by way of thankſgiving, if his dream prov'd true; which it did after this manner.

In *February*, 1607, the king of the *Maldivia's* had intelligence that a fleet from *Bengal* was at ſea to attack him, having, in 16 large galleons, a great number of men. Upon this news, the king gave orders to fit out ſeven gallies, with other ſhips and barks. But the *Bengal* fleet arriv'd before his was ready; and therefore having order'd the moſt valuable of his effects to be ſhip'd, he with his wives and family embark'd for the ſouthern iſlands. But the enemy ſeeing them ſet ſail, purſu'd them; and the king making a ſtout reſiſtance, was kill'd, and all his family made priſoners. The enemy landed at *Male*, and loaded their ſhips with the chief goods they found there, but particularly they took above 100 pieces of cannon, and then ſetting all the priſoners at liberty, except a brother of the favourite queen, they ſet ſail for *Bengal*, without doing any other harm. *De la Val* had given himſelf up to them, who finding that he was not of *Portugal*, receiv'd him kindly, and carried him with them.

The king of the Maldivias ſlain by the Bengalians.

De la Val goes to Bengal with the fleet.

Having ſtaid ſome time at *Bengal* (where no leſs than a million of men, and 10,000 elephants were ready to march againſt the *Mogul*, but I ſhould believe a cypher ought to be taken from both numbers) *De la Val* ſail'd to *Motingue*, a ſmall place between *Cananor* and *Calicut*, expecting to get home in a *Dutch* ſhip, but being diſappointed, he went to *Cochin*, where he was taken up for a ſpy, and ſent to *Goa* priſoner, with 17 *Engliſhmen*, who were taken at *Surat*. And in 1609 he embark'd on board a *Portugueſe* ſhip, and after many ſtorms and troubles arriv'd in *Portugal*, where having got his liberty, he proceeded to *Galicia* to pay his vow, and then arriv'd at *Rochel*, *February* 16, 1610-11.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Admiral Beaulieu's *voyage to the* East Indies. *Written by himself.*

MOnsieur *Beaulieu* set out with three ships, *viz.* the *Montmorancy*, *L'Esperance*, and the *Hermitage*, the first being 450 tuns burthen had 22 guns and 20 patararoes, with 126 men; the second of 400 tuns, 26 guns, 20 patararoes, and 117 men; the last 75 tuns, 8 guns, 8 patararoes, and 30 men. With these the admiral sail'd from *Honfleur* in *Normandy*, at the mouth of the river *Seine*, *October* 2, 1619.

Idol Islands. Being near the *Idol Islands* upon the coast of *Guinea* the 15th of the same month, he sent the *Hermitage* thither to buy provisions, having put a party of soldiers commanded by captain *Soyer* on board her, but gave a strict charge to the captain of the ship not to have any dealings with the natives without hostages, nor to stay above three days, but to join him at *Tagrin*, in 8 degrees n. latitude, which was done without any memorable adventure. In sailing from thence towards the cape of *Good Hope* they met with two of the sea unicorns, formerly mention'd in the first book, but those the admiral saw in this voyage happen'd to be of the smallest size, altho' he says their horn was two foot long, and as big as a boy's wrist. Those fishes pursue the whales, and he believ'd that the reason why they struck against the ships was their mistaking them for whales.

Unicorn fish.

Being arriv'd near the cape, the admiral went ashore upon the *Hottentot* continent, which he calls the *Table Bay*, and going up to the *Table* mountain, saw a fine country, but neglected. But, as we design (GOD willing) to give a description of this in our third book, we shall pass over any observations made upon the coast of *Africa* in this voyage. Only we shall at present take notice that some of the *French* happening to light upon a stone that seem'd to be artificially laid, they lifted it up, and under it, found a packet tied up within several pitch'd cloths, and undoing the packet, found some letters artfully wrap'd up in plates of lead, which had not suffer'd. Upon the opening those letters, they found they were *Dutch*, giving an account that the *English* had sent a ship home to complain of the injuries done them by the *Dutch* in the *East Indies*, and likewise an account of the *Dutch* having besieg'd *Bantam*.

A Dutch packquet found under a stone.

This advice put the admiral in doubt which route to take, being unwilling to trust his fleet to the mercy of the *Dutch*, if they were still before *Bantam*. At last it was agreed to make the coast of *Malabar*, till they could be better inform'd of the *Dutch*. In this course, seeing a ship at a distance, the admiral sent 23 men in his long boat to desire them to send some of their people aboard him; but the *French*, exceeding their commission, fir'd upon the ship, and boarded her in a hostile manner, which occasion'd such a resistance, that only five *French* having jump'd overboard, got into the ship's boat, and got back to the admiral, having left their own boat, and their companions, who were all cut in pieces by the ship's crew. The next day *Beaulieu* came up with the ship, but found no body aboard but 15 old men with white beards down to their girdle. These falling at his feet beg'd their lives, telling him, that they did not belong to the ship, but had come passengers from *Mecca*, where they had been for devotion. They said the ship's crew had fled in his long boat, and had taken all the gold and silver with them, leaving them because they were afraid of sinking the boat. The admiral, finding by his own people, who had escap'd, that none of the bearded men had appear'd in the scuffle, gave them their lives.

He loses 18 men by their own fault.

Beaulieu had sent the *Esperance* towards *Sumatra* and *Java* with orders to take in a loading of pepper where she could, and to make the best of her way to *France*. But the admiral coming to *Ticow* in the island of *Sumatra*, was inform'd by one *Pedro*, who had been interpreter to the *English* there, that the *Esperance* had been upon that coast in *July*, and had put ashore 15 men, in order to furnish themselves with provisions, but that the ship had sail'd before they could get off, and therefore they were oblig'd to go ashore again, where most of them had died, not without suspicion of having been sent to their long home by the assistance the *Dutch* pretended to give them in their distress, because the persons who died were the most considerable of the *French* who had landed to procure trade there, which the *Dutch* resolv'd to engross. But that soon after, the king of *Achen* had expell'd both the *Dutch* and *English* from *Ticow* and all that part of *Sumatra*, and that there was great plenty of pepper, which he might have by licence from the king.

The Hope loses 15 men in Sumatra.

Upon this intelligence the admiral sent an *Indian* praw to *Achen*, with a letter to capt. *Grove*, in case he should be there; but the praw return'd in eleven days without hearing of him, from which he concluded that if the ship were not lost, she must be at *Jacatra*, since the *Dutch* had besieg'd *Bantam*: And it prov'd as he conjectur'd; for soon after he was inform'd that the ship was there,

but

but in great diſtreſs for want of men, moſt of the crew being dead or ſick. The admiral ſent 20 men in a praw to recruit capt. *Grove*, and order'd him to ſail for *France*, if he had got his loading, or if not, to join the fleet at *Achen*.

Beaulieu ſails for Achen.

Having ſtaid ſome time at *Ticow*, the admiral ſet ſail for *Achen*, to procure the king's licence to trade for pepper. Upon his arrival in the bay, he found an *Engliſh* ſhip of 600 tuns, capt. *Roberts* commander, near which he caſt anchor: And upon a meſſage from the king he went aſhore, and din'd with capt. *Roberts*. Not being allow'd to ſee the king that day, he went aboard, and the day after came aſhore again, where meeting with ſome *Portugueſes*, they caution'd him from dining with the *Engliſh* any more, telling him that they had agreed with the *Dutch* to poiſon him. He made anſwer, that he could not believe the *Engliſh* capable of ſuch a deſign, but that he would be upon guard: And ſo went to the *Engliſh* captain's houſe, where he was entertain'd as he had been the day before, and obſerv'd that the *Engliſh* deſir'd him to eat or drink nothing but what their captain and his company participated along with him. But the admiral having been taken with a violent looſeneſs the night after, the *Portugueſe* ſurmiſe made him take a doſe of *Cocoas* and *Bezoar* by way of counterpoiſon.

In the mean time he had intimation given him, that the reaſon of the delay of his audience of the king, was his not having ſent him a handſome emerald ring which he had on his finger; he therefore ſent it, and having written a letter in the king of *France*'s name, upon a blank paper with the king's ſeal, ſeveral of which had been deliver'd to him before he left *France*, and having prepar'd a preſent as from the king his maſter, he was ſent for to the court the next day, with great pomp, as we elſewhere deſcrib'd ſome of our *Engliſh* audiences in the ſame country.

The admiral's preſent to the king.

His preſent conſiſted of a ſet of compleat armour for a horſeman, carv'd and gilded; a *German* hanger, with a gilded hilt, with a piſtol hanging by it, ſix muſquets adorn'd after the ſame manner, and the but ends with mother of pearl; two heads of pikes enamel'd with gold; a large looking glaſs, which being crack'd, he pretended to have been broken by miſchance, but that he was oblig'd to preſent it, having been commanded to deliver it to his majeſty; two large flasks of roſe water, and two pieces of crimſon camlet.

Being arriv'd, upon his elephant, in great ſtate, at the gate of the palace, his retinue was taken care of, and only he admitted into the palace a-foot, and at the ſecond gate was oblig'd to put off his ſhoes, according to the *Eaſtern* cuſtom. The king thank'd the king of *France* for his preſent, and having open'd the letter, gave it back to him to interpret to one of the *Sabanders*, who had ſome ſmattering of *Portugueſe*, but he was fain to change ſeveral expreſſions in it to make the *Sabander* underſtand it. The deſign of the letter was, to expreſs friendſhip to his dear brother the king of *Achen*, and to recommend *Beaulieu* to his protection, to deſire trade and commerce between their ſubjects, and promiſing him aſſiſtance againſt his enemies. The king expreſs'd his ſatisfaction at the contents of the letter, made the *Sabander* tell him he was welcome, and ſhould be ſafe in his dominions. But as to trade, he told him, the *Dutch* had ſerv'd ſome of his neighbour kings ſo baſely, and particularly the king of *Bantam*, whom they were now beſieging in his capital city, that to prevent ſuch danger at *Achen*, he had order'd the pepper plants to be cut down, ſo that the price of that commodity was riſen to 64 reals the bahar.

He has an audience of the K. of Achen.

The admiral anſwer'd, that he was ſurpriz'd at the inſolence of the *Dutch*, in pretending to aſſault kings in their own dominions, when they had been ſo long protected by the king his maſter againſt the *Spaniards*. That for his part, he had no intention to attack any of the rights of other kings, nor to build forts in their territories; but only to buy and ſell with their permiſſion; and that he was ſo far from vindicating what the *Dutch* had done, that he did not intend ſo much as to keep a correſpondence with them. After this audience, the admiral was ſent, in ſtate, to a houſe he had taken, where, either out of diffidence of the *Engliſh* as well as *Dutch*, or out of complaiſance to the king, who ſeem'd to be out of humour with them, he kept no correſpondence with either. He had ſeveral audiences afterward, and was invited to dinner, where they were ſerv'd in gold plate very magnificently, the ſervices being brought in by women, and the drink given about by eunuchs. But the greateſt piece of reſpect the king paid the admiral was, his allowing his women to dance before him, and particularly two beautiful young girls, who, as the admiral ſays, might have paſs'd for good dancers in *France*. Thoſe girls had a ſort of hats made of gold ſpangles, with plumes ſet with the ſame, hanging over one ear, with pendants in their ears hanging down to their ſhoulders, and necklaces of gold, and a ſort of jacket covering their ſhoulders, of gold curiouſly engrav'd, under which was a ſhift or *Bain* of cloth of gold, with red ſilk covering their breaſts, and broad girdles of gold ſpangles, from

Is invited to dine with the king.

Two girls dance before him.

from whence they wore a kind of breeches to their knees, of cloth of gold, with gold bells round the knees. Their arms and legs were only cover'd with bracelets of gold and jewels, very rich. At their girdles hung a ſword in a ſcabbard adorn'd with jewels; having in their hands gold fans, with bells of the ſame metal hanging round them.

In this dreſs, they enter'd the hall, and advancing upon the carpet near the king, they kneel'd down, and joining their hands, they lifted them up in that poſture towards their heads, which is the manner of ſaluting the king. Having begun the dance upon their knees, and anſwer'd the cadence of the muſick with their bodies and arms, they roſe up by degrees, ſtill dancing, and at laſt, being upon their feet, they continu'd for above half an hour, keeping exact time, and moving very gracefully: And then kneeling down again before his majeſty, they retir'd, being, as the admiral believ'd, heartily tir'd, with the load of 40 pound weight of gold about each of them. But one thing was very remarkable, that from the moment the firſt woman enter'd, all the men, who were ſubjects of *Achen*, ſhut their eyes, and continued ſo during their dances, it being a capital crime for them to look upon the king's women. But *Beaulieu* judging right, that they were not brought thither, that he might not look at them, obſerv'd all their behaviour very exactly.

The king's ſubjects oblig'd to ſhut their eyes, whilſt the women danced.

It being late, the admiral got leave to withdraw, and the *Sabandar* convey'd him home, extolling the honour had been done him by the king, beyond what he was ever known to do to any ſtranger.

He had ſeveral audiences afterwards, and was inform'd by the king, that the *Eſperance* had been taken in *Bantam* road by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and moſt of the crew murder'd by them, but he told him he would ſecure him from any inſult from either of them, whilſt he was in his territories, becauſe the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had more conſiderable effects at *Achen*, in his power than his ſhip was worth. The king put the *Engliſh* in with the *Dutch*, as being diſoblig'd at them for the peace publiſh'd about this time, between the two nations. But it was true that the *Dutch* had taken the ſhip, as the admiral was afterwards inform'd by Mr. *Du Par*, whom capt. *Grave* ſent to him to give him an account of it, after he had left *Achen*; and was as follows.

The adventures of the Hope.

The *Eſperance* having parted with the admiral, as has been ſaid, arriv'd at an iſland near *Ticow*, and ſent her long boat thither for proviſions, and to ſee if they might have pepper, and their people ſtaying ten or twelve days, the captain ſet ſail for *Ticow*, to enquire for them; but his men aboard being ſick, and not above ſix men and himſelf being able to work, the wind and current being contrary, they were driven off the coaſt, which occaſion'd the misfortune of the 15 men already mention'd. In this diſtreſs, they met with the *Leyden*, a *Dutch* ſhip of 1200 tuns, commanded by *Schouten*, to whom the captain of the *Eſperance*, going aboard, applied for help. As ſoon as capt. *Grave* had told his condition, *Schouten* ſent 60 men, in two boats, aboard the *French* ſhip, who without any difficulty made themſelves maſters of her, turn'd the poor ſick men out of their hammocks upon deck, plunder'd the ſhip, and in the mean time, the *Dutch* captain told capt. *Grave*, he was his priſoner, and his ſhip a prize. It was in vain to reaſon the matter with him, ſo they ſubmitted to the barbarities the *Dutch* us'd towards them. Some time after, they met with another *Dutch* ſhip, which was going to land ſome ſick people on the iſland of *Naſſau*. Capt. *Grave* beg'd that they would let his ſick men go aſhore for their recovery, which *Schouten* granted, but, as if they had been worſe than beaſts, they threw them into the boats like logs of wood, without minding whether their heads or feet firſt touch'd the bottom, and ſome they drag'd in the water at the boat's ſtern, one of which died upon the rocks as they drag'd him aſhore.

She is taken by the Dutch.

But after they had us'd them after this barbarous manner, the firſt commiſſary of the *Leyden* coming to captain *Grave*, told him, that upon taking a ſtricter view of their commiſſion, they found they had committed a miſtake in ſeizing his ſhip, and therefore he was at liberty to go aboard her when he pleas'd. The captain having had enough of their entertainment, was very glad of the propoſal, but having occaſion for ſome hands to work his ſhip, anſwer'd with much complaiſance, that very wiſe people might be miſtaken in ſome things, and therefore he hop'd they would lend him ſome of their men to *Achen*, where his admiral was, which they, in great bounty, agreed to, provided he would give them a certificate under his hand, that they had done him no injury, which the poor captain, to get out of their clutches, condeſcended to without demanding reſtitution of the goods they had pillag'd.

And releas'd.

Soon after he left *Schouten*, he encounter'd three other *Dutch* ships, and was forced to go with them to *Jacatra*, and by a sort of blind bargain they constrained him to make with them, he borrowed money of a merchant of *St. Maloes*, to buy pepper, intending to go to *France*, after he had given a third part of his pepper to the *Dutch*, and another third part to the *English*, by the agreement which the *Dutch* had oblig'd him to. But the *Dutch* got the whole, and afterwards set his ship a-fire in the road of *Jacatra*, pretending it was done by the *Javans*. The captain and his people finding they could not extinguish the fire, got ashore in their boat, and when they attempted to save some of the goods the next day, they were forbidden by the *Dutch* to go near their own ship, and they saw the *Dutch* boats going to and again, taking out their guns, and all that could be sav'd: And when they had gotten all that they could, they had the impudence to sell the hulk of the ship as if it had been their own, to the best bidder. The captain upon this, got the *French* commissary at *Bantam*'s pinnace, and sail'd to *Achen*, but missing the admiral, he fell sick, and went aboard an *English* ship to return to *Jacatra*.

But afterwards set on fire by others of the Dutch *at* Jacatra.

Whilst captain *Grave* was us'd after this perfidious and barbarous manner by the *Dutch*, monsieur *Beaulieu* was at *Achen* us'd with as little sincerity by the king and the *Sabandars*. The king was such a cruel tyrant, that, if he was ever so little out of humour, no man about him durst speak to him, and if the admiral desir'd his interpreter to tell him any thing, if it did not suit with the king's inclination, he made no bones of ordering the poor man to the rack for daring to make a proposal to him, altho' at the desire of another, which he was pleas'd to call impertinent. So that several things *Beaulieu* had desir'd to be told him, were conceal'd for fear. Nor did he keep his word in any thing that he had promis'd, and the interpreters durst not represent the admiral's complaints upon that score for fear of losing their lives; for, there was scarce a day but he caus'd some body to be executed, or lose a hand. Of which the admiral gives many instances; particularly his causing an *Orankey*'s hand to be cut off, because one of the king's cocks, of which he had the keeping, had been beaten by one smaller than himself, the king alledging that the *Orankey* had starv'd him. He put his own mother to the rack, pretending that she had conspir'd against him, altho' several women whom he tortur'd to make them confess it, acquitted her of any such design. He had likewise put to death most of the ancient nobility, and rais'd a new set for money, being as covetous as cruel. In short, the admiral, finding that this king was a downright sharper, and only gave him good words to pick his pocket, and that his officers were as great cheats as himself, resolv'd to leave *Achen*; and having heard from some *Portugueses* whom he had redeem'd from captivity, that *Queda* upon the coast of *Malacca* was a convenient place for pepper, he resolv'd to go thither.

The king of Achen *a cruel tyrant.*

Having taken this resolution, he took leave of the king of *Achen*, who having gotten all that he could from him without using violence, gave him a letter to the king of *France*, and so dismiss'd him. But he took care to keep secret his design of going to *Queda*, because the king of *Achen* having lately conquer'd it, would have none to go thither but by his special licence, which the admiral knew must have cost him dear, besides the danger of his playing tricks with him, as he found he had done at *Achen*: And he could pretend, in case he return'd to *Sumatra*, that he had been driven thither by storm.

July 24, the admiral sail'd from *Achen* with his own ship (having sent the *Hermitage*, some time before, in search of capt. *Grave*, where they were forc'd to sell her to raise money) and having, with difficulty, because of the trade wind, doubled the north cape of *Sumatra*, upon the 7th of *August*, he arriv'd at *Pulo Lancanbuy*, an island near *Queda*, which was noted for the best pepper in the *East Indies*. The governor coming aboard, told him there could be no trade in that island without licence from the king of *Queda*. This island lies in 6 degrees, 15 minutes, n. latitude, and is about 20 leagues in compass, having a high mountain in the middle. It is a good soil, fit for any grain or plants, and yielded at that time about 500,000 *lb.* weight of excellent pepper yearly, and was usually sold at 16 reals the *Bahar*, which in the measure of that island amounts to 450 *lb.* averdupois.

Beaulieu leaves Achen and comes to PuloLancanbuy.

The pepper plants are very nice, and require great care to cultivate them. They require a fat free soil, and are manag'd after the following manner. They take a shoot of an old pepper plant, and set it under any tree or shrub, having first carefully weeded out all herbs or other plants near the place. As the plant shoots up it twists itself round the tree or shrub like hops; and the third year it bears six or seven pound weight of pepper in clusters, and so continues for three or four years successively;

Pepper plants, how manag'd.

ceſſively; after which, it decreaſeth both in quantity and ſize every year; and bears no pepper after it is twelve years old. For the firſt three years the ground muſt be kept very clean near it, which is very troubleſome; and the branches of its ſupporter muſt be lop'd off every year, that they do not intercept the ſun from the plant: And the pepper, when form'd, muſt be ſupported below, leſt the weight of it ſhould bring down the plant. It bears a white flower in *April*, and knits in *June*, and becomes large and green in *Auguſt*: And then the natives eat it by way of ſallad. It grows red in *October*, and black towards the end of *November*, and in *December* it is quite black, and then they cut it off in cluſters, and dry it in the ſun till the corns fall off of themſelves, which is generally 15 days after pulling, during which time they muſt be often turn'd, and cover'd from the night dew. Some of the grains neither grow red nor black, but continue white, and are much more valu'd than the black, having a medicinal quality: But the natives play tricks, and make the other pepper paſs for the white by pulling off the skin.

This iſland was ſubject to the king of *Queda*, and had ſuffer'd with that place by the king of *Achen*'s arms. For, about the year 1616, the king of *Achen* had ſent an army to beſiege *Queda*, the king of which having been too weak to keep the field, retir'd to the city, which he kept out three months, and then fortified his palace. *The ſiege of Queda.* But the enemy (having receiv'd a meſſage from their own tyrant, that he would cut off the heads of every one of them, unleſs they brought the king of *Queda* to him) beleaguer'd him ſo cloſe, that, wanting proviſions, he was fain to ſurrender upon promiſe of good uſage, which he poor man! thought at leaſt would ſecure his life, and thoſe of his family; but the merciful king of *Achen* gave them to know, that *ſurrendring at diſcretion*, was to give himſelf and his people to be *diſcreetly* made ſhorter by the head; for he put him and his children, with all the chief priſoners, to death in cold blood. Only one ſon (who was king when *Beaulieu* was in that country) as ſoon as his father began to capitulate, made his eſcape out of the palace, and took poſſeſſion of the throne after the murder of his father; and being reſolv'd to oppoſe the king of *Achen*, offer'd to the admiral a licence to trade, provided he would give him ſome of his great guns. But the admiral being inform'd that there was little or no pepper in thoſe places till about *Chriſtmas*, and having no mind to diſoblige the king of *Achen*, left the coaſt of *Malacca*, and return'd by the north cape of *Sumatra*, towards *Achen*. It was in this courſe that he met with the *Engliſh* ſhip, on board of which capt. *Grave* was; and having heard from monſieur *Du Par* the diſmal account formerly related of the barbarity of the *Dutch*, he ſent his boat aboard the *Engliſh* ſhip for capt. *Grave*, who came to him in a bad ſtate of health.

The admiral being inform'd that the *Eſperance*'s crew had been impriſon'd upon their arrival at *Achen*, ſail'd towards that bay, and having caſt anchor there, the king ſent to deſire him to go aſhore, but he refus'd to go, telling the officer, that he would not truſt himſelf with a prince who had confin'd his men contrary to his word, and the tenure of his letters to the king his maſter. The officer pretended that the king took them for *Portugueſes*, but as ſoon as he found they belong'd to him, he had releas'd them. The admiral replied, he ſhould ſee that by their being ſent out to him, and ſo diſmiſs'd the officer. The next day they came aboard, but they told him that the king had ſeiz'd about 3200 reals they brought with them in money and goods. *The admiral returns to* Achen. *Gets his men releas'd.*

Upon their coming aboard, the admiral went aſhore, and having an audience of the king, he expoſtulated with him about the impriſonment of his men, to which he anſwer'd, that they had been repreſented to him as pirates, which had occaſion'd their confinement; but that as ſoon as he found they belong'd to him, he was reſolv'd to have given them up to the firſt *French* ſhip that ſhould come to *Achen*, and had kept them cloſe to ſave them from the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who he was afraid would have us'd them ill. The admiral knew him too well to believe this ſtory; however, ſince he had his men aboard, he would not fall out with him: He therefore thank'd him for his care, and talk'd to him about a licence for trading at *Ticow*; but the king, who wanted a bribe for every favour he granted, refer'd him to one of his *Sabandars*, who told *Beaulieu*, that if he had any diamonds to ſpare he believ'd the licence might be had, but it muſt be from the king himſelf, who wrote all ſuch papers with his own hand, and the ſending him to him was only a pretence, that he might have an opportunity of giving him the hint, that one or two diamonds would do. The admiral knowing the temper of the king, eaſily ſaw the neceſſity of complying with his deſire, and therefore bought two, one of 320 reals value, and the other of 120,

and,

and, having preſented him with them, obtain'd his letter after many little tricks to ſhift it off.

Having got the king's letter, he ſail'd for *Ticow*, where he arriv'd the laſt of *December*, 1621, and the next day ſhew'd the king's letter to the chief people of the place, who were very glad of it, and open'd a trade with him immediately, ſo that he bought 400 bahars of pepper at 25 reals a bahar, including the charge of the commiſſion, and the preſents he had been forced to make at *Achen*. Having finiſh'd his buſineſs at *Ticow*, he ſet ſail *February* 1, 1622, having 75 men aboard, all in good health, and nine months proviſions. The admiral gives an account of his ſtopping at ſeveral places after he left the *Indian* ocean, becauſe ſeveral of his men fell ſick, with ſeveral remarks upon the places he put in at; but as we deſign to confine ourſelves to the account of *Aſia* in this ſecond book, we ſhall take no notice of any other parts of the world but what belong to it. We ſhall therefore only ſay, that after undergoing ſeveral ſtorms, and being oblig'd to put his ſick men aſhore at *Table Bay*, at *St. Helena*, and *St. Vincent*, the admiral arriv'd at *Havre de Grace* the firſt of *December*, 1622, having been abroad 36 months.

But becauſe this author gives a ſhort, but a good deſcription of *Sumatra*, we ſhall here inſert an abſtract of it, as being pertinent to our deſign.

The admiral's deſcription of Sumatra.

SUMATRA is in length about 660 miles, lying from 5 degrees and a half n. latitude to the ſame number ſouth; and altho' ſome parts of it are broader than others, particularly towards the ſouth of the line, it may be reckon'd, one with another, 70 leagues broad. The coaſt for the moſt part is low, and the valleys afford good paſture, and the country is fertile in rice and fruits. It has many fine rivers, of which our author reckons ſeven very large, *viz. Cinquel*, *Baaros*, *Daya*, *Achen*, *Pedir*, *Jambi*, and *Andripoura*, beſides ſeveral ſmall rivers, and a vaſt number of brooks.

The air.

The air is very different in the ſeveral parts of this iſland. That part of it which lies under the line, as *Ticow*, *Paſſaman*, &c. is unhealthy, eſpecially for ſtrangers, and even the *Acheneſes* do not care to live there between *June* and *October*, which is their wet ſeaſon, becauſe the perpendicular ſun exhales ſuch ſtinking vapours from the ſtagnated water, as occaſion often peſtilential diſtempers, which, if they do not carry ſtrangers off in three days, at leaſt end in dropſies. But in the extremes of the iſland the air is more temperate, eſpecially about *Achen* and the northern part.

Achen lies upon a large river of the ſame name, and is about half a league from the ſea, in the middle of a pleaſant valley ſix leagues broad, abounding with coco trees, and rice, which is the only grain the natives ſow. But there is ſuch plenty of other trees, that there is not a month in the year, but ſome fruit is in ſeaſon. *Growth of* Achen. They have buffalo's for drawing and carrying burdens, and for tilling their ground, and likewiſe horſes of a ſmall breed, and great ſtore of kids; but their ſheep are good for nothing. *Beaſts.* Hens and ducks are carefully nurſt by the peaſants, for their eggs, of which they make great advantage. And as to wild beaſts, the country is well ſtock'd with boars, deer, tygers, rinoceros's, wild elephants, porcupins, civet cats, monkeys, adders, and lizards: And in ſome of the rivers they have crocodiles.

The greater part of the whole iſland, at leaſt upon the ſea coaſt, was under the dominion of the king of *Achen*, who had ſubdued ſome petty kingdoms, *viz. Lobo*, *Cinquel*, *Barros*, *Bataham*, *Paſſaman*, *Ticow*, *Priaman*, and *Padang*, not many years before. The reſt of the iſland is divided among five or ſix petty kings. But the inland part of it, which is inhabited by a ſort of canibals, who eat man's fleſh, abounds in gold, if the natives knew how to dig the mines. *Gold mines in* Sumatra. All that they vend is what the ſtreams and currents waſh away, which they gather, and truck with their neighbours for what they want.

There are many iſlands almoſt round about *Sumatra*, ſome of which are 20 leagues in length, but theſe not being under any of the kings of *Sumatra*, we ſhall ſay nothing of them here.

The moſt conſiderable pepper countries in this iſland were *Jambi* and *Andrigari*, on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt, under, and near the line. In the firſt of theſe the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had factories, and traded with the natives, not only for their pepper, but alſo for their gold, and often made trips to *Manimcabo*, farther to the ſouth. *Engliſh and Dutch factories.* But that part of *Sumatra*, next to *Sunda*, being but little inhabited, the king of *Bantam* took poſſeſſion of, as far as *Palimban*, which is a very improvable country.

Achen was once a good country for pepper, but the admiral ſays, one of the kings, perceiving that the people were ſo employed in raiſing that commodity, that they neglected every thing elſe, order'd the plants to be deſtroyed. *Achen.* But it may be ſuppos'd, as indeed it was ſaid by the *Engliſh* with more reaſon, that he had done it to prevent the *Dutch* from invading his country, as he found they had attempted others, to make themſelves ſole maſters of the ſpice in the iſlands of the

the *Indian* ocean. About ſix leagues from *Achen* there is a ſulphurous mountain, which ſupplies almoſt all the *Indies* with ſulphur for gunpowder.

Pedir. *Pedir*, the next kingdom to *Achen*, and ſubject to that king, is a plentiful country for rice, and likewiſe abounds in a hard yellowiſh ſilk, of which they make a kind of ſtuff which is ſold all over the iſland, and great quantities of it are carried off by the merchants of *Carmandel*.

Deli *famous for a fountain of oyl.* *Deli* is famous for a fountain of an oyly ſubſtance, which, being ſet a-fire, cannot be extinguiſhed: And it is ſaid, they ſet two *Portugueſe* ſhips a-fire with it. Theſe two laſt mentioned lie on the north-eaſt coaſt, over-againſt *Malacca*.

Cinquel *and* Barros *yield camphire and jeſſamine.* Along the north-weſt coaſt, lie *Cinquel* and *Barros*, which abound with camphire and jeſſamin, which laſt ſerves the inhabitants of *Barros* for money, by bartering it for all ſorts of goods which they have occaſion for.

Paſſaman *and* Ticow *great pepper countries.* *Paſſaman* is the firſt place upon this coaſt where there are pepper plants, but, as we obſerv'd in the chapter of *Engliſh* voyages, is a very unhealthy place. And *Ticow* being in the ſame neighbourhood, both under the line, is not much better, and yields a great deal of pepper.

Priaman. *Priaman*, farther ſouth, is a healthy coutry, abounding with all ſorts of proviſions, but has not ſuch ſtore of pepper as the others mention'd. The *Dutch* had a factory there, but were driven out of it in the year 1620, or thereabouts, by the king of *Achen*. This kingdom drives a conſiderable gold trade with *Manimcabo*, which lies up the country, ſouth-eaſt from it.

Padang. *Padang*, about 20 leagues ſouth of *Priaman* deals likewiſe much in gold, and has the conveniency of a fine river, where very large ſhips may ride very ſafely. Theſe provinces or kingdoms beſouth the line are rich, as being a great way remov'd from the tyrant of *Achen*, altho' they are tributary to him.

But to return to *Achen*.

The people of Achen *falſe and cruel.* The inhabitants of that city and province were, after the example of their king, a falſe perfidious cruel people, who under a great pretence of religion, being ſtrict Mahometans in name, acted all the villanies againſt one another, as well as to ſtrangers, that can be thought of. It was common with them, upon any pique, to accuſe even their brothers and fathers of a plot againſt the king, which was an infallible way of getting rid of any enemy, for that prince did not ſtay to examine the cauſe, but commanded ſpeedy execution upon the ſlighteſt impeachment, without regard to probability, much leſs to truth.

Courts of juſtice. But they have their courts of juſtice there in full form. For civil cauſes they have a judge, who is one of the *Orankeys*, and keeps his court every morning, except Fridays, under a *Bali*, or tent, near the great *Moſch*, where he determines all pleas of debtor and creditor. When a debt is prov'd in court, the judge fixes a day to pay it on: If the debtor fails, he is ſummon'd a ſecond time, and has his hands tied behind his back, and is oblig'd to appear every day at court in that poſture, till the debt be paid. But if it appears that he cannot pay it, he is deliver'd to the creditor to uſe him as a ſlave, in what manner he pleaſes, without putting him to death.

Civil judge.

Criminal court. The criminal court ſits under another *Bali*, near the palace gate; and in it the *Orankeys*, or nobles, ſit, by turns, as judges. When there is an order to apprehend any one, the youngeſt child, if it can but go and ſpeak, may apprehend him, for as ſoon as they lay hold of him in the king's name, they are in no danger of reſiſtance, for he muſt ſtand ſtock ſtill, till they tie his hands, and ſo he is drag'd before the court. But after he is condemn'd, he may publickly, before the court, compound with the executioner for a mitigation of his ſentence, provided the king is not concern'd in the matter. Thus, the admiral ſays, he ſaw a man ſentenced to have 30 laſhes of a whip upon his back, for having look'd through a hedge at his neighbour's wife, as ſhe was bathing herſelf: But as ſoon as the ſentence was given, he bargain'd with the executioner, in the face of the court, and prevail'd to have the laſhes given him above his clothes, for which he paid 20 * *Mais*. But when the king orders any puniſhment, there is no commutation; but even then the executioner muſt be fee'd to do his buſineſs handſomely, or elſe he will put the criminal to vaſt pain by bungling the execution.

Compounding with the executioner.

* A *Mais* is about 8 pence.

Eccleſiaſtical and mercantile courts. There are two other courts beſides theſe. One, where the *Cadi* or biſhop preſides, for eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and the other for diſputes between merchants, as well natives as ſtrangers. In this laſt court they keep an exact account of all fines, taxes, cuſtoms, preſents, &c. due to the king.

Guards for the city. The orankeys, who preſide over the criminal courts in town, have likewiſe their courts in the country according to their different diſtricts. And in the city they have 4 officers whom they call *Pangalow Cavallo*, who dividing the city into quarters, appointed people to patrole all night to prevent robberies, running of goods, &c. Beſides which the orankeys were oblig'd to have 200 horſe every night along the ſhore in parties.

And palace. For guarding the palace, there are 250 ſlaves conſtantly at each outer gate. Thoſe ſlaves are, for the moſt part, foreigners, taken in young, and bred to arms. And that the king may be ſecure from any attempt of the orankeys, he has them divided into three companies, one of which, in their turns, is night and day upon the watch, but without arms, in a court within the palace, ſurrounded by the ſlaves; ſo that, upon any alarm, he is ſure of the third part of the nobility, as hoſtages for the reſt. But in his own apartment, he is guarded by 3000 women, who ſerve him for other uſes. Beſides them he has an unlimited number of wives and miſtreſſes, twenty of his wives being the lawful daughters of his tributary kings, or of ſuch as he plunder'd in war. But among ſo many, the king, who was then in the flower of his age, had but one ſon, of about 18 years old, and a greater tyrant, if poſſible, than his father; which appear'd by the king's having given him the inveſtiture of *Padir*, where he govern'd with ſuch cruel barbarity, that even the tyrant his father was forced to ſend for him home, and put him to the torture for his brutality; and whilſt admiral *Beaulieu* was at *Achen* he was kept cloſe in the palace, and never ſtir'd abroad but to the *Moſch*, whither he went in great ſtate.

A woman guard.

Galleys of Achen. The king of *Achen* was very ſtrong in ſhipping, having 100 great galleys, bigger than thoſe us'd in *Europe*; ſome of them have 7 or 800 men aboard; but altho' they are prettily built, they are not near ſo fit for ſervice as ours, being heavier, and too high above the water, and neither their ſails nor oars made for ready uſe. But they have good artillery aboard; and the king of *Achen* was ſaid to have about 2000 braſs cannon in his caſtles, galleys, and arſenal.

Land forces. He was ſaid to be able to bring 40,000 men into the field from the territory of *Achen* alone. When he wanted to go upon any expedition, he ſummon'd his forces againſt ſuch a day to a certain place, whither ſuch a number as he had appointed from every province march'd with three months proviſions, but without arms. Upon their appearance, he diſtributed arms to them, which they were oblig'd to return when the war was over. And if they turn'd their backs, or misbehav'd any way, during the campaign, not only they, but their relations at home, were puniſh'd for it. So that the king had brought his forces to be the beſt ſoldiers in thoſe parts of the world. His wars coſt him nothing, unleſs they laſted longer than three months at a time, in which caſe, he was oblig'd to furniſh them with rice, which was all the charge he was at.

Nor is his fleet more chargeable to him; for he obliges every *Orankey* to build him a galley, and to keep it in order at the price of his head. And the nobility are ſo careful of their galleys, that when they come in from any expedition, they are brought into a dock, where they have a cover made for every one of them, to preſerve them from ſun and rain, and lay their tackle up in a ſafe place. And they have them ſo ordered, that in a few days they can rig and unrig the whole fleet, there being always ſuch a number of men at hand appointed to obey the *Orankeys* who have the charge of it.

The king order'd a gun to be fir'd every morning and evening at opening and ſhutting the caſtle gates, and was ſo vain of having been the inventer of this cuſtom (as he fancied) that he would have ſought no better cauſe of a war, than another king's pretending to follow his example in that practice.

This eaſy way of making war, being only at the expence of arms, ammunition, and rice, which coſts him very little; together with his being furniſh'd by his ſubjects, in time of peace with twice as much rice, fiſh, fleſh, and other proviſions of all kinds, as he ſpends thro' the year, ſending the ſuperplus to the market, to be ſold for his uſe; and even his own ſervants being oblig'd to buy from him every other eatable, except rice, which is the only proviſion he furniſhes them with, makes this king one of the richeſt princes of his extent of dominion in all the *Indies*; his tributary princes ſending him every year conſiderable riches in money or goods, beſides his trading in pepper and other commodities of the iſlands adjacent, and making his own prices for every thing he deals in, and hindering every one elſe to ſell any ſuch till his are diſpoſed of.

The king of Achen very rich.

But he goes farther than this in ſaving his money; for the clothing of his family coſts him nothing; there being a certain day of the year, on which his ſubjects are oblig'd to make him preſents of all ſorts of ſtuff, or garments for men and women, according to their income, or the value of their places.

Nor do his elephants coſt him any thing, for he feeds them upon the fruit of the *Banana* tree. And his cocks he diſperſes among the orankeys, who are proud of maintaining them to curry favour with him.

The king a great builder. He was a great builder, and made all the plans himſelf; and if a door or a window was not to his mind, he caus'd the whole houſe to be pull'd down, and began another. This and all other works, done

done upon his account, were perform'd by his ſlaves, and to ſave himſelf the charge of maintaining even them, he allow'd them two or three days every week to work for their own advantage; nor were they chain'd, except ſuch as had attempted to make their eſcape, or had mutinied againſt their overſeers; and they may redeem themſelves at rates, proportion'd to their quality.

He is heir to ſeveral ſorts of perſons.

The king is heir to all his ſubjects who die without male iſſue, and brings their daughters into his own houſe, which brings in great riches to him. He alſo inherits all the effects of ſtrangers who die in his dominions, except thoſe who have factories, ſuch as the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, &c. who were by poſitive ſtipulation exempted from that law. But his greateſt advantage was from the forfeited eſtates of the *Orankeys*, and other rich men, whom he daily put to death, and ſome of them for no other reaſon than their being rich, and others for their being ſo popular as to give him umbrage. And when he was reſolv'd upon the death of any ſuch, he ſeiz'd all their effects, together with their wives and children, and ſlaves, before he pronounc'd ſentence upon themſelves.

All foreigners, who are admitted into the caſtle, muſt make his majeſty a preſent; nor without one can any body tranſact any affair. All ſhips pay according to the value of their cargoes 10 *per Cent.* entry, and thoſe goods they enter muſt be valued by the king's officers, who, to enhance the duty, value them at double of what they can get for them. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were forced to pay the ſame, only that they were allowed to pay the duty in the commodities they brought. But the greateſt cramp upon trade, was the king's being the chief merchant, and buying foreign goods at his own rates, which were very low, and ſelling his own goods to ſtrangers at an extravagant price.

After the admiral has given a deſciption of *Sumatra*, and particularly of *Achen*, he goes on to give an account of the manner of the then king's advancement, which was thus.

The manner of the king of Achen's coming to the crown

About the year 1580, the male line of their kings being extinct, the *Orankeys*, (who, before that time, had never been oppreſs'd by the crown, but had kept their kings, as it were, ſubject to them, whilſt they govern'd in *Achen*, like ſo many petty kings, never appearing without their ſeveral guards, and murdering their ſovereigns at pleaſure) the *Orankeys*, I ſay, enter'd into cabals, according to their different ſtrength and intereſts to get one of themſelves choſen king. But their contending powers were like to end in cutting one anothers throats (*an inconvenience not eaſy to be avoided in elective monarchies*) the *Cadi* propos'd an expedient, which by his character, and the reverence and eſteem they had for him, he brought them all to ſubmit to, which was, to chuſe an *Orankey* for their king, who had kept his houſe peaceably, and never had made the leaſt intereſt for obtaining the crown. This propoſal was univerſally complied with, and a deputation ſent to that *Orankey*, who was then about 70 years of age. He thank'd them for their offer, and the honour they had done him, but told them that, for ſome time paſt, he had given up all thoughts of buſineſs, and was too old to come into the world again; he beg'd to be excus'd, and abſolutely refus'd the crown. This refuſal ſet them together by the ears again, but at the *Cadi*'s ſollicitation, they ſent again to the old gentleman, threatning him to accept the crown, and upon a ſecond refuſal, a great number of the chief nobility came to his houſe with the crown and ſword of ſtate carried before them, offering him the crown, and declaring that they would cut him in pieces with the ſword if he perſiſted in refuſing it. The *Orankey* finding that they were reſov'd to cut his throat or make him king, told them, that he would accept of the crown, but upon this condition, that he ſhould be as a father to them, and they ſhould be obedient children, and allow him to give fatherly correction to the diſobedient.

The Orankeys offer the crown, upon failing of the line of their kings, to one who refuſes it.

but is forced to accept of it.

Upon theſe terms he was crown'd, and and veſted with the royal power, and all things were quiet in *Achen*. Soon after he had taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle, he invited all the nobility to a ſumptuous entertainment, which he had provided for them. When they were all come into the court near the king's apartment, they were conducted by pairs into a hall, and from thence every one thought he was to be brought to the room appointed for the feaſt, but inſtead of that they were led into a court behind the king's apartment, and there had their throats cut, and their bodies thrown into a deep ditch he had order'd to be made for that purpoſe. In this manner he cut off 1100 without giving the leaſt umbrage to thoſe who were left in the court, the muſick playing all the while in the great hall.

His firſt act of ſovereignty was to murder 1100 of the nobles.

After this terrible and tyranical execution, he publiſh'd a manifeſto, declaring the reaſon of it. He ſaid, " The *Oran-* " *keys* had been ſo often guilty of rebel- " lion and parricide, that they had at laſt " cut off the whole race of their lawful " kings, and had forc'd him into the " throne,

His excuſe of it.

" throne, with a traiterous intention to " ſerve him and his family the ſame way, " and then the ſame tumult and civil war " would have been repeated upon the " next inter-reign. To prevent which " he had found it abſolutely neceſſary " to humble the pride of the *Orankeys*, " which could only be effected by the " method he had taken; and as by this " ſevere juſtice upon great offenders, he " had ſecur'd his own ſafety and the pub- " lick peace of the kingdom, he would, " for the future, ſo govern his ſubjects, " that they ſhould have cauſe to praiſe " inſtead of blaming what he had done."

Notwithſtanding this declaration, no body offer'd to go to pay their duty to him, as uſual, every one being afraid of him. Having therefore got together a good number of guards, he ſent them to demoliſh the houſes of the nobility whom he had murder'd, and brought all the cannon, with which they had fortified their houſes, into the palace, and fill'd up the ditches about their houſes, and, for the future, prohibited any ſtone buildings, except about the palace, allowing them only to have their houſes of mud, without ſo much as a ſtone wall about them.

Some of the old *Orankeys* were ſtill left, for he had only put to death the moſt popular, and therefore the moſt dangerous. But they who remain'd abſenting themſelves, (as indeed they had good reaſon) from the palace, he fell upon them openly, and ſome of the people murmuring againſt his proceedings, he cut off, in one year, between orankeys and commons, about 20,000, filling up the vacancies of the orankeys, with his own creatures, till he had reduced the city of *Achen* to a wretched condition, in reſpect of what it had been before; and by keeping up a ſtanding army, and dreining the pockets of his ſubjects, he brought the nation into a ſtate of ſlavery. In this manner he reign'd about 25 years, and died at the age of 95, in the year 1603. He was a great encourager of the *Engliſh*, as we had occaſion to obſerve in Mr. *Lancaſter*'s voyage, and elſewhere.

His cruelty.

and death

After his death, his two ſons, being of a more mild diſpoſition than the father, divided the kingdom between them, as indeed he had ordered in his will, the elder keeping the kingdom of *Achen*, with the other tributary kingdoms, on the weſt coaſt of the iſland; and his brother going to *Pedir*, ſet up his throne there, over the eaſtern territories. But all the effect that their mildneſs had over their ſubjects was to give a looſe to licentiouſneſs, and to let robbery and murder paſs unpuniſh'd; but the poor ſubjects had no more liberty under them, than under the father. *So hard it is for a free people,* ONCE ENSLAV'D, *to regain their former freedom, whether it has been raviſh'd from them by force, or given up by their own weakneſs.*

The kingdom divided between his two ſons.

The late king of *Achen* had a grandſon by his daughter, of whom he was very fond, and, at his death, had recommended to his two ſons. This young man liv'd with his uncle at *Achen*, who having rebuk'd him for ſome miſdemeanor, he privately left the city, and went to the court of *Pedir*, where he was kindly receiv'd by his other uncle, who refuſing to ſend him back, at the deſire of his brother, a war enſued between the two brother kings, which coſt the lives of 60,000 men. But the king of *Achen* being much more powerful than the other, the ſubjects of *Pedir*, altho' they had obtain'd ſome notable advantages under the conduct of the young gentleman, refus'd to march to the field; ſo that their king was oblig'd to deliver him up to the king of *Achen*, who put him in chains.

They fall out upon the account of a nephew.

After he had continued priſoner ſome time, the *Portugueſes*, having invaded *Achen*, ſtruck a terror both in the king and people. The confin'd nephew laying hold of this conſternation, deſir'd the king to releaſe him, telling him that he would either deliver his country from the *Caſirs* (or Chriſtians) or elſe remove his apprehenſions of any danger from him by his death in fighting for him. The king finding himſelf ſtreighten'd by the *Portugueſes*, who had taken one or two of his forts towards the ſea, and having no general of ſo approv'd valour as his nephew was, releas'd him out of priſon, and put him at the head of his forces, in which capacity he behav'd ſo well, that he beat off the *Portugueſes* in ſeveral attacks, and engratiated himſelf ſo with the nobility and the army (to which his mother by money well applied, contributed not a little) that it would not have been eaſy for the king to have us'd him ill, if he had attempted it. However, providence ſoon releas'd him from any danger that way, for the king died ſuddenly, leaving him at the head of the army.

The nephew impriſon'd by his uncle Achen is releas'd to fight the Portugueſes.

The king having died without children, the young prince had ſo much intereſt with the governor of the palace, as to be admitted to bring ſome of his forces into it, and ſo manag'd the affair that he was proclaim'd king that very night, and having brib'd the *Orankeys*, and threaten'd the *Cadi*, who refus'd to crown him, as being an injuſtice done to his uncle of *Pedir*, he got himſelf crown'd before his uncle ariv'd; and when the king of *Pedir* preſented himſelf before the city, the new king ſeiz'd him and his few followers, and having kept him a month in priſon, notwith-

And upon the death of his uncle is proclaim'd king.

And murders his uncle Pedir.

notwithſtanding his former kindneſs ſhew'd to him, he had him murder'd, and by that means became king of both kingdoms.

This was the king who reign'd when admiral *Beaulieu* was there, and had in a few years, as the admiral ſays, executed more people than his grandfather did in his whole reign. However he was ſo ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, that the natives, and all his neighbours, took him for a great ſorcerer; but the admiral accounts for his ſucceſs without magick; for he aſſures us that, bating his cruelty, he was a very wiſe and politick prince; that he never undertook any war, but with great precaution, and laying the ſcheme with the moſt prudent deliberation. And as he never ask'd counſel of any one in his deſigns, he could not be betrayed before he was ready to go upon any expedition; ſo that he had no more to do, but to march his army whither he pleas'd; and he not only had his ſubjects ſo much under command that they executed his orders without asking queſtions, or conſidering difficulties, but he brought his very elephants under ſubjection.

He had taught thoſe creatures to tread fire under their feet at a ſignal given, and at another, to ſalute him as he paſt, by bending the knee, and raiſing their trunks three times. And one inſtance of their docility and ſubmiſſion is very ſingular, if true. The king had order'd 100 of them to be embark'd to ſerve at the ſiege of *Dely*, but when they came to the ſhore, there was not one would go aboard, which being told the king, and whiſper'd about as an ill omen, he went down to the ſhore, and, in a great paſſion, reproach'd them with their ingratitude for the favours he had done them, and commanding one of them to be cut in two before the reſt, he, with a loud voice and angry tone, threaten'd to ſerve all the reſt with the ſame puniſhment if they diſobey'd his orders; and then commanding them to go aboard, they obey'd without heſitation.

Strange tractableneſs in elephants.

He had 900 of theſe creatures, and was very whimſical in the managing of them. He gave them different names, and advanced them to different degrees of honour, giving them wives, and to ſome favourites he alſo gave concubines. Such as were advanced to the dignity of having two or more umbrello's carried by them, were much reſpected; and thoſe who had the honour of carrying the king, every one was to give way to, as they paſs'd the ſtreets; to give warning of which, ſome boys walk'd before with bells, to declare their coming. Upon ſome occaſions, he would be angry with them, and degrade them from their honours and dignities; others he would puniſh in different manners, and take away their wives and concubines.

But however merry, or rather fantaſtical, thoſe things ſeem'd to be, the king had his end, and if thoſe creatures were not ſo ſenſible as the admiral ſeems to make them by his ſtory of the embarkation, his ſubjects might learn perfect ſubmiſſion, and by his treating the elephants ill, when he was angry with them, altho' he was very fond of them, they might ſee that no degree of favour could skreen them from puniſhment, if they dar'd to diſobey him.

In a word, this prince's abilities were ſuch, as render'd him a terror to his neighbours, which would have been a very good character, had not his cruelty and avarice been ſuch, as made him a ſcourge and a curſe to his own people. And thus we take our leave of monſieur *Beaulieu*.

CHAP. V.

Sir Thomas Roe's *Embaſſy from K.* James I. *to the* Great Mogul.

WE took notice in the ſecond voyage of captain *Peyton*, of his having landed Sir *Thomas Roe* at *Surat*, with the character of the king's ambaſſador to the *Great Mogul*, in the year 1615; ſo that we ſhall not take notice of that part of his journal that relates to his voyage thither, but proceed to the embaſſy itſelf.

SECT. I.

Sir Thomas Roe's *journal.*

HE landed *Sept.* 26, and ſtaying there thirty four days, took his journey by land, towards the court of that *Indian* monarch. We think it needleſs, becauſe not very entertaining, to follow the journal, thro' the ſeveral ſtages of this tedious journey, we ſhall therefore only take notice

The embaſſador goes for the Mogul's court.

notice of what was any way remarkable in it.

He arrives at Brampore.

When he was near *Brampore*, which is about 220 miles east from *Surat*, he was met by an officer of the king's, whom they call'd the *Cutwall*, who brought him to the town, and leaving him at the gate of the *Seraglio*, made an apology for the bad accomodation he was to have there, but he told him it was the best the place afforded. And indeed Sir *Thomas* found there was good reason for an excuse, for he had got four rooms like ovens to take up his lodging in: so that, making his servants set up his tent in the court, he did not go into the rooms, altho' he staid more than one night, because he was under a necessity of waiting upon the king's son, who had his residence in that place. The next day, therefore, the cutwal conducted him to the prince's palace, where, besides his ordinary guard, there were 100 gentlemen on horseback in the outer court.

Has an audience of the prince.

When the ambassador enter'd the gallery, he saw the prince sitting under a canopy, upon a seat rais'd some steps from the ground, with a carpet before him. The place where his throne was placed, was railed in, within which all the chief men of the town stood round about, with their hands join'd together before, as if they had been tied. As Sir *Thomas* advanced to the carpet, an officer told him, he must touch the ground with his bare head, which he refus'd to do, but approaching to the foot of the throne, he made his reverence to his highness, who, in return, bow'd his body. The prince refusing to let him mount the steps, or to allow him a chair, he stood within the rail, right over against him. When the ambassador had made his present, the prince made the interpreter tell him, he would remove into the next room, where he might sit in his presence; and so his highness retir'd. But there having been, among the other things presented to him a case of bottles full of delicate spirits, the prince found the liquor so much to his taste, that before the ambassador could be call'd, his highness was fit for nothing but to be carried to bed; so that Sir *Thomas* saw him no more.

The next day, the ambassador proceeded on his journey, and in 20 days ariv'd at *Cytor*, near which are the remains of a very magnificent city, but nothing of it entire. There they saw the ruins of above 100 temples of carved stone, and of many towers and pillars, and of an infinite number of houses. This was said to have been one of the chief cities of *Porus*'s kingdom, so famous for his behaviour towards *Alexander* the Great, and the return that conqueror made to him. And *Rama* (the prince of *Cytor*, when Sir *Thomas* pass'd) boasted a lineal descent from *Porus*, but he did not maintain his independency as his glorious ancestor did, for the *Mogul* some time before had brib'd him to be his vassal.

Sir Thomas comes to Asmire, and has an audience of the Mogul.

The ambassador arriv'd the 23d of *December* at *Adsmere* or *Asmire*, where the Mogul kept his court at that time, altho' his chief residence was at *Agra*. After he had been about a fortnight in *Asmire*, he went to court, much in the same manner as he had done at *Brampore*, and was receiv'd by the Mogul very graciously, that court being no strangers to the *English* name and character, having seen several *English* there before, as we have already observ'd in the first chapter of this book.

The mogul shews himself every morning to the people at a window above the gate, where he often comes at noon to see a fight of elephants, and then he retires to sleep; and none are admitted to his own apartment but eunuchs and women, both which with arms in their hands make up his guard.

Among the other things which K. *James* sent the Mogul, there was a handsome coach, which he was so fond of, that he got into it that very day, and made it be drawn by men about the court; but the ambassador gave him an *English* coachman, who became a great favourite, and had, besides a good sallary, a present every time he drove his majesty, of 8 or 10 *l.* value.

Every tuesday, this prince sits in judgment, and hears the complaints of the meanest of his subjects, gives sentence in their causes, and sees execution done by his elephants in different degrees, tossing some, and treading others to death, according to the different signals made to them.

New year's feast.

At the first new moon in *March*, they have a solemn feast for beginning the year, which they call the *Norose*. To solemnize this, a throne is erected in the court where the Mogul uses to sit in judgment; and at the back of the king's chair of state, the pictures of king *James*, his queen, and the lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards queen of *Bohemia*, as also of the countesses of *Somerset* and *Salisbury*, and of Sir *Thomas Smith*, governor of the *East India* company were placed, the Mogul having had them probably from capt. *Hawkins*. The ground round about it is cover'd with rich carpets. When the king comes to his throne, he is surrounded by the nobility without the stage upon which the chair of state is placed, but within the rails which encompass it. The form of the throne was square, of wood inlaid

inlaid with mother of pearl; ſupported by four pillars, and cover'd with cloth of gold. About the edge of the canopy was a fringe of pearls, from which hang down ſeveral hollow pieces of gold made in the form of pomgranates, apples, &c. The ſeat for the king was fill'd with cuſhions richly ſet with pearls and jewels. The nobility had tents about the court, finely lin'd with rich ſtuffs, in which they kept the new year's gift for the king, which every one is oblig'd to preſent him with. The next day, the ambaſſador went to court, and made his majeſty a preſent, excuſing himſelf for not having preſented it the day before, becauſe it was ſo ſmall, which the Mogul took very well.

But all this while he had gotten nothing done with regard to trade, which was the chief deſign of his embaſſy; and therefore *March*, 26, 1616, he went to court with ſome articles he had drawn up, and gotten tranſlated into their language, which having deliver'd to the king, they were refer'd by him to *Aſaph Chan*, his chief favourite. The ſubſtance of the articles was as follows.

Articles propos'd by Sir Thomas Roe *with regard to trade.*

1. That there be perpetual peace and friendſhip between the king of *Britain* and his *Indian* majeſty. 2. That the *Britiſh* ſubjects have free trade in all ports of the *Indies*, ſubject to the *Mogul*, which ſhall be publiſh'd three times in all towns to which any *Engliſh* ſhips ſhall come. 3. That no *Engliſh* merchants, nor their ſervants ſhall be ſearched, nor otherwiſe ill us'd. 4. That the preſents ſent by the king of *Britain* or the *India* company to the *Mogul*, ſhall not be open'd till they come to the *Engliſh* reſident at the *Indian* court. 5. That no *Engliſh* goods ſhall be detain'd above 24 hours at the cuſtom houſe, but ſeal'd and ſent to the *Engliſh* warehouſe, and be there open'd and rated in ſix days after. 6. That no governor in any ſea port in *India* ſhall ſeize any *Engliſh* goods, but upon payment at the price agreed upon; nor any taken away upon pretence of their being for the king's uſe. 7. That the merchants ſhall have liberty to ſell their goods to whom they pleaſe, or to ſend them to other factories, without paying new taxes. 8. That the *Engliſh* ſhall be allow'd to ſhip any goods bought in the *Mogul's* dominions, by paying only ſuch a tax as ſhall be agreed upon, at the port they ſhall be ſhip'd at. 9. That no goods bought at one place of the *Mogul's* country, and carried to another, ſhall be open'd, the *Engliſh* producing a certificate from the proper officers of the cuſtoms in the place where they were bought. 10. That no cuſtom be paid for proviſions for their maintenance in any port. 11. That no effects of *Engliſhmen* who die in the *Indies* ſhall be liable to confiſcation. 12. That the *Engliſh* merchants ſervants, whether *Indian* or *Engliſh* ſhall not be beaten, or otherwiſe ill us'd for doing their duty. 13. That any officer ſhall be puniſh'd for breaking any of the ſaid articles. 14. That the *Engliſh* ſhips ſhall give no diſturbance to the ſhips of any other nation trading to the *Mogul's* country, except that nation be in war with *England*. 15. That the *Engliſh* ſhall furniſh his *Indian* majeſty yearly with all rarities from *Europe* at reaſonable rates. 16. That the *Engliſh* ſhall pay three and an half *per Cent.* duty, for all goods reaſonably rated, and two *per Cent.* for pieces of eight. 17. That the *Engliſh* ſhall aſſiſt the *Mogul* againſt all enemies whatſoever. And laſtly, That the *Portugueſes* may come into this peace within ſix months, and, upon their refuſal, the *Engliſh* to be at liberty to uſe hoſtilities againſt them.

Theſe were the articles propos'd; but it was not ſo eaſy a matter to get them agreed to, conſidering the hands in which the adminiſtration was at that time.

The Mogul himſelf ſeem'd well enough inclin'd to the ambaſſador, and his buſineſs, but he was byaſs'd by ſome who were not ſo favourable. He was entirely manag'd by his favourite queen *Normahal*, who, altho' of mean extraction, had, by her beauty or wit, ſo charm'd him, that there were few things he could refuſe her. By her intereſt ſhe had rais'd her brother *Aſaph Chan* to be the firſt man about him, next to the prince *Coroon* his ſecond ſon, who was, at that time, at *Aſmire*. This prince was very ambitious and had gain'd the brother and ſiſter to engage in a plot to deſtroy the Mogul's eldeſt ſon prince *Coſorone*, who was a fine gentleman, that hated bribery and corruption, and was a great friend to Chriſtians, had a publick ſpirit, and was ador'd by his father's ſubjects; which laſt article, they ſecretly made uſe of to make the *Mogul* jealous of him, and prevail'd ſo far, as to get him remov'd from the court, and confin'd under the conduct of *Annarah*, one of the vaſſal princes; altho' the *Mogul* had no intention to hurt him, and therefore committed him to this gentleman, as one who, he knew, had an entire reſpect for him.

Coroon having gotten his brother thus out of the way (altho' not ſo far as he wiſh'd, and intended, if he could have accompliſh'd his deſire) having a mortal hatred to all Chriſtians, endeavour'd to retard the ambaſſador's buſineſs, if he could not ruin it, and therefore, by his intereſt with *Aſaph*, to whom it was refer'd, got it ſtav'd off from time to time: And Sir *Thomas*, knowing his proud imperious temper, did not think it prudent to fly in his face, and to diſoblige him, by complaining

plaining to the *Mogul* of *Aſaph Chan*'s having put him off with frivolous pretences; thinking it better to endeavour to gain them both to his intereſt, than to run the hazard of the queen's diſpleaſure. Beſides he ſaw that the prince was ſoon to be at a diſtance from the Mogul, having procur'd the command of the army againſt the *Decans*, to the great mortification of the ſoldiery, and the diſguſt of the better ſort of the people, who had no liking to *Coroon*. Sir *Thomas*, therefore, reſolv'd to have a little patience, and in the mean time to keep fair with the prince and *Aſaph*.

But he did not neglect to ſolicite the prince and the favourite in the affair of the articles, which they ſtill put off, telling him that the prince's order to the governors of *Surat* and the other maritime towns was ſufficient, and that ſhould be ſent forthwith. Altho' this did not ſatisfy the ambaſſador, becauſe he knew thoſe orders would be recall'd the next day, whereas the *Mogul* would be hardly brought to break articles publickly ſign'd; however, he made no noiſe; but being intent upon the advantage of his country, he wrote to *Mahobet Chan* at *Brampore*, begging of him to give orders to the officers under his command, at *Baroche*, in the kingdom of *Camboia*, which was under his government, that they ſhould receive the *Engliſh* and give them a houſe for a factory. This *Chan* not only readily complied with all that the ambaſſador deſir'd, but even went farther, and order'd the deputy-governor to ſuffer them to trade there cuſtom-free, an account of which he ſent to Sir *Thomas* in a kind letter, with offers of all the kindneſs in his power. He was in great favour with the king, but in no degree of friendſhip with *Coroon*.

Mahobet Chan gives orders to ſuffer the Engliſh *to trade at* Baroche *cuſtom free.*

In the mean time Sir *Thomas* went frequently to court, and had ſeveral converſations with the Mogul upon different ſubjects, and having a picture of a lady, which he told the Mogul was drawn for a friend of his, ſince dead, his majeſty lik'd the picture ſo well, that he beg'd it of him, and had it, altho' the ambaſſador was very unwilling to part with it, as having had a great affection for the perſon it repreſented. Soon after, the Mogul ſent for him, and ſhew'd him ſix pictures of the ſame ſize, deſiring him to tell which was his own; at which he was for ſome time puzzled, to the great ſatisfaction of his majeſty, and the no leſs ſurprize of the ambaſſador, to find ſo good painters in that country.

The vice roy of Patena *contracts a friendſhip with the ambaſſador.*

The ambaſſador got acquainted here with the vice-roy of *Patana*, near the *Ganges*, to whom he gives an excellent character. His name was *Gemaldin-Uſſin*, a man of 70 years of age. This gentleman ſhew'd him a book which he had compos'd, of all the memorable things in the reigns of three Moguls whom he had ſerv'd, and offer'd him a copy of it, if he could get it tranſlated. *What pity it was that Sir* Thomas *did not get it! Uſſin* told him that the government of every province paid a ſtated yearly revenue to the king. For inſtance, he ſaid, that he himſelf paid for *Patena* eleven *Lecks* of *Rupies*, which in *Engliſh* money amounts to five hundred thouſand crowns, reckoning a *Rupie* at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* but *Thevnot* makes it a crown. For the raiſing that ſum, the governor might tax the people at pleaſure; ſo that a covetous governor might ſoon make himſelf rich; for except the ſum agreed for, the Mogul could demand no more, and conſidering the extent of his dominions, it was a vaſt revenue. This vice roy was allowed pay for 5,000 horſe, and he was oblig'd only to keep 1,500, ſo that, without cheating the crown, ſince it was the allowed practice, he ſunk all the reſt in his own pocket. Beſides, he had 1,000 rupies a day, and ſome additional governments. Yet he told the ambaſſador, that he had not half ſo much as ſome other governors had, becauſe he never made more than what his maſter knew and approv'd of, whereas others pillag'd and haraſs'd the people, and were rather fleecers than rulers.

The ambaſſador was much delighted with this honeſt gentleman's converſation, for his good ſenſe and eaſy behaviour; but for nothing ſo much, as with his ſpeaking moſt reſpectfully of our *Bleſſed* SAVIOUR, and praiſing his moſt holy laws. Thus did this Mahometan ſhew himſelf a better Chriſtian than our fine gentlemen of this age do in a Chriſtian country.

This vice roy expreſs'd great regard for our SAVIOUR.

This worthy man was, on his part, ſo pleas'd with Sir *Thomas Roe*, that he borrowed one of the king's pleaſure houſes in the country, on purpoſe to entertain the ambaſſador; and having invited him over night to dine with him there the next day, went out at 12 o' clock at night to get things in order. Sir *Thomas* did not fail to go the next morning, where he had a moſt familiar converſation with the good old gentleman, who told him, that the Mogul had a great eſteem for him; but that it was great pity he had not an *Engliſh* interpreter, for thoſe he entertain'd were over-aw'd by *Aſaph Chan*, and his party, and therefore durſt not ſpeak what he put in their mouths, if they apprehended that it would be diſagreeable to the prince *Coroon* or *Aſaph*.

When dinner was ſerv'd, *Uſſin* went and ſate down by ſome of his own company, but the ambaſſador telling him, that he had promis'd to eat bread and ſalt

with

with him, and that he ſhould have no pleaſure in eating the beſt things provided, without his company, the honeſt old gentleman ſate himſelf down by him, altho' it was not uſual in that country, and bore him company all the time of dinner. After their repaſt was over, the ambaſſador offer'd to go; but the vice-roy told him, he had invited him to eat with him, and as yet they had only had a collation of fruit; he therefore deſir'd he would ſtay ſupper, which Sir *Thomas* readily agreed to.

Whilſt the ambaſſador was with him, one of the *Decan* kings, who was in the Mogul's intereſt came to viſit him, to whom he ſhewed great civility, but not ſo much reſpect as he did to Sir *Thomas*. But when ſupper was ſerv'd, he beg'd to be excus'd from ſitting with him, becauſe that king would take it amiſs if he did not give him his company at ſupper, according to the cuſtom of the country: So that Sir *Thomas* and his chaplain ſate by themſelves at one table, and the vice-roy with his gueſts of his own religion at another. The ſupper conſiſted of variety of diſhes of boil'd, roaſted, and broil'd fleſh, with ſeveral ſorts of ſallads, and the attendance very genteel.

Before the ambaſſador went away, *Uſſin* deſir'd him to accept of a ſmall preſent of five caſes of ſugar-candy, done up with muſk, and a loaf of ſugar of 50 *l.* weight, telling him that he hop'd he would not take it amiſs if he ſent him a hundred ſuch loaves, which were made in his government. He told him likewiſe, that if the king of *Britain*, his maſter, would not be affronted at his preſumption of ſending a ſmall preſent to him, in teſtimony of his reſpect, he would ſend a gentleman along with him to carry it, and to ſee their country; and the ambaſſador making ſuch a civil anſwer as ſuch a propoſal deſerv'd, the vice-roy ask'd a gentleman of his company, if he would undertake the voyage, which he readily accepting, the vice-roy preſented him to Sir *Thomas*, who as readily told him he ſhould be welcome. But what accident diſappointed this concert, we are not told. It being now late, the ambaſſador took his leave of the vice-roy and return'd to the city.

At his next viſit to the king, his majeſty call'd to ſome of his women, as ſoon as Sir *Thomas* appear'd; and one of them having brought his picture, the Mogul gave it to *Aſaph Chan*, who deliver'd it to the ambaſſador, putting it about his neck; for which favour he making a low bow to his majeſty, ſome officers call'd out *Size Da*, that is, that he ſhould knock his bare head againſt the ground; but the Mogul cried no, no, in the *Perſian* language; ſo that Sir *Thomas* was always excus'd from any ſervile ceremonies practic'd in that country.

His friend *Gemaldin Uſſin*, being made governor of *Syndu*, brought two of his thirty ſons to dine with the ambaſſador, but would not eat of any *Engliſh* diſhes, but ſuch as were dreſs'd by a *Moor* cook, tho' he deſir'd the ambaſſador to ſend ſome pies to his houſe, telling him he would dine upon them in private. At his going away, he accepted of a preſent which was made him according to cuſtom.

Sir *Thomas* had been ſeven months at *Aſmere*, without being able to get any thing material done with regard to trade. The prince *Coroon*, who was governor of *Surat*, ſtill put him off with delays; and beſides the agreement between that prince and *Aſaph Chan* as to their tempers, he had bound that miniſter more firmly to his intereſt, by marrying his daughter; ſo that the ambaſſador had a very difficult game to play, for all the intereſt he had with the king himſelf. And he was very ſenſible of the truth of his friend *Uſſin*'s obſervation, that his interpreter durſt not ſpeak his mind to the *Mogul*, for he took notice that *Aſaph* took care to be over againſt the interpreter, and frequently made ſigns to him, as he ſpake to the king.

But the ambaſſador being weary of this delay, and expecting ſhips daily from *England* to *Surat*, he preſs'd the prince and the miniſter to diſpatch the affair of the articles, threatning to take his leave of the king, and be gone, unleſs they were ſign'd. The miniſter durſt not carry the trick ſo far as to let the Mogul into the truth of the matter, which he muſt have done, had the ambaſſador taken his leave; he therefore adviſ'd the prince to give him a *Firman*, or order to the deputy governor of *Surat* for liberty of trade, but, there having been ſome doubtful expreſſions in it, the ambaſſador ſent it back; and the prince's ſecretary, who was an honeſt man, and hated bribes, (a thing very rare in that country) came to Sir *Thomas*, and adviſ'd him to take it as it was, rather than to diſguſt his maſter by refuſing it, promiſing to interpret thoſe exceptionable clauſes, by a letter of his own, to the advantage of the *Engliſh* factory, and he was as good as his word.

The ambaſſador procures the prince's order for liberty of trade at Surat.

The 2d of *September* being the king's birth-day, Sir *Thomas* was invited, by his majeſty's order, to come to the ſolemnity of the weighing the *Mogul*, which is done by putting him in one ſcale, and in the other, jewels, gold, ſilver, ſilk ſtuffs, cloth of gold and ſilver, butter, rice, fruit, and other goods, of every thing a part. And the ambaſſador ſays, that he never ſaw ſo much riches in his life as were that day diſplay'd about the

The Mogul's birth day.

Mogul and his elephants, which were all brought to be review'd by him. It ſeems the king of *Achen*, mention'd in the preceding chapter, was not the only prince who dignified his elephants; for the ambaſſador tells us, that the largeſt of the Mogul's elephants had the title of lords, and came in great ſtate to the review. *Lord elephants.* Every lord elephant had chains, bells, and furniture all gold and ſilver, with banners and flags flying about them, and each of them was attended by eight or ten elephants of meaner rank, in trappings of gold, ſilver, and ſilk. Of theſe lords there were twelve, who appear'd in as many companies, and all bow'd as they came before the king. The firſt lord elephant was very large and beautiful, and had all the plates on his head and breaſt ſet with rubies and emeralds. Sir *Thomas Roe* ſays, this was the fineſt ſhew of beaſts that he ever ſaw.

After the review, they return'd to the palace, where was an entertainment, and all the great men drank heartily. The king ask'd the ambaſſador if he would drink to his health, who readily conſented, and the king calling for a gold cup full of mix'd wine, drank firſt himſelf, and ordering to fill it up, ſent it to Sir *Thomas* with a meſſage, that he ſhould drink it off four or five times to his health, and take the cup and cover for an acknowledgment of the favour. Sir *Thomas* wiſhing his majeſty much health and proſperity, and that the ſame ceremony might be renew'd, in his preſence, a hundred years, drank a little; but finding the wine prodigious ſtrong, ſo that it made him ſneeze, at which the king laugh'd, he beg'd to be excus'd from drinking it off; and the king putting ſome raiſins, almonds, and ſliced lemons, upon a gold plate, ſent them to him, with a meſſage that he ſhould eat and drink what he pleas'd, and not be deſir'd to exceed. After the feaſt was over, the cup with its cover and a gold frame to ſet it upon, *The king gives Sir Thomas a rich preſent.* were brought to Sir *Thomas*, who made a low reverence to his majeſty, and the king, as formerly, would not let him be preſt to make the *Size Da*. The cup was of gold, ſet round with ſmall rubies, and turky ſtones, very curiouſly placed: The cover was ſet with large rubies, emeralds, and turky ſtones, as was the frame; in all together there were 2000 ſtones, and the gold weigh'd 20 ounces. Then the king threw about to thoſe who ſtood below two large diſhes full of rupies, and among the nobles as much gold and ſilver as two diſhes could hold, made in the ſhape of almonds, but hollow, which they all ſcrambled for, except the prince and Sir *Thomas*, who did not ſtir.

But now the *Decan* war became all the talk, and for the better underſtanding of ſome part of what relates to it, we muſt go back to the *Mogul's* father *Ezbar Sha*. That prince being engag'd in war *A ſhort account of the Mogul's coming to the throne* with the *Decans*, ſouthward from *Surat*, his ſon, who was indeed heir to the crown, thinking his father held it too long, uſurp'd the throne before his time, and having rais'd forces at *Agra*, got himſelf proclaim'd king. This ſo alarm'd the old king, that he left the *Decan* expedition, and return'd with his army ſo ſuddenly, that his rebel ſon was not in a condition to oppoſe him; ſo that *Ezbar* having put it to his choice either to ſubmit himſelf to his mercy, or to fight his army, the ſon, being well appriz'd of the old king's courage and skill in war, choſe the firſt, and ſubmitted to his father, who having kept him a priſoner ſome time, at laſt releas'd him.

Soon after *Ezbar Sha* dying, left a will, by which he put his ſon by the throne, and left it to his grandſon *Coſorone*, the eldeſt ſon of him whom he had diſinherited. But the father, being now at his liberty, taking no notice of the will of *Ezbar*, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and being jealous of the affection which the whole kingdom bore to *Coſorone*, put him in cuſtody, as we obſerv'd before. His ſecond ſon *Perviſe* was employed in the *Decan* war; but *Chan Channa*, who was general of the army, *The war with Decan.* having a correſpondence with the enemy, and being brib'd by the king of *Decan*, the war went on heavily; ſo that the Mogul recall'd his ſon *Perviſe*, together with the general. *Perviſe* obey'd, and immediately left the army; but *Chan Channa* refus'd to return, and having great intereſt in the army, he wrote to the king, that he could not truſt the forces in an enemy's country, without an head, and therefore adviſ'd him to leave them under his command, or if he would ſend any of his ſons to command him, he deſir'd that it might be his fourth ſon, who was but fifteen years old; telling him plainly, that if he ſent prince *Coroon*, he would not ſubmit to him, nor would the army obey him.

This intelligence ſtartled *Coroon* and his party; but the powerful intereſt of queen *Normahal* ſet all to rights. Prince *The plots of the prince Coroon and his party.* *Perviſe* being upon his road to *Aſmire*, where the cabal were very unwilling he ſhould appear, the queen us'd all her charms to prevail with the king to ſtop his journey; and altho' he beg'd of her with tears to ſuffer him to ſee him, ſhe would not conſent to it, and ſhe never left him till ſhe procur'd an order for his immediate retiring to the government of *Bengale*: And this order was ſo poſitive, that, altho' he was within a few leagues of

of *Aſmire* when he receiv'd it, he durſt not venture to proceed, but ſtop'd where he was, and *Aſaph Chan* took care to ſuppreſs any meſſage he ſent to the king, and ſent him orders in the king's name to be gone forthwith, which he obey'd.

This point thus gain'd, the next ſtep was to get *Coſorone* into their hands, believing that if they could make away with him, they ſhould have little ſtruggle with *Perviſe* for the throne. To bring this matter to bear, they took an opportunity, when the king was drunk, which often happen'd, and ſo wreſted an order from him to the prince's keeper, to deliver him to prince *Coroon*: But *Raia Annara* believing that the order had been ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd, told the party that was ſent to bring the prince away, that he had all regard for prince *Coroon*, but as he had receiv'd his brother from the king himſelf, he could not deliver him to any other; and he would die at the door of his apartment before any mortal except the king ſhould force him from him. The next day he told the king what had happen'd, who approv'd of the *Raia*'s conduct, but bade him take no notice of his having told the matter to him, but to obſerve their behaviour.

In the mean time *Chan Channa*'s letter diſturb'd both the king and the prince, but in different ways. The king judging of what ill conſequence a revolt of ſuch an experienc'd general, at the head of a numerous army might be, was reſolv'd to pardon him, and ſtrike up a peace with the *Decans*. But the prince oppos'd this reſolution with his intereſt, and puſh'd on his expedition to *Decan* with all ſpeed. And when the *Decans* of themſelves ſent an embaſſy to *Aſmire*, the prince got them to be refer'd to him for an anſwer, pretending to his father that it would be more for their honour to conclude a peace when he was at the head of the army, when it would appear to be his act, than to do it at *Aſmere*, which would be interpreted as the act of *Chan Channa*. To bring his father into his meaſures, he employ'd *Normahal* and *Aſaph Chan*, and what by flattery, and what by teazing, he carried his point, and the *Decan* ambaſſadors were refer'd to him.

But he could not think of leaving his elder brother in *Annarah*'s hands behind him, and therefore left no ſtone unturn'd to get him into the power of *Aſaph*, which, at laſt, by the never failing charms of *Normahal*, he accompliſh'd, and the king gave orders by word of mouth to the *Raia* to withdraw his people from about *Coſorone*, and a new guard was appointed by the *Chan* to attend him. Thus *Coroon* being at eaſe, prepar'd for his march. But this delivering of the prince into the hands of his enemies made a terrible noiſe in the palace and city. His mother and ſiſters openly exclaim'd againſt the king, and there wanted not ſome who ſaid he had ſign'd his own death's warrant by giving up the prince; for as his enemies knew that they muſt incur his majeſty's diſpleaſure, and conſequently be in danger of puniſhment, if they attempted to murder the prince whilſt his father was alive, they would not fail to ſecure themſelves by firſt murdering the father, and then the ſon.

The king took pains to quiet this tumult, proteſting that he never would forgive any attempt upon his eldeſt ſon's life, and aſſur'd his mother, that no body durſt be ſo fool hardy. And having been inform'd that *Aſaph Chan* had forced into that prince's chamber in an irreverent manner, he ſent for him, and having ask'd, when he ſaw his charge? he anſwer'd, two days ago. The king ask'd again, with a countenance that made the *Chan* look pale, after what manner he had accoſted him? the other replied, that the prince having refuſed to give him entrance, he thought it was his buſineſs to ſee that nothing was amiſs in his apartment, and therefore had forced his way in, without paying any reverence to him. It was ſuppos'd, he had done ſo to provoke the prince to uſe him ill, that he might have a pretence to get his ruffians to murder him, or to pretend to the king, that he had attempted an eſcape. But as ſoon as *Aſaph* had made this confeſſion, of having made no reverence, the *Mogul* told him in a furious tone, that he would let him know that *Coſorone* was his lawful prince, and his own heir, and if he heard that he durſt approach him, for the future, in a manner unbecoming that character, he would make his ſon ſet his foot upon his neck, and ſpurn him to death.

The Mogul threatens Aſaph Chan *for his diſreſpect to the prince*

The firſt of *November* prince *Coroon* took leave of the king, to go to the army. The king embraced him with much affection, gave him a ſword in a ſcabbard of gold ſet with ſtones, valued at 100,000 rupies, with a dagger valued at 40,000; an elephant, and a couple of horſes richly capariſon'd, and a new coach, made after the model of that which Sir *Thomas Roe* had preſented from K. *James*. The prince went in the coach to his tents, about four miles off, the *Engliſh* coachman driving him, to whom he gave a reward of 100 rupies.

Coroon *goes to his tents.*

But the king would not truſt the *Decan* war to *Coroon*'s ſole conduct, after the intimation given him by *Chan Channa*, and therefore in a day or two after his departure, the royal *Leskar*, or tents, being

The prince Coſorone deliver'd to Aſaph Chan.

And two days after the king sets out to a different camp.

being all in readineſs, the Mogul ſet out with a moſt ſplendid equipage.

The ambaſſador ſays the *Leskar* makes the moſt beautiful appearance in the world. And indeed it may well be imagin'd to be a fine ſight, when in the ſpace of four hours, a wild common produces, as it were by enchantment, a city of about 20 miles in compaſs, with regular ſtreets, and the royal pavilions in the centre, with a large void, quite round, almoſt a muſquet ſhot broad, with the dazling luſtre of gold and jewels, appearing round about the king's tents, which make a little town of themſelves, there being the ſame conveniency there for his women and ſervants, as in his palaces. The tents of the nobility were likewiſe very richly adorn'd with gold and precious ſtones, ſo that to look from any eminence, upon the *Leskar*, muſt be a delightful proſpect.

Before the king left *Aſmere*, *Coſorone*'s mother had told him, that an attempt had beeen made to murder that prince, which had ſucceeded if one of his ſervants had not guarded the door of his apartment, and refus'd entrance to the ruffians. This intelligence, or ſome other reaſon, made him, at his leaving the place, call at the door of the houſe where the prince was kept, and giving orders for him to come to him, he appear'd with a ſword and buckler, having his beard down to his girdle, which was a token of his being out of favour. As ſoon as he had done reverence to the king, he order'd him to mount an elephant provided for him, and made 1000 rupies be given him to throw among the people. There were vaſt acclamations among the people at his appearing next to the king's coach, and *Aſaph Chan* walk'd a-foot, with others of the nobility.

The king takes Coſorone out of priſon.

But altho' *Coroon* had believ'd before he march'd, that the news of his approach with a new army to the frontiers of *Decan*, would ſtrike a terror into the enemy, and bring *Chan Channa* to ſubmit to him, he found himſelf diſappointed in both. He had no meſſage of civility or obedience from the general, and the *Decans* had march'd an army to fight him. This ſtartled him ſufficiently, and it now appear'd by his behaviour, that there is a great difference between ſtrutting and fighting battles in a warm palace, as *Coroon* had couragiouſly done, and encountering an enemy in the field. Nor were thoſe who had adviſ'd the *Mogul*'s march any better inclin'd to fighting, and therefore now adviſ'd him to make a hunting match of it, and turn aſide to *Agra*.

News from Decan damps Coroon's courage.

Sir Thomas Roe attended the king in this progreſs.

Sir *Thomas Roe* had attended his majeſty in this expedition, altho' with great diffioulty, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of horſes, and other beaſts for carriage, as may be ſuppos'd when two *Leskars* ſet out at once. There was alſo an ambaſſador from the king of *Perſia* in the retinue, who, altho' he had poorly ſubmitted to the *Size Da*, and other ſervile compliances, had not half the reſpect ſhew'd him that the *Engliſh* ambaſſador had, for all the outward ſplendour of his equipage, which Sir *Thomas* owns, made him aſham'd of his own; for compar'd either with that of the *Perſian*, or the *Indian* nobility, it was ſo mean, that he believes the Mogul's wives, who peep'd through their grates to gaze at him, laugh'd at his poor appearance, whilſt he admir'd the ſplendour of theirs.

But news was brought to Sir *Thomas*, that four *Engliſh* ſhips having arriv'd at *Swally* bay, ſeveral packs of goods, in which were the preſents deſign'd for the court, had been ſent off ſeal'd according to his order, and the king's allowance, without having been ſeen at the cuſtom houſe; but that the prince *Coroon* had commanded them to be ſent to him, as governor of *Surat*, and that he had open'd them all. This, being contrary to the agreement before the prince's departure, Sir *Thomas* took as an affront, and therefore went to complain of it to the king; but his majeſty having heard of it before, prevented him, telling him, he knew he was come to complain, but he deſir'd him to be eaſy, for his ſon durſt not open them, and he would that moment ſend for them; which he accordingly did. But when the goods arriv'd, the king had not patience to ſtay till Sir *Thomas* ſhould preſent him with what was deſign'd for him, but order'd them to be open'd, and took what he lik'd, which the ambaſſador reſenting as an affront done to his maſter the king of *Britain*, the Mogul made many apologies for what he had done, and made many large promiſes of doing all that he ſhould deſire.

He complains of prince Coroon.

In this expedition the ambaſſador ſaw prince *Coſorone* twice by chance, and one of the times had a converſation with him. But he heard afterwards, that the Mogul having heard that *Coroon* had a deſign upon the prince his brother's life, ſent for him, and *Coſorone* had liberty to go where he pleas'd, which Sir *Thomas* thought a good ſign, becauſe he had ſo good an opinion of that prince, that if ever he ſucceeded to the throne, he was perſuaded, the *Engliſh* would reap great advantage by it; for it was every one's character of him, that he lov'd juſtice, and deſpis'd the poor mercenary temper of his family in taking preſents from every one, and us'd to ſay, that princes ought to give and not receive gifts. Beſides he was fond of Chriſtians, and

A ſhort character of prince Coſorone.

ſome

ſome ſaid of their PRINCIPLES too.

But Sir *Thomas Roe* having purſu'd in vain, for ſo many months, the ſettling the factory at *Surat* and *Bengal*, and having trudg'd about after the king, ſometimes in a good country, and ſometimes over mountains and marſhes, and with great inconveniency, at laſt he began to be tir'd, and therefore, finding that notwithſtanding his intereſt with the king, the prince *Coroon* and *Aſaph Chan*'s party got the better of him by the queen's intereſt, he reſolv'd to make one puſh for gaining *Aſaph*, who, he ſaw, was the ſoul of the party, and if that fail'd, he would take his leave, and dance no more attendance, nor truſt to a prince who contradicted the one day the orders he had given another. The way he took was this.

He found *Aſaph Chan* was prodigiouſly fond of pearls, for he had often ask'd about them, and Sir *Thomas* having a quantity, and one very large one, he was reſolv'd to conceal thoſe from the king and prince, and beſtow them upon the *Chan*. When therefore he made up an inventory of the goods come in the four ſhips, he ſaid nothing of the pearls, but told *Aſaph* in a ſecret, that he had them, and that he deſign'd them for him and the queen his ſiſter; for he knew if their expectation of the pearls made them his friends, the fear of diſobliging the king and prince would make them conceal their having gotten them. The plot took as he deſign'd it; *Aſaph* brought his ſiſter, and they two together manag'd the prince; for the ambaſſador gives ſhrewd hints, that *Normahal*'s charms had as much power over the ſon as over the father. However that was, Sir *Thomas* found no more oppoſition, but got his affairs done to his mind, and having got his articles ſign'd and ſeal'd, after the king and prince had pitch'd upon what goods they would take, the nobility run upon the reſt; ſo that if they had had twice as many, they had ſold them; and which was a great advantage to the company, they paid no cuſtom, nor were at the expence of landing them, for they were all bought aboard, and carried away by the buyers, and the prince and *Aſaph Chan* oblig'd their debtors to pay them.

Sir Thomas gets Normahal and Aſaph Chan over to his intereſt.

Settles the factory, and ſells all their goods.

That this was the iſſue of this lucky thought of the pearl is plain from the letter which the Mogul wrote to K. *James*. (for here the ambaſſador's journal breaks off) The letter is as follows.

The Mogul's letter to K. James

Unto a king rightly deſcended from his anceſtors, bred in military affairs, and cloth'd with honour and juſtice; a commander worthy of all command, ſtrong and conſtant in religion, which the great prophet Chriſt *did teach. King* James, *whoſe love has bred ſuch impreſſion in my thoughts, as ſhall never be forgotten, but as the ſmell of amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whoſe beauty and odours are ſtill encreaſing; ſo be aſſur'd my love ſhall grow and encreaſe with yours.*

" YOUR letter, which you ſent me, " in behalf of your merchants, I " have receiv'd, whereby I reſt ſatisfy'd " in your tender love towards me, and " deſire you not to take it ill, for not having writ unto you heretofore: For " this my preſent letter I ſend to renew " our loves, and herewith do certify you, " that I have ſent forth my *Firmans*, " through all my countries, to this effect, that if any *Engliſh* ſhips or merchants ſhall arrive in any of my ports, " my people ſhall permit and ſuffer them " to do what they will, freely, in their " merchandizing cauſes, aiding and aſſiſting them, in all occaſions of injuries " that ſhall be offer'd them, and that " the leaſt cauſe of diſcourteſy be not " done unto them: As alſo, that they be as " free, and freer than my own people. " And as now, and formerly, I have received from you, diverſe tokens of " your love; ſo I deſire your mindfulneſs " of me, by ſome novelties from your " country, as an argument of friendſhip " between us: For, ſuch is the cuſtom " of princes here.

" As for your merchants here, I have " given expreſs orders through all my " country, to ſuffer them to buy, ſell, " tranſport, and carry away, at their pleaſures, without the let, or hindrance " of any perſon whatſoever, all ſuch " goods and merchandize, or other " things as they ſhall deſire to buy: " And let this my letter as fully ſatisfy " you, in the deſir'd peace and love, as " if my own ſon had been the meſſenger, " to ratify the ſame. And if any, in my " country, not fearing GOD, nor obeying their *King*, or any other, void of " religion, ſhould endeavour, or be an " inſtrument, to break this league of " friendſhip, I would ſend my ſon, *Sultan Coroon*, a ſoldier approv'd in the " wars, to cut him off; that no obſtacle " may hinder the continuance and increaſing of our affections. "

This letter was deliver'd to Sir *Thomas Roe*, his majeſty's ambaſſador at the Mogul's court, but becauſe there was ſome difficulty about ſealing it, whether at the top or bottom, it was not ſeal'd at all. The ſcruple they had was, that

if the ſeal ſhould have been put at the top of the letter, the king of *Britain* might have thought it an affront; and if at the bottom, it might ſeem to be a leſſening of the *Mogul*. But to remedy this defect, there was a counterpart of his *Indian* majeſty's ſeal, cut in ſilver, deliver'd to the ambaſſador, with the letter, which the king his maſter was to put where he thought fit. The ſeal conſisted of eight circles, round a large circle; the large one in the middle contain'd the Mogul's own name, viz. *Abu Almazaphar Nur din Gehangir Padza Gazi*; the other eight circles, round the great one, contain'd the names of his ſeven anceſtors, from *Tamerlane*, whoſe name was the uppermoſt of all, and made the eighth, viz. *Ebn Amir Temur Saheb Quran*.

The Mogul's ſeal

This letter and ſeal Sir *Thomas Roe* brough to *England*, which is all the further account we have of his embaſſy, the reſt of his journal not having been publiſh'd. But there having been ſeveral letters, and obſervations of his and his chaplain Mr. *Terry's*, collected by Mr. *Purchas* and others, giving an account of the *Mogul's* country, as it was at that time, we ſhall here give an abſtract of them, before we proceed to other parts of *Aſia*.

SECT. II.

A brief deſcription of Indoſtan, *or the* Great Mogul's *Country, by Sir* Thomas Roe, *Mr.* Terry *his chaplain, and others who were there about the ſame time.*

THE extent of the *Mogul's* country, which is likewiſe call'd *Indoſtan*, was not ſo large in the beginning of the XVIIth century, about 120 years ago, as it has been ſince, by the ſeveral kingdoms or provinces conquered ſince that time. But as we are to give the deſcription of it from Sir *Thomas Roe*, and his cotemporaries, we ſhall conſider it as it was then, and leave the preſent ſtate of it to another place.

The extent of Indoſtan.

It was, in thoſe days reckon'd near 2000 miles, from north eaſt to ſouth weſt, but by our *Engliſh* Atlas from *Gor* to *Surat* it is about 1320 miles. But not to meaſure by the diagonal line, its length from ſouth to north is about 1200 miles, for it lies between 20 degrees and 40 n. latitude, beginning from *Surat*, and from thence drawing a line parallel to the tropic, and, proceeding from thence to latitude 40, altho' *Tartary*, which bounds *Indoſtan* in the north comes within that degree towards the weſt end of it. Its breadth from eaſt to weſt is much the ſame in our maps, altho' by Mr. *Terry's* deſcription, wherein he takes the extent of the country upon report, it is call'd 1500. It is bounded, as we have ſaid, on the north by *Independent Tartary*, on the weſt by *Perſia* and the gulf of *Ormus*, on the ſouth by *Decan Golconda* and the bay of *Bengale*, and on the eaſt a part of *Tartary* and the *India* beyond the *Ganges*, which divide the Mogul's dominions from *China*. An extent of country ſo large, that no prince in *Europe* poſſeſſes half ſo much, except the *Ruſſian* monarch, but conſidering the difference between their countries, his is not to be nam'd with the *Mogul's*, which might well content the ambition of a reaſonable man, *if a curſed humour of* USURPING *kingdoms which do not belong to them, would let princes be ſatisfied with what nature and providence at firſt cut out for them, and leave kingdoms, which are none of their own, to the true proprietors.*

The diviſion of Indoſtan *into* 37 *provinces.*

This large empire, was, at the time of Sir *Thomas Roe's* being there, divided into XXXVII large provinces, which had been formerly diſtinct kingdoms, but had been long before that ſubjected to the *Great Mogul*, altho' indeed, ſome of them, every now and then, rebell'd, and gave the monarch not a little trouble to keep them in order. The ſeveral provinces were then as follows.

1. Candahar.

Candahar, a large province in the northweſt, bordering upon *Perſia* (and long diſputed between the *Sophi* of *Perſia* and the *Mogul*, and now ſubject to the former.) It has a city of the ſame name, a place well known for trade.

2. Cabul.

Cabul is next to it northward, and borders upon *Tartary*. By the ſide of it runs the river *Nilob*, and empties itſelf into the great river *Indus*, which gives the name of *India* to the whole country.

3. Attock

Attock lies north eaſt from *Cabul*, and runs up to *Tartary* in a direct line northward, and is divided from *Cabul* by the *Nilob*.

4. Chimire.

Caſhemire or *Kimire* lies upon the confines of *Tartary*, eaſt of *Attock*, in a mountainous ground.

5. Bankitch.

Bankitch lies to the ſouth, and borders upon *Attock* and *Chimire*.

6. Nagracut, *famous for* Matta's *temple.*

Nagracut, farther ſouth eaſt, is famous for a magnificent temple of the idol *Matta*. The cieling and pavement of it were of pure ſilver; and great numbers of poor deluded mortals went in devotion to it of old; and many of them in a mad zeal cut out their tongues and offer'd them to the idol.

7. Siba.

Siba borders upon *Nagracut*, and is water'd by the famous river *Ganges* which runs thro' this province, and in a long ſouth eaſt courſe, enters the ſea at the upper end of the gulf of *Bengal*. To the water of that river the *Indians* aſcribe

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a certain divinity, which makes it viſited from all parts.

8. Gor. *Gor* is the next province to that, an uneven hilly country, where the river *Serſilly* or *Perſili* takes its riſe, and after a courſe thro' a conſiderable tract of land, falls into the *Ganges* at *Halaba*.

9. Pitan. *Pitan* is the next province ſouthward, and is water'd by the *Canda*, which empties itſelf into the *Ganges*.

10. Kanduana. *Kanduana*, whoſe chief city is *Karhakatenka*, is ſeparated from *Pitan* by the river *Perſilis*. Theſe three laſt mentioned are the north eaſt limits of the Mogul's empire.

11. Patna *Patna* lies ſouth of theſe laſt nam'd, upon the eaſt ſide of the *Ganges*, and is a rich fertile country.

12. Jeſuat *Jeſuat* lies eaſtward of *Patna*, being divided from it by the *Gadet* river, which falls into the *Ganges*, latitude 25.

13. Mevat. *Mevat* lies farther up the *Ganges*, and is bounded on the weſt by it, and is a rough mountainous country.

14. Udeſſa. *Udeſſa* is between *Jeſuat* and the mouth of *Ganges*. Its capital is *Jekanat*, and is the moſt eaſterly province of the empire.

15. Bengal. *Bengal*, ſo well known to the *Europeans*, lies on both ſides of the *Ganges*, and gives name not only to the province and city, but to the ſea where the river empties itſelf. It is a large kingdom, being ſaid to be above 700 miles from eaſt to weſt, and 480 from north to ſouth; * but I do not ſee how that can agree with the geography of the whole dominion, and the diſtribution of the other provinces. For if *Bengal* were 700 miles in breadth, and 480 in length, the Great Mogul's dominion muſt either be vaſtly larger than they are allowed to be, or the other kingdoms muſt be much ſmaller than they are repreſented in our maps. But however the bounds of it may be ſtretch'd, it is allow'd, by all authors who have written of it, to be a fine country, and the *Europeans* of different countries have made good profit of the trade of it.

* Engliſh Atlas, p. 200.

16. Hajacan. *Hajacan* lies next to *Candahar*, on the weſt ſide of the Mogul's country, and is bounded by the river *Indus* on the eaſt, and *Perſia* on the weſt. The inhabitants are a brave warlike people.

17. Multan. *Multan* is ſouth of *Hajacan*, upon the ſame river, and the people of this province are reckon'd the beſt bowmen in the empire. Their bows are of horn, and their arrows of canes.

18. Buckar. *Buckar* joins to *Multan*, farther down the river, on both ſides of it. The capital of which province is *Suckar*, thro' which the *Indus* flows.

19. Tatta *Tatta* is the next province ſouthward, where the great river branching out, forms many little iſlands, and renders this province very fertile, and enters the ſea in different channels.

20. Soret. *Soret* lies upon the banks of the *Padder*; its capital, *Janagar*; this province is but ſmall, but very fruitful.

21. Jeſſulmere. *Jeſſulmere* lies eaſterly between *Tatta*, *Buckar*, and *Soret*.

22. Guzarat. *Guzarat* is a large province, and has many goodly cities and towns belonging to it. The chief of which are, *Amadavar*, *Cambaia*, *Brodera*, *Baroch*, and *Surat*; this laſt, well known to our *Engliſh* traders, from their firſt acquaintance with the *Indian* ocean.

Theſe are the provinces which bound this mighty empire, on the eaſt, north, and weſt, which I have endeavour'd to range, as near as I could, in the order in which they lie in our maps, altho' I found great difficulty in it, from the diſagreement of the maps in the *Engliſh* Atlas, not only with the order in which theſe provinces are placed in the authors I collect from, but indeed with the other maps publiſh'd by the ſame authors. *Faults in the maps.* Thus, for inſtance, the *Mogul*'s dominion in the map of *Aſia* has a quite different poſition from what it has in the map of *India* and *China*: In the firſt map, *Gor* is in latitude 40, and is the moſt northern province under the obedience of that monarch; and *Cabul* is about the 33d degree; ſo that the land of *Indoſtan* runs further north by five degrees on the eaſt ſide than on the weſt towards *Perſia*: Whereas in the other map, *Gor* is in 32 deg. and the country runs up ſtill farther northward towards the weſt; inſomuch that *Cabul* is 5 degrees more northerly than *Gor*.

But there are yet 15 provinces remaining, which may be call'd the inland provinces or kingdoms. To begin then with the north weſt, as before.

23. Penia *Penia*, of which *Lahor* is the metropolis, lies among the five rivers which feed the *Indus* from the north; it is to the eaſtward of *Cabul*, upon the road to *Agra*.

24. Dehli *Dehli* is ſoutheaſt from *Penia* upon the ſame road, along the river *Gemini*, which runs thro' that province in a ſouth courſe, and afterwards eaſtward till it empties itſelf in the *Ganges*. The metropolis, of the ſame name, was once a famous and a royal city; and altho' it was in ruins when our ambaſſador was at the Mogul's court, yet, by the laws of the country, the Mogul cannot wear his crown, till he has firſt put it on at *Dehli*. Here was a ſtately marble pillar, which, it is ſaid, Mr. *Coryate* ſaw, with an old *Greek* inſcription, much defaced, which he believ'd to have been erected in memory of *Alexander*'s victory over *Porus*.

Agra,

25. Agra. *Agra*, the royal ſeat of the kings, lies ſouthward of *Dehli*, by the ſide of the river *Gemini*, which enters the *Ganges* at *Halabas*, eaſt of *Agra*. There is a famous road from *Agra* to *Dehli*, and from thence to *Lahor*, about 500 miles long, all planted with trees on each ſide, and a turret at every *Coſs* or half league, with inns at convenient diſtances, for the conveniency of travellers.

26. Aſmire. *Bandore* or *Aſmire* lies weſt of *Agra*. This is the province, and *Aſmire* the city where the Mogul reſided when Sir *Thomas Roe* was at his court.

7. Narvar. *Narvar* is ſouth of *Agra*; its capital is *Gehud*, upon a fine river which runs into the *Ganges*.

28. Malua. *Malua* is ſouth of the laſt mention'd, a fruitful province, and its capital *Rantipore*, not far from the ſame river, but it is not named.

29. Chitor. *Chitor* lies to the weſt of *Malua*, and has a city of the ſame name, mention'd in our laſt ſection, as having been one of *Porus*'s royal manſions.

30. Chandis. *Chandis*, call'd in the Atlas *Candich*, is ſouth of *Chitor*, and eaſt of *Surat*, or *Swally* bay. Its chief town is *Brampore* formerly mention'd in the progreſs Mr. *Hawkins* made to *Agra*.

31. Berar *Berar* lies upon a parallel with *Chandis*, to the eaſt; and with it and *Bengal*, were in the beginning of the laſt century the bounds of the Mogul's dominion towards the ſouth.

32. Sanbat. *Sanbat* lies north weſt from *Bengal*, upon the weſt ſide of the *Ganges*, being much in the ſame latitude with *Aſmire*. To the north of it is

33. Bacar *Bacar*, upon the ſame river, to the eaſt of *Dehli*, to which it joins.

34. Jamba. *Jamba* is the next farther north, on the ſame ſide of the *Ganges*, and joins with *Penia*.

35. Karares. *Karares* lies towards *Tartary*, a mountainous province, reaching as far as mount *Caucaſus*.

36. Guallior. *Guallior* lies next to *Agra*, ſouth eaſt, and is the place where the Mogul keeps a vaſt treaſure of gold and ſilver, and in the ſame caſtle he confines ſtate priſoners.

37. Jangapore. *Jangapore* lies to the north weſt of *Dehli*, and makes the 37th province of this prodigious empire.

The air. It may be expected that in a country of ſuch a large extent, there muſt be great difference of air, according to the variety of climate, between the latitude of 20 and 40 degrees. The ſouthern parts, ſuch as *Guzarat*, and croſs the country to the bay of *Bengal*, muſt needs be hotter, being within the tropic of *Cancer*, which divides *Guzarat* from *Soret*, than thoſe provinces which border upon *Tartary* towards the mount *Caucaſus*; but there is no part of it ſo far north as to give them occaſion to complain of cold.

The rains are almoſt continual for three months; they begin about the middle of *November*, and the wet ſeaſon is uſher'd in with terrible thunder and lightning, and go out the ſame way. All the reſt of the year, they have little or no rain, but a refreſhing dew in the night time, which cools the earth; but towards *September* and *October*, the ground is almoſt parch'd up, till the rainy ſeaſon returns, ſo that there is no graſs to be ſeen, and the trees droop, as in our winter, but from a contrary cauſe.

Their plowing. Their ground is till'd by foot ploughs drawn by oxen, and *May* and *June* are their months for ſowing. They don't make hay, and preſerve it as we do, but cut it either green or wither'd, as they have occaſion, which undoubtedly is a great loſs to them, the ſun having drawn the ſubſtance out of it before it is cut down, when too long defer'd.

Excellent grain The grain of the country is wheat, barley, and rice, which grow extremely well and thick, and the wheat, our authors ſay, is better than in *England*, and makes excellent bread. They have other ſorts of grain not known in *Europe*, which makes a coarſe but wholſome bread for the common people.

Good butter. They have good butter, but not ſo firm as ours, the heat of the country not allowing it, altho' the cream taſtes well, and the butter too, only more like oyl than our butter.

As for roots, and all manner of garden ſtuff, they have them in great plenty They have ſugar canes too, and tobacco; this laſt they ſmoke in a much pleaſanter way than we, for they take an earthen pot with a narrow neck, and a ſpout in the belly of it; and filling it with water near the ſpout, they put the tobacco in the neck of the veſſel, putting a long hollow reed in at the ſpout, and then ſetting the tobacco on fire at the top, they draw the ſmoak through the cane, which falling upon the ſurface of the water before it enters the cane, is cool and pleaſant.

Way of ſmoking tobacco.

They have great variety of fruits; but the *Mango's* and *Annana's*, which we have not, are very delicious. The *Mango* tree is as large as a walnut tree, and the fruit like an apricot, but much bigger They rub it between their hands, and when it is ripe the pulp looks like that of a roaſted apple, but more delicate.

Mango.

Annana. The *Annana* is a fruit which, in the taſte, ſeems to be a compound of many good things together, as if one were eating ſtrawberries mix'd with claret, roſe water, and ſugar.

Tamarind and Toddie trees. There is great plenty of *Tamarind*, and *Toddie* trees, the latter of which yields a pleaſant clear liquor almoſt like white wine,

wine, which is very ſafe, if drawn in the morning from the tree, but if drawn after the ſun has heated the tree, intoxicates people very ſoon, which makes the ſeamen like it the better. It is very diuretick, and gives eaſe in fits of the ſtone and gravel.

Indigo and Cotton.

The *Indigo* plants and *Cotton* trees are very common in this country, and the people ſow great plats of ground with the ſeed, which turns to good account.

Mr. Salmon's preſent ſtate of proper India.

The *Indigo* plant is a ſhrub about the heighth of a gooſeberry buſh, with a thick round head, but no thorns. They ſtrip off the leaves, and lay them in a heap for ſeveral days, till they ſweat; and then they put them in deep veſſels, with a ſufficient quantity of water, where they leave their blue tincture and ſubſtance. Then the water is drain'd off into other veſſels broad and ſhallow, made of earth like plaiſter of *Paris*; thoſe they ſet in the ſun, which having exhal'd all the moiſture from it, leaves a hard dry cake, about a quarter of an inch thick, which is our *Indico*. The beſt comes from *Biana* near *Agra*.

The Spreading tree.

Another tree they tell us of, which, for want of knowing the true name, they call the *Spreading Tree*. It ſhoots out ſeveral ſprigs out of the great branches of it, which tending downwards, fix in the ground, and growing bigger ſerve as ſupporters to the branches they proceed from; and the great branches ſtill growing out to a vaſt length, are ſtill ſupported by new ſprigs at different diſtances: So that the tree is like a pavilion, capable of ſheltering ſome hundreds of men from the ſun; which is a great convenience for travellers, when they are not perhaps near any other ſhelter from the ſcorching beams of that planet.

They have not many trees of the ſame kind with ours, but they have thoſe which ſerve for all the uſes ours do.

They have likewiſe abundance of gums and rich druggs, ſuch as *Gum Lac*, of which they make hard wax; great ſtore of *Caſſia*, growing in canes, and ſeveral others.

Bezoar ſtones.

There is great plenty of *Bezaor* ſtones, which they take out of the ventricles of a ſort of goats, which they kill as ſoon as they ſee them begin to decay, for that they take for an infallible indication of the ſtone's being ripe.

Beaſts.

They have other animals, ſuch as beeves, ſheep, deer, buffalo's, elks, antilopes, monkeys, apes, baboons, aſſes, mules, camels, and dromedaries.

The dromedary.

The dromedary is a very ſwift creature, and travels long journeys in a ſhort time, and by making a right uſe of them, *Ecbar Sha* conquer'd *Guzarat*, for having march'd with his army in nine days, by the help of his dromedaries from *Agra* to *Amadavar*, which they could not believe poſſible in 30, he fell upon them before they were prepar'd, and by gaining one battle, he annex'd that kingdom to the empire.

The camel.

The camel is as ſlow as the other is nimble, he is ſaid, likewiſe to be fond of his burden, and that he groans at night when it is taken off, and ſeems to be pleas'd in the morning when his load is renew'd. *One would think it impoſſible that there were rational creatures* (can they be call'd men?) *who ape the camel in this, only with this difference, that they groan under their burthen, and yet quietly ſtoop to have it renew'd over and over again, when it is in their power to ſhake it off, and at once cruſh their loaders.*

Horſes.

The horſes of this country have the beſt time of it of any of their ſpecies any where. They are put to no ſervile labour, being only kept for war, pleaſure, or pomp. They are generally well ſhap'd and as well manag'd. They are either black, or white and curiouſly dappled; and if they are not naturally of theſe colours, they make them ſo by art. They are dreſs'd with great care, and every horſe has his valet; ſo that they always appear in good trim.

Rhinoceros.

But the famous animals of this country are the *Rhinoceros* and the *Elephant*. The *Rhinoceros* are but few, and therefore more admir'd; they are a large ſquat beaſt bigger than the largeſt *Engliſh* ox. Their skin (for they have no hair) lies in folds, upon their neck, breaſt, and back, with ſhort, but ſtrong horns, between their noſtrils, turn'd upwards towards their ears. Every beaſt has one horn, which may give theſe creatures the name of an *Unicorn*, but only that this beaſt's horn is crooked. They make cups of the horns, which they ſay gives a medicinal virtue to any liquor kept in them for ſome time.

Elephant

We have already ſpoken of the *Elephant*, and ſhall only add, that they are about from ten to fifteen feet high; and being not fram'd by nature for ſwiftneſs, their gate is rather a walk than a pace, but they are ſure footed, and never fall nor ſtumble. The female goes a year with them, and they are not judg'd to come to their perfection before they be 30 years old, and continue to the age of a man. They are ſo docible that a boy may make them do what they have been taught, and with a ſmall rod of ſteel, they will go which way you have a mind, except it be in that ſeaſon of the year when they go mad for love, and then, for ſome days, a troop of horſe is not ſufficient to manage one of them, unleſs they would kill them, which they do not care to do. Yet in their greateſt madneſs, if you fire a little gun-powder

gun-powder about their ears, they ſtand ſtill and tremble. But when their keepers find them begin to grow freakiſh this way, they tie them cloſe till they are either ſatisfied, or that the mad fit goes over.

There are ſeveral ſtories told by our authers of the wonderful ſagacity of theſe creatures, but having told the ſtory of the king of *Achen*'s embarking his elephants, we don't care for going farther on that ſubject. If our readers believe that, it will give them an idea of the ſenſe of an elephant, which will be ſufficient to confute *Des Cartes* and all his ſcholars; and if they will not give credit to that, we can ſcarce hope they will believe others related with no better proof.

The incredible expence in maintaining them.

But our authors give us to underſtand, that the elephants in the *Mogul*'s country are not kept ſo cheap as we obſerv'd thoſe of *Achen* were; for, they ſay, that the royal elephants, of which there are no leſs than 300, coſt, for their maintenance, 70 rupies a day a-piece, in grain, butter, and ſugar: An incredible ſum, if there be no miſtake in the account, for it comes little ſhort of a million ſterling a year for keeping 300 beaſts. Nor are theſe huge creatures proportionably ſtrong, for an *Engliſh* maſtiff ſeiz'd one of them by the trunk, and kept his hold ſo faſt, that the elephant having toſs'd him in the air for ſome time, at laſt ſwung him off, but did not care to come near him a ſecond time. This being told to the Mogul, enhanced the reputation of the *Engliſh* dogs; they were carried about in palankines along with his majeſty, and he fed them himſelf with a ſilver pair of tongs made for that purpoſe.

Lions, tygers, &c.

This country likewiſe breeds lions, tygers, wolves, and jackals, which do much miſchief, and are hunted by the Mogul, as we hunt hares and foxes. They generally keep in the woods, but ſometimes come, in the night, to towns and villages, and carry off whatever comes in their way.

Rats.

Nor were the rats leſs ravenous, according to their ſize. They us'd to attack the *Engliſh* in the night, and if not prevented, made free with their toes, and even with their ears and noſes.

Muskitos and bugs.

They were likewiſe plagued with muſkitoes in the day time, which like our gnats bit them; and in the night with *Chinches*, which by the deſcription given of them by our authors, that they were a ſort of tick who bit moſt unmercifully when alive, and ſtunk intolerably when dead, I take to have been bugs, which *England* knew nothing about in thoſe days, having the happineſs to be only inhabited by the natives of the iſland, and unacquainted with *Punaiſes* and other foreign vermine.

Scorpions.

But the ſcorpions were more dangerous, tho' not ſo common diſturbers of their repoſe. The ſting of their tails was poiſonous, if not prevented by bruiſing the creature which had done the miſchief upon the place affected; or (if they did not catch it) by rubbing the wound with oyl of ſcorpions.

The trade of Indoſtan.

The commodities of this country are *Indigo*, and *Cotton wool*, ſeveral kinds of drugs, ſilk, and ſpices. But, for the moſt part, the ſpices ſold here, are brought from the iſlands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, the *Banda*'s and *Molucca*'s, as the greateſt part of their ſilk is from *Perſia* and *Georgia*. Their greateſt foreign trade, in their own bottoms, is to *Mocha* in the *Red Sea*, there being one large ſhip ſent thither from *Surat* every year, with the ſtaple goods of *Indoſtan*, cotton wool and cotton cloth, white and ſtain'd, in return of which, they bring home 200,000 *l.* ſterling value in gold and ſilver, one year with another.

Coin.

The common coin of this country are *Rupies* and *Mammodies*, both of ſilver, the one about half a crown in value, and the other a ſhilling. Of both theſe they have half pieces, and ſome quarter pieces; ſo that the very ſmalleſt money which paſſes there, is worth three pence *Engliſh*, but they are very rare. Their ſilver has little or no alloy; ſo that there is loſs upon all other money carried thither, for they try it all, and reduce it to their ſtandart, by melting it down, and putting the Mogul's ſtamp upon it, his name and titles in *Perſian* characters. But it is a capital crime to carry any quantity of money out of the country. Their gold coin is likewiſe very fine, and in large pieces, but very rare.

Their markets.

They do their publick buſineſs in the markets, of which they have two every day, meeting as it were at change, in the morning at ſun riſing, where the market holds for an hour after; and another at the ſetting of the ſun; becauſe it was not practicable to aſſemble in any numbers when the ſun was high.

Their ſhape.

As to the people of *Indoſtan*, they are generally well made, of a tawny complexion, which they value above a fair one; and it is a ſaying among them, that lepers only are white. And they are, generally ſpeaking, ſo well proportion'd, that it is an uncommon thing to ſee a deform'd perſon among them, or one of an extraordinary ſize either big or little. Their hair is long and lank, and as we obſerv'd before, of the women, the men take pains to have it black, if it is not naturally ſo. But thoſe of them who are Mahometans, ſhave their heads, all except one lock in the crown, by which their prophet is to pull them up into paradiſe,

radiſe, at the day of judgment. Their conſtant uſe of ſhaving makes the barber's trade a very good buſineſs, and if any of that profeſſion meet a man in the ſtreet, that they ſee wants to be ſhav'd, they don't ask if he will employ them, but they pull out a ſteel mirror, which they always carry about them, and by ſhewing him his face, put him in mind to be ſhav'd.

Their dreſs. Their dreſs is ſtill the ſame as to faſhion; and all the difference between a great lord and a peaſant is, that the one wears ſilk or gold and ſilver, whilſt the other is clad in coarſe ſtuff; but the ſhape of their cloathes is the ſame: Which is what is every day ſeen upon the change at *London*, *viz.* a coat made tight to their bodies, reaching below the knee, under which is a kind of veſt, tied with a ſaſh, and a ſort of breeches down to the ankles, and there gather'd like a ruffle. Their head cover'd with a ſort of turbant wreath'd often about, and is of different ſorts of ſilk, calicoe, gold or ſilver cloth, according to the quality of the perſon. *Engliſh* ſcarlet is much worn as the upper coat, and above their turbant, in cool weather.

The women's dreſs. As to the dreſs of the better ſort of women, our authors ſay they can give no account of it, becauſe they are never expos'd to view. But the inferiors are dreſt not much different from the men, only they throw a vail over their heads, which covers all their other cloaths; and their wriſts and ancles are adorn'd with bracelets, as they can come by them, of gold, ſilver, braſs, or even of iron.

Their temper. As for their temper and diſpoſition, they are ſaid to be people of quick apprehenſion, and ready wit, and have a good genius for all ſorts of work, as appears from their manner of ſtaining their cotton, ſilk, and carpets of different colours, and their flower'd works of gold, ſilver, and ſilk; and from their dexterity in making cabinets, boxes, ſtandiſhes, *&c.* with the greateſt curioſity. They likewiſe inlay any thing, that can be wrought, with ivory, mother of pearl, ebony, tortoiſe ſhell, or wire, and make cups and toys of agate, cornelian, or other ſtones: And are very expert in poliſhing jewels of all kinds, whoſe value they underſtand perfectly well, and are not to be impos'd upon by falſe ones. They are likewiſe skill'd in varniſhing, dying, colouring, and painting, either from the life, or from a copy.

Ingenious artiſts.

Obliging to ſtrangers. They are obliging in their behaviour; and where it is otherwiſe, it is owing to their governors, or to the nature of their government, as we ſhall ſee by and by. An inſtance of mildneſs and good nature, and that in a great man, which is extraordinary, our authors give of their own knowledge. It happen'd that the governor of *Surat*'s brother in riding through the ſtreets of that town, met with an *Engliſh* cook, belonging to Sir *Thomas Roe*, who having gotten himſelf mortally drunk, was meaſuring the ſtreet; and ſeeing this gentleman, well attended, coming towards him, call'd out to him, without any provocation, *Now, you heathen dog!* The gentleman ask'd him what he ſaid, when the cook drew his ſword, and made a blow at him; which inſolence to a perſon of his figure was enough to have procured his own being fitted for a fricaſſy, if the nobleman had been of a haſty temper; but he only order'd him to be ſeiz'd, and diſarm'd, and ſent to Sir *Thomas* an account of what had paſt, who immediately ſent a gentleman to let him know, that he would never make uſe of his character, as an ambaſſador, to ſcreen a raſcal, and therefore deſir'd he might be puniſh'd as he deſerv'd: Upon which meſſage, the cook was ſent back to the ambaſſador, without ſo much as the leaſt affront done to him.

The people generally cowards, with ſome exceptions. But the people of this country are repreſented, in the mean, to be of a cowardly diſpoſition; but they except from that character, the *Baloches*, who are Mahometans, inhabiting the northern provinces, the *Patans* about *Bengal*, and the *Resboots*, a ſect of pagans, who are all warlike people, and made uſe of for convoys to ſtrangers, which they perform with great fidelity, and with ſo much courage, that they will die, to a man, rather than give up their charge. But theſe people muſt be punctually paid what is promis'd them, which is not above a crown a month, or elſe they will give up their charge in the middle of the journey.

Their religion. As to the religion of the Mogul's country, it is two-fold; the Mahometan, and the Pagan. The royal family, and the greateſt part of the nobility after their example, are Mahometans, altho' the whole empire was Heathen in *Tamerlane*'s days. But they are far more moderate with regard to thoſe who differ'd from them, than the *Turks*, or any other nation profeſſing Mahometaniſm. For, they not only were eaſy about Chriſtian's diſputes with them concerning religion, and did not hinder them to have their worſhip in the ſeveral factories of different *European* nations ſettled among them; but the court gave no diſturbance to the *Hondoes* or Pagans, of which the greater part of the provinces were made up.

Coriate, *a mad* Engliſhman *diſputes with their prieſts.* There happen'd about the time that Sir *Thomas Roe* was in this country, one *Coriate* made a journey thither thro' *Turky* and *Perſia*, and was entertain'd in the *Engliſh* houſe at *Aſmere*; and being zealous

lous for the Chriſtian faith, and pretty forward in his temper, and had learning ſufficient for the *Indians*, us'd to diſpute with the prieſts of *Mahomet*, and tho' neither party convinced the other, as indeed diſputes ſeldom do, yet *Coriate*, to ſhew that he was not overcome, coin'd a new diſtinction which made the ambaſſador and his chaplain laugh. For, after a warm diſpute, the Mahometan ſtill peſiſting that himſelf was the *Muſſulman*, that is *the true believer*. Well, ſays *Coriate*, *I am the* Orthodox Muſſulman, *and you are the* Pſeudo-dox Muſſulman. Which tranſlated literally was, *that he was the* RIGHT true believer, *and the prieſt was the* FALSE true believer. And the ſame merry gentleman, upon occaſion of the *Molla*'s, or miniſters of the *Moſch*, calling the people to prayer, after their manner with theſe words, *La* ALLA *illa* ALLA Mahummed *reſullalla*. *There is but one* GOD, *and* Mahomet *is his prophet*: *Coriate* got upon the top of a houſe, that he might be as high as they, (who were upon the battlements of their *Moſch*) and baul'd out in the ſame language, *La* ALLA *illa* ALLA, *Hazaret* EESA *reſulallla*. GOD *is one* GOD, *and* JESUS *is the prophet of* GOD. Words, which, in other *Mahometan* countries, would have ſoon procur'd him the honour of martyrdom for his zeal, if he might have been thought to have deſerv'd it by his diſcretion. But the *Indian* Mahometans were not ſo furious, beſides that they believ'd *Coriate* to have been not much better than a mad man.

Nor were the Moguls themſelves very ſtrait lac'd Mahometans; for they ſometimes took upon them to alter ſome laws of the *Alcoran*, and ſet up their own in oppoſition to them. *Ezbar Sha*, formerly mentioned, altho' he ſeems not to have been burthened with any religion himſelf, was a great favourer of the Chriſtians. In the the reign of this prince one *Xaverius*, but not the famous *Indian* apoſtle, was ſent for from *Goa* to *Agra*, where he diſputed, before the Mogul, with the *Molla*'s, and with ſo much good ſenſe and learning, ſhew'd the inconſiſtency of GOD Almighty's having created man in a ſtate of corruption at firſt, that he brought the prieſts to acknowledge the doctrine of the fall, from which once granted, he had no difficulty of proving the neceſſity of a redeemer to reſtore the race of mankind to the favour of GOD; and thus, from ſtep to ſtep, he prov'd the impoſſibility of a reconciliation with GOD, but by a perſon partaking of the nature of GOD and Man: And going through the whole ſyſtem of the Chriſtian religion, he prov'd by unanſwerable arguments that our Bleſſed Saviour was that redeemer, and that the qualities requiſite for a mediator could not be applicable to any other but to him. The Mogul ſeem'd to hear him with pleaſure, and entertain'd him with much kindneſs, but the father, ſeeing he made no progreſs in making converts at *Agra*, and that the Mogul's behaviour towards him, was much the ſame as that of *Felix* was to St. *Paul*, *Go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient ſeaſon, I will call for thee*. *Xaverius* return'd to *Goa*.

Xaverius *goes to* Agra *in* 1596.

Selim Sha, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Ezbar*, the ſame who reign'd when Sir *Thomas Roe* was ambaſſador, and is call'd by ſome authors *Gihanger*, favour'd Chriſtianity no leſs than his father had done, inſomuch that he gave leave to ſeveral jeſuites, belonging to the *Spaniſh* miſſion, to ſtrive to make converts in his dominions, declaring that no man ſhould loſe his favour by turning Chriſtian. It is true, none of theſe princes were ſteady in their affections to Chriſtians, but it is ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected, that their change was as much owing to the Chriſtians as to their own fickle temper: And perhaps had all that went to that country from *Europe* had as ſincere a deſign, as *Xaverius*, and many other miſſionaries doubtleſs had, Chriſtianity had made a greater progreſs in the *Indies* than it did. But when other intereſted people, who had more regard for Mammon than for GOD and religion, gave cauſe to the *Indians* to believe, that they had a deſign upon their wealth, and were never eaſy till they got forts and caſtles built in the dominions of independent princes; and where they had any footing, they pretended to talk like maſters, it is no wonder if princes were jealous of their authority, and baniſh'd the whole ſet of Chriſtians out of their countries, as believing them to be all of a piece.

Of miracles.

And I cannot help taking notice of one miſtake of the church of *Rome* with regard to the converſion of infidels, *viz.* want of due care in examining miracles ſaid to be wrought for the confirmation of the goſpel. I will not ſay (however ridiculous it may be thought, in our exceeding wiſe age, and eſpecially in this great city) that GOD Almighty has not granted power to ſincere religious miſſionaries, to work miracles, becauſe where the ſame reaſon ſubſiſts, as was for miracles, at the firſt preaching the goſpel, I do not ſee why the ſame almighty power may not exert itſelf, in the ſame manner as in the days of the apoſtles, and firſt ages, if there were men fit enough for their piety and vertue to be made agents in ſo diſtinguiſhing a work; and I am not ſo uncharitable as to believe, that there never were *Romiſh* miſſionaries, who were men of

of undoubted piety. But they ought to be very ſure of the truth of a miracle, before they publiſh it, for, beſides the wickedneſs of counterfeiting God Almighty's ſeal, without his authority, a falſe miracle once detected, invalidates all the credit of true ones in the eyes of infidels, and gives them juſt cauſe to ſuſpect the integrity of him who impoſes it upon them, and conſequently the truth of the doctrine he would confirm by it.

A jeſuite put to it to defend a pretended miracle.

My reaſon of making this obſervation, which may ſeem a digreſſion, is an accident that happen'd, whilſt Sir *Thomas Roe* was at *Aſmere*. The jeſuites chapel there was burnt by chance, and a crucifix which was in it was afterwards found untouch'd. This ſome zealous prieſts gave out for a miracle, and it made ſuch a noiſe that the Mogul ſent for father *Corſi*, and ask'd about it, in the preſence of ſultan *Coroon*, who, as we obſerv'd before, was a mortal enemy to Chriſtians. Father *Corſi*, to whom our authors give a very good character, both for underſtanding and good principles, told the Mogul that it was true that the crucifix had been, by providence preſerv'd from the fire, but that he had never attempted to make uſe of that as an argument to prove his religion by. Prince *Coroon*, thinking that the father anſwer'd ambiguouſly, told him, that if he would caſt the ſame crucifix into a fire which ſhould be made before the king and him, if it did not burn, they would turn Chriſtians, provided he would engage to turn moor, if it did.

Sir *Thomas Roe*, in a letter to the arch biſhop of *Canterbury* ſays, that *Corſi* anſwer'd to this, that it was a tempting of God to put his religion to ſuch a proof, and therefore would not put it upon that iſſue, but the ambaſſador ſays, he offer'd to throw himſelf into the fire for a proof of his religion, which the Mogul would not ſuffer, or elſe it is probable the young ſultan would have allow'd him to make the trial. However, the preſervation of the crucifix (which our authors ſay, the father told Sir *Thomas* was preſerv'd in ſuch a manner, tho' they don't tell how, that it could not have been burnt but by miracle) having made ſuch a noiſe among the Roman Catholicks there, gave a handle to *Coroon* to tell father *Corſi*, that by his own accounts, miracles had been many times wrought by Christ and his followers for reaſons of far leſs conſequence than that of converting a mighty king, and conſequently a great monarchy, and therefore ſince he refus'd to make the trial propos'd, they had reaſon to believe it was all trick and impoſture. Here the Mogul interpos'd, and took the part of our Saviour's miracles, giving them the preference to thoſe of the pretended ſaints of *Mahomet*'s religion, and the father and ſon grew ſo hot in this argument, that ſome of the court interpos'd to ſoften the diſpute, and ſo it ended. Thus far as to the Mahometan *Indoſtans*, whoſe particular principles we ſhall leave till we come to the country in which they were firſt broach'd.

The Pagan Indians.

But the far greater part of this country, as we hinted, is Pagan. They hold tranſmigration of ſouls, and therefore will not kill a fly, for fear of murdering their grandfather; and the *Engliſh* made a hand of ſome of them, by getting a ranſome for ſaving the lives of gnats and bugs, beſides all that they kill'd in their paſſion when ſeverely bit by them. And the *Hondoes* carry this humour of theirs ſo far, as to hinder them from taking the lives of the moſt noxious animals; ſo that they will not ſuffer a ſcorpion or a tyger to be kill'd, altho' they are in danger of being poiſon'd by the one and devour'd by the other. Their worſhip and their idols are different as their ſects.

Their different tribes.

They are diſtinguiſh'd by tribes, which they call *Caſtes*, and thoſe agree ſo little with one another, that they will not converſe, or eat with people of a different *Caſte*, except the *Bramans*, who being the ſucceſſors of the *Brachmans*, the ancient *Indian* philoſophers, have got over that ſelfiſh humour, and have their houſes and tables open to all parties. There is a great number of theſe tribes, but they are reducible to four, *viz.* the *Bramans*, the *Raſpouts*, the *Banians*, and the *Soudras*.

See *Tavernier*'s travels in *India*.

The Bramans.

The *Bramans* are great aſtrologers, at leaſt in their own opinion, pretending to predict future events by their calculations. They have an univerſity for teaching it, and have their doctors in that ſcience only.

The Raſpouts.

The *Raſpouts* are the warlike *Indians*, from which tribe proceed the *Raiahs*, who were petty kings, whom perpetual feuds among themſelves made tributary to the Mogul, and moſt of them are employ'd in his ſervice, and have great ſalaries and penſions. There is a kind of ſubdiviſion in this tribe, ſome of them having degenerated, as they think, and from ſoldiers, as their anceſtors were, are become merchants. Theſe they call *Ketries*.

The Banians.

The *Banians* are intirely given to trade; ſome being bankers, others brokers, which employments they underſtand ſo well, that our author ſays, the Jews might become their apprentices. Theſe people are ſo expert in numbers, that without the help of pen and ink, counters, or ſuch like, they will add and ſubſtract, multiply and divide the greateſt ſums by memory only, in a very ſhort time.

The Soudras.

The *Soudras* or *Corados* are a warlike people like the Raſpouts, only with this difference, that the Raſpouts are horſe, and the Soudras infantry; but both of them reckon it a great honour to die in battle. *Tavernier* tells a ſtory of one of this tribe, who having a great affection for his wife, ſlunk away from battle, for fear of leaving her a widow. His wife ſeeing him out of the window, ask'd the reaſon of his return, and when he had told it her, ſhe made anſwer, that no coward ſhould enter her houſe; for that ſhe would take care to infuſe courage into her ſons, and therefore would not let them be corrupted by bad example. The husband being rous'd by this rebuke, return'd to the army, where he behav'd with ſuch bravery, that he was diſtinguiſh'd for his courage, and was reconcil'd to his wife, who receiv'd him with open arms.

Their idolatry.

All theſe tribes are groſs idolaters, and pay divine honours to apes, cows, &c. Yet they ſeem to believe that there is one ſupreme author of all things, and therefore in their *Pagods*, or temples, they ſet up an emblem of the Deity, which is a round or oval ſtone, taken out of the *Ganges*, and to this ſtone, as being the moſt perfect figure, they pay divine honour.

Ram, *an idol.*

But they have multiplicity of deities, whereof *Ram* is one of the greateſt; of whoſe wars with *Revan*, for the recovery of his wife, and his making an ape ſpeak, they tell moſt ridiculous ſtories.

The Faquirs.

From this *Revan*, turn'd out of his dominions by *Ram*, and going about as a poor pilgrim, came the *Faquirs*, a ſort of mendicants among the *Caſtes*, of which there are great numbers, and in great reputation for ſanctity. They go almoſt naked ſummer and winter, and in companies, they lie upon the bare ground, and eat nothing that ever had life, as indeed all the Pagans in *India* abſtain from; and ſo much are they afraid to hurt an inſect, that they will not burn wood, for fear they ſhould give ſome animal its death, and therefore they burn dry cow dung. Some of them inflict voluntary penances upon themſelves which are almoſt incredible, and the more extraordinary they are the more they are eſteem'd.

Who would think that ſuch mortify'd people as theſe *Faquirs* had any view to being rich? And yet it is the very end of all their auſterity. For, their opinions being, that the ſouls of thoſe who have liv'd the moſt perfect lives (which they call the moſt auſtere) ſhall, when they die, go into the bodies of ſome powerful *Raias*, in which bodies they ſhall have plenty of every thing that this life affords, they afflict themſelves with auſterities beyond belief, to fit themſelves for riches and pleaſure the next time they return to the earth. And ſo rooted all the Pagans of this country were in their belief of the tranſmigration of ſouls, that they bury conſiderable ſums in money or jewels, leſt after death their ſouls ſhould be ſent into poor indigent bodies; and then their hidden treaſures may be of uſe to them. And this ſhall ſuffice as to the religion of the *Indoſtans* at this time.

Of the marrieges in the Mogul's country.

There is great difference between the Mahometans, and the Pagan *Indians* with regard to marriage. The former being allow'd four wives, and the latter only one; and that one, not only of their own *Caſte*, but of their own profeſſion of buſineſs. A merchant muſt marry the daughter of a merchant, and ſo on. Nor are they ſo jealous of their one wife as the Mahometans are of their four, but allow them to go abroad at their pleaſure. When the Mahometans marry, they ride through the city, the men a horſe-back, and the women in coaches, accompanied with drums and other muſical inſtruments. The Pagans make their cavalcades on horſe-back only, and the new married couple are ſometimes ſo young, that people are oblig'd to walk on both ſides of their horſes to keep them from falling; and both of them are ſo dreſt up with flowers, that they ſeem to be two noſegays on horſe-back.

Their diet.

The people of this country live differently according to their different religions. The Mahometans eat all kind of fleſh, except ſwine's fleſh, but ſparingly, their chief food being rice cook'd ſeveral ways. But the other *Indians* eat no fleſh, and ſome of them nothing that ever had life; but others will eat fiſh. They ſeldom uſe any liquor at meals but water, but many of the Mahometans drink heartily between meals, eſpecially at court, and that of the ſtrongeſt wines.

Their houſes.

For their buildings, they are commonly not very magnificent, except their temples and the Mogul's houſes, their cities and towns being more for uſe than ſhow: And they ſeem to be fonder of making an appearance in their tents, where they generally live ſeveral months in the year, for the ſake of the freſh air, and for the conveniency of hunting, than of adorning their houſes either without or within. Their houſes are commonly no higher than two ſtories, and flat roof'd, with terraces on the top, to which they retire when the ſun goes down, or before ſun-riſing, for the cool breezes. They have no glaſs windows, and as few chimneys, there being little occaſion for fires, at leaſt in the ſouth parts, except for dreſſing their meat, which they generally do in the out-ſide of the houſe, making a fire againſt a ſtone or brick wall,

for

for any thing they have to do. Before their houſes, they take care to plant groves of trees for ſhade againſt the heat of the ſun, which hinders the proſpect of their buildings: And as one enters moſt of their towns, it looks as if they were going into a wood. The walls of their houſes are painted, and the floor laid with carpets, which ſerve for tables, ſtools, and beds. But ſome of the better ſort have their bed-ſteads hung a little from the ground, where they are rock'd aſleep by their ſervants or ſlaves, as our children are in their cradles. But for the moſt part, a whole family lies aſleep in a room upon carpets, in a row, cover'd with a thin callico, like ſo many dead corpſes laid out, without bolſter, or pillow. They have, about their houſes, gardens, in which they have ponds for waſhing and bathing, all ſet round the banks with fruit trees, and others for ſhade, in which they take great delight.

Their ſports. Their common diverſions are hunting and hawking, for which they have plenty of game. For beſides lions and tygers, which are royal game, and none dare hunt for them without a licence from the Mogul, or his governors in the different provinces, they have ſtore of hares and deer, which they hunt with a ſort of ſmall grey hounds. And for hawking, they have abundance of partridges, ducks, quails, and pidgeons, beſides other fowl. They are very dextrous in catching water fowl. For having ſhot one either with an arrow, or a gun, they tie a ſtring to it, and putting it into the water, they ſwim along near it, making the ſame cry, which that ſort of fowl makes when alive, ſo that they bring great numbers of fowl about the dead one, and catching them by the legs, make great ſlaughter of them.

The people of higheſt rank take great diverſion in being carried about in coaches of two wheels, drawn by two oxen, or in palankys, which are a ſort of litters carried upon mens ſhoulders.

Their arms. When they go to war, they are overloaded with arms, for every ſoldier muſt have a bow, a quiver, a ſword, a buckler, a lance, and very often a gun. But they are all, except the *Patans* and *Raſpouts* formerly mention'd, but very indifferent ſoldiers. If they are perſuaded to engage, when their firſt charge does not put the enemy to the rout, they are ſure to run away themſelves, and leave their adverſaries the victory. Their greateſt ſtrength conſiſts in the elephants, a great number of which have little cannons upon their backs, in a wooden frame, which are charg'd with balls about the bigneſs of a tennis ball. Theſe are fir'd by a gunner who ſits behind the frame, and when right levell'd, do execution.

But to make up the defect of courage in moſt of his own ſubjects, the Mogul entertains a good number, (indeed all that he can bribe, by liberal pay, to come to him) of *Perſian* and *Tartarian* horſe, who are inferior to none in the world. But neither the *Sophi* of *Perſia*, nor the *Cham* of *Tartary* ſuffer their men to go to him with their wills, ſo that they are only deſerters, who ſerve in his army, for which their own ſovereigns would hang them if they could catch them. For the Mogul's empire is of ſo great extent, and ſo vaſtly rich, that if his people, who are very numerous, ſhould, by the *Perſians* and *Tartars*, be brought to learn the art of war, he would be a dangerous neighbour to both thoſe princes. He pretends to be the ſucceſſor of *Tamerlane*, and conſequently would not want a claim to *Tartary*; and he might have many opportunities to invade *Perſia*, when they happen to be engag'd in war with the *Turks*, and therefore both thoſe kings endeavour to keep him down, nor are they afraid of him, as long as he has only his own ſubjects in his army.

Perſians and Tartars deſert to the Mogul.

The language of Indoſtan. The language of the Mogul's country is ſaid to be a comprehenſive language, and to have ſome affinity with the *Arabic* and *Perſian*, altho' the alphabet and characters are different. The Mogul and his court affect to expreſs themſelves in the *Perſian* tongue; but all their religious languarge is *Arabic:* But they know nothing of *Greek*, and as little *Latin*. The learned among them pretend to know ſomething of *Ariſtotle* and *Euclid*, their works having been tranſlated into *Arabic*, altho' the acquaintance with thoſe authors is but very ſuperficial.

Aſtrologers. Their chief ſtudy is judicial aſtrology, the moſt precarious uncertain ſcience in the world; but the *Indians* are ſo bewitch'd to it, that their kings and great men will undertake nothing without having a figure firſt caſt to know the will of the ſtars. And the learned in that art are in great repute in the Mogul's court, and all over his dominions.

Jugglers. The next reputable cheats to the aſtrologers are jugglers, who are the moſt dextrous people in the world at ſlight of hand tricks. And indeed it was ſurprizing to ſee thoſe fellows ſet down cover'd baskets before the ſpectators, and to let the company take off the covers, under which nothing was to be ſeen but empty baskets, when all of a ſudden, upon the next taking up the ſame covers, all the baskets were full of pidgeons or other animals, and no body but maſter juggler and his confederates knew how they were convey'd there. But we need not wonder at the

tricks

tricks of *Indian Leger de Main* artiſts, who have the happineſs to be pretty well ſtock'd with jugglers of all ſorts and ſizes of our own.

Their computation of time.

As to the computation of time in the Mogul's country, it was different as their religion was. The Mahometans began their year the 10th of *March*, becauſe their aſtrologers told them the ſun enter'd *Aries* that day: But the Pagan *Indians* began their year the firſt day of that month. They differ too in dividing the year; the Mahometans making 13 months which they call moons, and the others have olny twelve, as we have: Which different ways of reckoning in one and the ſame country, bred an intolerable confuſion to ſtrangers.

Water clocks.

But our authors obſerve that they had no other way of counting hours but the ancient method of dividing time by letting water drop from one veſſel into another, and employing a man to give a knock on a braſs kettle, according as the water falls to ſuch a mark in the veſſel from whence it falls, or, which is the ſame thing, when it riſes to certain marks in the veſſel it falls into. But I ſuppoſe clocks and watches are common there now.

Having given a ſhort account of ſeveral remarkable things of this country, we ſhall now follow our authors in giving a ſummary of their government.

The government of Indoſtan.

The government of *Indoſtan* is abſolute monarchy, (as it is in all the continent of *Aſia*) where the Mogul's will is the law, and there is no diſputing his commands, let them be juſt or unjuſt. A noble government, if the king were an angel, and to be only ſucceeded by a race of the ſame kind; but very dangerous in the hands of mortals, who are men of like paſſions with their ſubjects. And indeed the account we have given of the tyrany of the Moguls, mention'd in the laſt ſection, and of the bloody executions of many innocent perſons; or at leaſt of ſuch as were not prov'd to have been criminal, gives us but a melancholy idea of a king's *Sic volo, ſic jubeo*, and makes arbitrary power look with a very ill grace. But ſo it is, that moſt parts of the world are govern'd by it: And what pity is it that they who have the happineſs of a better conſtitution, ſhould ever abuſe that happineſs to bad purpoſes!

But altho' they have no written laws in the Mogul's country, but the prince's will is the law, yet there are certain cuſtoms, to which the general practice has given the force of laws; and an infringement of thoſe, either in civil, or criminal caſes, is puniſhable by the magiſtrate. And therefore there are ſtated judges appointed, in both caſes, for the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice; and thoſe ſo diſtinct, as that the civil judge never pretends to try a criminal cauſe, nor the other a civil one.

The king hears cauſes.

But notwithſtanding the tyrany of the prince, he had one cuſtom, which was highly commendable, and of great uſe to his ſubjects, and which we hinted in the preceding ſection, *viz.* his appearing every day, at a ſet time, to hear cauſes himſelf, and to do juſtice to any who has been wrong'd either by the judges or otherwiſe. And in theſe caſes, there is none ſo mean who has not acceſs to him, nor any oppreſſor ſo great, that he will not oblige to do juſtice. The poverty of the plaintiff does not preclude him from prefering his ſute, nor can the riches of the defendant ſcreen him from judgment. And the manner of the king's doing juſtice is excellent. When the hour comes that the Mogul is placed in the judgement ſeat, with all the nobility ſtanding about him, the perſon who is to demand juſtice, has no more to do, but to pull a rope that hangs on the outſide of the wall, which rope rings a chime of golden bells, in the king's hearing; upon the ſound of which, it is preſent death to the proper officers to refuſe entrance to the plaintiff, let him be poor or rich. Upon his appearing before his prince, he makes his complaint himſelf, and if there be occaſion, brings witneſſes to prove it. Then the defendant is call'd, if preſent, and, if abſent, a ſufficient time allow'd for his appearance; and upon exmination, the king gives judgment, which muſt forthwith be executed, whether it be the paying of a juſt debt, or puniſhment to be inflicted for an injury done. So that without feeing lawyers, or bribing courtiers, or waiting month after month, and term after term, the cauſe is decided, and juſtice done in one hearing of both ſides. Thus is murder, theft, oppreſſion, defrauding, or any other injury, puniſh'd at once: The two former, by death, after what manner the king thinks fit, either by hanging, beheading, impaling, giving over to lions, or elephants, or ſtung to death by venemous creatures: Of which laſt there was an inſtance, whilſt Sir *Thomas Roe* was at *Aſmere*. The criminal was ſtript naked, and a mountebank having brought ſome large ſnakes to the place of execution, where the Mogul was preſent, provok'd one of them, and ſo applied it to the wretch's thigh, about which it quickly twiſted itſelf, and bit him in the groin, ſo that the blood immediately follow'd. Another was fix'd to the other thigh, which bit him there. The ſnakes were taken off after theſe two wounds, and the man kept his feet, a quarter of an hour, after which he fell down, and for half an hour

Ways of puniſhing delinquents.

cry'd

cry'd out that his body was on fire, and then expir'd, his body having ſwell'd to a prodigious ſize.

Beſides the juſtice done to poor people by the Mogul's hearing cauſes himſelf, there is another conſiderable advantage to the ſubjects in it, which is, that it puts the judges on their guard, and reſtrains them from perverting judgment for fear of the golden chimes: For if they are caught tripping, they are to be given to the lions, or loſe their heads.

The governors of provinces often ſhifted.

As to the government of the provinces, it is truſted to ſuch as the king names; but they often ſhift from one place to another, leſt they ſhould become too popular; altho' there ſeems to be no great danger of their engratiating themſelves with the people, the greateſt part of thoſe governors being tyrants, and oppreſſors, knowing that their governments are not within the reach of the rope, nor the ſound of the golden bells.

When they return to court, from their governments, they appear with long hair, it being a cuſtom not to cut it whilſt they ſtay in their province; if they have behav'd well, and no complaint is lodg'd againſt them, all the nobility are ſummon'd to be preſent at their entry into the king's preſence, where they are well receiv'd, and order'd to cut their hair. At their entry, they proſtrate themſelves three times at different places of the hall, and then the Mogul calls them up the ſteps of the throne, and they have the honour to be embrac'd by him, and after a ſhort converſation with his majeſty, they take their place among the nobles, according to their rank. But if the king has heard bad accounts of their adminiſtration, their diſgrace is viſible in the looks, not only of the Mogul, but of all that meet the hated miniſter, the people calling aloud for juſtice againſt him; and whoever falls into ſuch a ſituation has good luck if the firſt day of his appearance at court does not prove the laſt of his life.

The Mogul is the ſole proprietor of land.

No man is maſter of any real eſtate in the Mogul's dominions, but he himſelf is lord and proprietor of the whole country, and every man who poſſeſſes any land is only tenant at will, and liable to be turn'd out at pleaſure. And when any one, noble or otherwiſe, dies, the Mogul is his heir, and if he is ſo gracious as to give the children of the deceas'd ſome part they take it as a favour, but cannot claim it as their due. But, which is worſe, a man's being rich is often ſo great a fault, that a hole is pick'd in his coat to cut him off, that the king may enter upon his riches before the natural time allow'd him by law. It is likewiſe death for a man to have a valuable jewel of any kind, without ſhewing it to the king, and giving him the refuſal of it; by which law, he comes to be poſſeſt of all the jewels, which are good for any thing, that are brought into his dominions, and he purchaſes them at leſs than half value, and often at the third part of their intrinſick worth.

The ill conſequence of it.

This ſole property in land, and his power of diſpoſing of all perſonal eſtates at the death of every ſubject, is attended with very ill conſequences. For, beſides the injuſtice of depriving a man's family of the fruit of his induſtry and ſervice to the crown; the fear of being left beggars, or having their heads cut off for their riches, keeps up that baſe ſervile flattery in all the nobility, that they applaud even the vices of their prince, and extol his follies, none daring to find fault with any thing he does, leſt they ſhould be thought diſaffected to his perſon and government. Nor is this all. The ſeeing other people's eſtates come into the exchequer at their death, makes the nobility live profuſely, as not caring what condition they leave their families in, ſince they are at the mercy of a tyrant whether they die rich or poor.

But as the nobility are thus ſlaves to the prince, they are moſt of them well rewarded for their pains, having large penſions, and themſelves their own pay maſters, having ſuch lands aſſign'd them, for which they are not to give account to any one. All that is requir'd of them is, to furniſh ſuch a number of horſe, according to the proportion of land which they poſſeſs, to recruit the king's army, when requir'd.

The diſtinction of the nobility.

The diſtinctions of their nobility are different, as in other kingdoms. The firſt after the king's ſons, (who are all *Sultans*, as his daughters are *Sultanas*) are the *Nabobs*; which may be call'd *Dukes*; the ſecond *Chans*, likewiſe *Peers*. After theſe are the *Mirzas*, and *Omras*, who are generals and captains. And that all thoſe may be fit to furniſh their quota of men, they are not diſtinguiſh'd by their lands, or places of abode, but by having the command of ſuch a number of horſe. The greateſt men of the country, who are the *Nabobs*, has no more than 12,000; and of thoſe there are only four. The *Chans* have fewer, and thoſe in proportion to the favour they are in at court, from 5000 to 10,000. The *Mirzas*, as they are employed, in time of war; but in time of peace, they have their number of horſe, as the *Chans* have, but ſmaller or greater, as their merit or degree of favour procures them. The leaſt *Omra* has 20, and ſome a great deal more. Not that theſe have the numbers aſſign'd them to maintain; but the meaning of ſaying that ſuch a perſon in the Mogul's empire has 10,000 horſe, is much the ſame as to ſay, that ſuch a

lord, in *England*, has 10,000 *l.* a year. And out of the lordſhips aſſign'd them, they are oblig'd, in a day's time to bring to the royal ſtandard, ſuch a ſet number of horſemen, in proportion to the number they are nam'd by. So that, upon any emergency, the mogul can raiſe 200,000 men, without noiſe or hurry. And thoſe lords live nobly, whoſe accounts riſe high; for we are told that a *Chan* of 6 or 7,000 horſe has revenues to the value of 70, or 80,000 *l.* ſterling a year; and the 10 and 12,000 horſe peers riſe in proportion. So that it may truly be ſaid, that the Mogul's nobility are the richeſt peers in the world, whilſt they live and continue in favour.

The Mogul's revenues.

But if we take a ſhort view of the Mogul's own revenues, we ſhall find an aſtoniſhing maſs of riches coming into his coffers. The yearly amount of his crown lands are computed to 50 *Crous* of *Rupies*, which make 100 *Lecks*, every *Leck* conſiſting of 100,000 *Rupies*. So that taking the *Rupy* at half a crown, it amounts to 62,500,000 *l.* ſterling a year.

But this is not all his income. His preſents, his money by trade, his cuſtoms, his legacies from dead ſubjects, and fines from the living, his mines and minerals, are inexhauſtible funds from which he draws immenſe riches.

His treaſure.

The treaſures which lay dead by him, are no leſs ſurprizing than his current money. He has ſeven caſtles in different parts of his dominions built on purpoſe for keeping his ſtores of gold and jewels, which are not deſign'd for circulation, but for pomp and grandeur. In thoſe he has utenſils of ſtupendous ſize and workmanſhip, all of pure gold, for all uſes, together with jewels of all ſorts, ſet and unſet, of which the world cannot ſhew the like, and which cannot be valued.

His expence.

There is no prince in the world travels with ſuch pomp and ſtate as the Mogul. When he makes a progreſs, which he does frequently, he has 100,000 ſoldiers for his guard, 6,000 of whom are by turns conſtantly about himſelf, beſides about 30,000 ſervants belonging to his kitchen, ſtables, &c. So that it is computed, that for his and his *Seraglio*'s expences, he ſpends one day with another, 80,000 rupies a day, which in *Engliſh* money is above three millions and a half every year, for the charge of his houſe only. In this family are to be reckon'd ſome thouſands of ſinging birds, and no leſs a number for game, beſides deer, buffalos, dogs, camels, dromedaries. But I ſuppoſe the elephants muſt be reckon'd apart from this calculation of the houſhold charge, for he maintains ſome thouſands of them, and the 300 lord elephants, formerly mention'd, ſtand him in near a million a year.

There are two ſtated times for the nobility to regale their prince more eſpecially, and at each of thoſe the preſents are magnificent; *viz.* at the beginning of the year, and upon his birth day; but the laſt is the moſt chargeable to the ſubjects. For, altho' at his being weigh'd he gives away, to the poor, all that is put in the oppoſite ſcale, which ſometimes will amount to the value of 10,000 *l.* yet it does not come up to the tythe of the preſents made him upon that occaſion.

In ſhort, whether we conſider the Mogul, as to extent of territory, power and force of men, or vaſt increaſe of revenue, he may be look'd upon as one of the moſt powerful monarchs of the world: Eſpecially conſidering, that ſince the time we have been ſpeaking of, *Aureng Zebe* enlarg'd the dominion by the conqueſt of *Decan* and *Golconda*, with the greateſt part of the peninſula, down to *Cormandel*.

CHAP. VI.

Sir Thomas Herbert, *Baronet's, travels in* Aſia. *Begun in the year* 1626.

IN giving an account of Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s travels, we ſhall not give them in the ſame order as they are ſet forth in *Harris*'s *Bibliotheca*, ſince we propoſe to keep the four great diviſions of the world as diſtinct as we can, and therefore paſſing his deſcription of the *Canaries*, part of *Africa*, &c. we ſhall begin where he is brought into the continent of *India*, and inſert as much of the Mogul's country as ſhall appear to be no repetition of what was extracted from Sir *Thomas Roe* and others ready mention'd.

SECT.

SECT. I.

A further account of Indoſtan, *or the* Mogul's *country by Sir* Thomas Herbert.

SIR *Thomas Herbert* having left *England* in *March*, 1626, and touch'd at ſeveral places by the way, which we deſignedly paſs over, arriv'd in ſight of the coaſt of *Goa*, *November* 17. The city of *Goa* is not to be ſeen from the ſea, being three hours journey within the land, in the iſland call'd *Tilſoar*, about 30 miles in compaſs, ſurrounded with a freſh water river, which takes its riſe from the high mountain *Bellapuate*.

Goa ſubdued by the Portugueſes in 1509.

This city is ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall, with turrets, at proper diſtances, well fortified by the *Portugueſes* with a good number of cannon. *Albuquerque*, the famous *Portugueſe* general, took this city in 1509 from the *Decan* kings, and afterwards defended it againſt an army of 70,000 foot and 3,500 horſe, led by *Idul Chan*, and the *Portugueſes* have kept it ever ſince. Round the city are about 20 beautiful towns built by the *Portugueſes*, and all the country looks like a garden, and within the iſland are to be ſeen the ruins of 200 idol temples, which had been demoliſh'd by the vice-roy Don *Antonio di Norogna*, in order to aboliſh the Pagan idolatry. The like they did at *Salſette*, not far from *Goa*, where they deſtroy'd one temple, cut with vaſt labour, out of a ſolid rock, and quite defac'd all their monſtrous images. The market place at *Goa* is a beautiful place, and finely built: The ſtreets very regular, but narrow, as they commonly are in hot countries, to keep out the ſun as much as is poſſible. The vice-roy's and archbiſhop's palace are fine buildings, and the churches very magnificent. The ſtatelieſt church is dedicated to the *Bleſſed Virgin*, in which, they ſay, are depoſited the ſcull and bones of St. *Thomas* the apoſtle. In another church there, call'd St. *Saviour's*, were buried *Albuquerque*, and the famous St. *Francis Xavier*, the *China* apoſtle, who died *December* 4, 1552, in the 55th year of his age, and was canoniz'd by Pope *Gregory* XV. in 1622.

Dabul and Damon.

Sir *Thomas* made no long ſtay at *Goa*, and coaſting along northward, they were overtaken with a hurricane, but eſcap'd to *Dabul*, and from thence to *Damon*, reckon'd the *ne plus ultra* of the *Macedonian* conqueſts: And ſo upon the 29th of *November*, they came to an anchor in *Swally* bay, often mention'd before. Here Sir *Thomas* landed, and was convey'd to *Surat* in a coach drawn by two buffalo's, conducted by *Indian* boys, who prattled *Engliſh* to him, where he was entertain'd by the preſident of the *Engliſh* factory.

Surat.

Surat had been ſubdu'd in 1566, in the reign of *Ezbar* or *Ecbar*, by the valour of *Azam Chan*, and was at this time tolerably well fortify'd, altho' the wall of it was only of mud, with a caſtle of ſtone towards the ſouth weſt ſide, in which was a ſtrong garriſon, and a number of cannon, which they are ſhy of ſhewing to ſtrangers. The weſt gate, which is of ſtone, opens towards the market-place or *Bazar*, where the Mogul's officers daily gather in his cuſtoms.

The people of this country, are ſaid by our author, to have ſuch regard to marriage, that they will let no body die unmarried, if they ſhould hire a wife for a night: but they hate polygamy ſo much, that they reproach the Mahometans among them, as people of an impure and corrupted mind, for having more than one wife.

The pagan account of the peopling the world.

He gives their account of the original of mankind, and of the fall, and the puniſhing the world by the flood, which is a tradition from *Moſes's* writings, or from *Noah*, mix'd with a good deal of legend. They ſay, " That the world was made " by an Almighty Being, who, after he " had created all other things, made one " man and one woman, who were ſo good, " that they choſe to live upon fruit and " vegetables, and did not think it lawful " to take away a life they could not give. " This innocent couple had four ſons, " *Brammon*, who being of a melancholy " conſtitution, became a prieſt, and ad- " dicted himſelf to devotion; *Cuttery*, " being more cholerick, was a ſoldier; " *Shuddery*, of a flegmatic diſpoſition, " turn'd merchant; and *Wiſe*, of a ſan- " guine temper, became a husbandman.

" But theſe men wanting wives to peo- " ple the world, GOD Almighty told " them he had provided four women for " them, and therefore order'd each of " them to go to a different part of the " earth, which they did; *Brammon* to " the eaſt, *Cuttery* to the weſt, *Shuddery* " to the north, and *Wiſe* to the ſouth. " Each of theſe finding the woman pro- " mis'd him, they propagated mankind " in thoſe places they went to, but be- " ing deſirous to ſee their parents, they " all return'd from the different countries, " as if it had been by conſent, to their " native ſoil, with numerous families, and " were receiv'd by their old parents with " great joy. But after ſome ages, the old " couple dying, the four ſons and their fa- " milies began, by degrees, to turn wic- " ked. Brotherly love decay'd, and diſ- " cord, pride and rapine ſucceeded. *Bram-* " *mon* flag'd in his devotion, *Cuttery* " graſp'd at power; *Shuddery* became a " cheat;

" cheat; and *Wife* unthrifty and de-
" bauch'd. GOD was at laſt ſo provok'd
" at their wickedneſs, that he let the ſea
" in upon them, and deſtroy'd the whole
" race. But to repair that loſs, he
" caus'd *Bremaw*, *Viſtney* and *Ruddery*
" to riſe out of the ground, to the firſt
" of whom he gave power to create o-
" ther creatures, and from his ſwell'd bo-
" dy proceeded twice twins of different
" ſexes, from whom the world was re-
" peopled. The other two were to go-
" vern them."

In this account, altho' the circumſtances are ridiculous, we may trace the true hiſtory of the creation, the wickedneſs of *Adam*'s poſterity, and their puniſhment by the flood. They have likewiſe a confus'd tradition concerning the giving the law upon a mount, but they ſeem'd to have confounded the precepts of *Noah* with the laws of *Moſes*.

A rational account of tranſmigration, if it were true.

This author is more particular than our laſt, concerning the principles and practices of the pagan *Indoſtans*, as, for inſtance, that in the tranſmigration of ſouls, they believe they are ſent into bodies adapted to the tempers they are of at preſent. Thus, the ſoul of a drunkard or epicure goes into a hog, for the next turn; the luſtful and inceſtuous, into goats and dogs; diſſemblers into apes, crocodiles and foxes; the lazy into bears and aſſes; the cruel into tygers; the proud into lyons; and ſo of others. And indeed if the doctrine of tranſmigration were true, I ſhould have little difficulty to believe this or ſuch like diſtribution of ſouls, becauſe, *be that is filthy will be filthy ſtill.*

He likewiſe tells us, that they have particular devotion in building temples and chapels under *Bannian* trees, to which they attribute a peculiar ſanctity, ſo that they will not cut a branch of any of them, nor ſuffer them to be defaced any way.

Idols.

To the idols in thoſe chapels they offer ſacrifice, and pay their devotions; and particularly in *Jagganot*, a town in *Bengal*, where they carry the idol, in proceſſion, in a chariot with eight wheels, drawn by an hundred *Indians*; and ſo mad are the people in their ſuperſtition, that ſome zealots throw themſelves in the way, to be cruſh'd to death by the wheels of the chariot, as a ſacrifice to the idol.

Waſhing in the Ganges.

Another piece of religion they have about the river *Ganges*, where ſometimes 100000 *Indians* will meet together, to waſh themſelves in it, and bowing themſelves towards the ſun, throw up the water in their hands, as a piece of worſhip to that planet, ador'd thro' all the eaſt. And, becauſe they ſay the head of the *Ganges* reſembles that of a cow, they have idols made of that ſhape, and pay reſpect to all the ſpecies; but others are of opinion, that the cow is an emblem of the plenty procur'd to the *Egyptians*, by *Serapis*, which is ſaid to be another name for *Joſeph*, mention'd by *Moſes*. They uſe likewiſe a ſort of Baptiſm in the *Ganges*, pouring water upon the heads of children in a religious manner.

They believe the immortality of good ſouls but no reſurrection.

The pagans in that country believe no reſurrection of the body, but they hold the ſoul to be immortal; and that, after many tranſitions from one body to another, *Ruddery*, who was as a judge over men, ſhall carry the good ſouls to heaven, at a certain ſtated period, which we call *The laſt Judgment*; but the ſouls of the wicked ſhall periſh.

The Perſees a diſtinct ſect.

Our author ſays, the *Perſees* about *Guzarat* are a diſtinct people, who, with their king, fled from *Perſia* to avoid Mahometiſm, about the year 630, when the *Turks* over-run their country; theſe have different uſages in their religion from the other pagan *Indians*, which they pretend to have receiv'd from *Zoroaſt*, who, like the impoſtor *Mahomet*, was taken up to heaven, where not having been able to look upon the divinity, in its ſplendor, he had angels eyes put into his head; and thus being enabled to converſe with GOD, he receiv'd a book of laws, from his own mouth.

Zoroaſt his laws.

Thoſe laws are divided into three claſſes, the firſt to the laity, the ſecond to the inferior clergy, and the third to the *Diſtcore* or chief prieſt.

Thoſe to the laity are only five. 1. Shamefacedneſs. 2. Fear. 3. To do nothing without premeditation. 4. To remember GOD's love, every morning, the firſt thing they do, to excite them to gratitude. 5. To pray to the ſun by day, and to the moon by night, which are the great witneſs of light, in oppoſition to the devil, who loves darkneſs.

1. For the laity.

For the clergy.

The laws which regard the clergy, beſides their obligation to the five above mention'd, are 11. 1. To be conſtant to the form of worſhip which he had drawn for them. 2. Not to covet what was anothers. 3. To abhor lies. 4. Not to be worldly minded. 5. To get his book of laws by heart. 6. To keep themſelves free from pollution. 7. To forgive injuries. 8. To teach the laity the true worſhip. 9. To licence matrimony. 10. To be frequent at church. 11. Upon pain of eternal fire, to own no law but his, and neither to add to, nor diminiſh from it.

For the high prieſt.

The rules for the pope, by way of additions to the others mention'd, were 13. 1. Not to let any prophane thing (not even the *Daroes* or clergy of his own religion) touch him; or if they did by chance, he

he was to purify himſelf in water. 2. He muſt do every thing, relating to himſelf, with his own hands, as planting, ſowing, cooking, &c. 3. To be exact in taking the tythes of all the laity. 4. To do acts of charity according to his income, without vain glory. 5. To have his houſe ſo near the church, that he may go into it without being ſeen. 6. His purifications were to be frequent, and he was to abſtain from his wife's company at certain times. 7. He was not only to learn by heart that part of the law which treated of religion, but to be well vers'd in the other two branches of it, which related to aſtrology and phyſick. 8. He was to be moderate in his diet. 9. To fear none but GOD. 10. To tell all people their faults. 11. To diſtinguiſh between true and falſe viſions, and to make a right judgment of them. 12. That he ſhould admire the goodneſs of GOD in his revelations to him, and keep them ſecret. 13. That he and his ſucceſſors ſhould ſtill keep alive the fire which *Zoroaſt* brought from heaven, till the world ſhould be deſtroy'd by fire.

This prophet of theirs had not reſtrained them from any ſort of fleſh, but they refrained from beef and hog's fleſh to pleaſe the Pagan *Indians*, among whom they liv'd.

They had ſix ſolemn feſtivals in memory of the ſeveral parts of the creation; and particularly one in memory of the making of hell, to puniſh the devil and bad men. This feaſt was kept *April* 26. After every one of thoſe feaſts they liv'd abſtemiouſly for five days.

Their baptiſm and confirmation

Their baptiſm ſeems to have been taken either from the Jews or Chriſtians, only mix'd with ſuperſtition. For as ſoon as a child is born, they ſend for a *Daroe*, who being inform'd of the preciſe time of its birth, draws the ſcheme of its nativity, and then carries it to the temple, and having receiv'd the name from the parents, pours water upon it, and prays that it may be cleans'd from all impurity. And at the age of ſeven, the prieſt confirms the children by particular ceremonies, one of which is tying about them a girdle of camel's hair, wrought by the *Daroe*'s own hand; and then they are declar'd true believers.

Their marrieges.

The marriages of thoſe *Perſees* are different from the other *Indians*; for, they ſometimes marry the dead and the living together, for every body, with them muſt be married, either alive or dead. The new married couple, if both alive, are laid upon a bed, where the *Daroe* puts his fingers upon their forehead, asking their conſent to be join'd. To which both agreeing, the man promiſes to enfeoff the woman in a certain number of *Dinas*, (a piece of coin of 30 ſhillings value) and ſhe owns herſelf and all hers to be his; after which the prieſt pouring rice upon them both, prays, *that they may encreaſe as that grain does, and live in unity many years.*

Their burials.

Nor is there leſs difference, between theſe *Perſees* and the other *Indians*, as to burying. When a perſon is ſick, the prieſt is ſent for, and makes a very orthodox prayer over him, *viz. O Lord, thou haſt commanded that we ſhould not offend, but this man has offended; and that we ſhould do good, but this man has done evil; and that we ſhould worſhip thee, but this man has neglected it. Lord forgive him all his offences, evils, and neglects.*

When he dies, they wrap the body in a ſhroud, and ſo carry it to the place of burial in an iron bier. If he liv'd in good repute, he is depoſited in a large round tomb, with others of the ſame character; but if he was in his life, notoriouſly ſcandalous, he is laid in another tomb near the firſt, without any ceremony. *What pity it is that Chriſtians, I mean ſuch as are call'd ſo, but who, by living and dying, diſown'd and blaſphem'd the name, ſhould be buried in conſecrated ground, with the ſame regard (and by the clergy too) that can be ſhew'd to the moſt pious believers! I cannot imagine that the law can oblige the clergy to ſuch a mocking of their own order, and of the excellent office of the church: And if it does not, it is a ſhame that baſer conſiderations ſhould prevail with them to proſtitute their character.* But to return to our *Perſees*.

When the body is laid into the tomb, which being open is expos'd to ſun and rain, the prieſt uſes the following office. " This " our brother, while he liv'd, conſiſted of " the four elements, and now he is dead, " let each take his own. *Earth to earth,* " *air to air, water to water, fire to* " *fire.*" And then he prays to *Sartan* and *Aſud*, (whom they believe to be two angels, who have power over *Lucifer* and his angels) that *they would keep the devils from their deceaſed brother, when he ſhall repair to the holy fire to purge himſelf.* And then the prieſt concludes with a prayer to GOD, to *forgive their brother's offences done in his life time.* Theſe prayers they repeat three times a day at the tomb for three days together, becauſe they believe the ſoul wanders ſo long upon the earth, before it be determin'd to reward or puniſhment. Altho' there is a mixture of ſuperſtition in their offices; yet they ſeem to come neareſt to truth of any heathens we have met with in our travels.

After this account of the *Perſees*, our author proceeds to give the deſcent of

the Moguls from *Cingis Chan*, who was a black ſmith, and being, for his valour, choſen general by ſome of the *Tartars*, call'd *Mogli*, or by the *Bramans*, who were call'd *Gens Magorum*, he ſignaliz'd himſelf by many victories againſt the *Ruſſians* and northern *Tartars*, and became king of ſouth *Tartary*. But I cannot ſee to what purpoſe he mentions him in this place, for neither he, nor any of his race, had any thing to do with the *Moguls*. For, as our author himſelf ſays, the government ended, as to his family, in his grandſon, and then it went into another race, which likewiſe failing, *Tamerlane* was prefer'd to the throne. Nor was this in *Indoſtan*, or proper *India*, but in *Perſia* and part of *Tartary*. We ſhall therefore paſs by what he ſays of thoſe two races, as being nothing to our preſent purpoſe, and come to *Tamerlane*, from whom the *Moguls* were really deſcended.

The riſe of the Mogul's family.

About the year 1375 the *Perſians*, being in confuſion by no leſs than 30 pretenders to the crown, invited *Tamerlane*, then lord of *Samercand*, on the eaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, to come and ſave their country, which he did, and with 50,000 men beat all the 30 tyrants, in three months time. When all things were quiet, there being no lawful heir of the laſt royal family remaining, he, at the earneſt deſire of the people, took upon him the government,

Tamerlane.

which he adminiſter'd with glory and immortal honour for 27 years. In which time he ſubdued the moſt part of *Aſia*, routed the *Turks* in many battles, and ſhut up the great *Ottoman* ſultan *Bajazet* in an iron cage, and in eight years ſubdued almoſt as many provinces as the *Romans* did in 800, and at laſt died full of glory in 1405.

Sharoc,

He left behind him ſeveral ſons, but his youngeſt ſon, *Mirza Sharoc*, by the death of all his brothers, ſome of which died in battle againſt the *Turks*, became ſole poſſeſſor of his father's vaſt dominions, of which by *Tamerlane*'s great valour, and greater reputation, *Indoſtan* was a part. But after his death, which happen'd in 1447, the dominions were divided. *Miram Sha*, the third ſon of *Tamerlane*, had left a ſon behind him, whoſe poſterity keep poſſeſſion of their great anceſtor's hereditary kingdom of *Tartary*. *Perſia* made a king of their own, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Ecbar.

Ecbar was the ſixth from *Tamerlane*, by *Miram Sha*, and had been educated in *Indoſtan* by *Byrangano Chan*, and his father dying at *Dehli*, his tutor *Byrangano*, with the aſſiſtance of his ſon *Chan Channa*, got him proclaim'd king, and he was ſolemnly crown'd at *Dehli*. This prince ſhew'd himſelf to be of *Tamerlane*'s blood by his inclination to arms, by which he enlarg'd the dominions of *Indoſtan*. He likewiſe threw down the old caſtle of *Agra*, and built another larger, in the ſame place, of hewen ſtone, which is one of the fineſt buildings in *Aſia*.

In this reign *Zemet*, one of *Ecbar*'s captains, being diſguſted, fled to *Radgee Rann*, a deſcendant of *Porus*, and was entertain'd by him. This prince had not ſubmitted to the kings of *Indoſtan*, but kept *Chitor*, a large province between *Agra* and *Guzarat* independant of them. Upon *Zemet*'s going to him for refuge, *Radgee* made him governor of *Chitor* caſtle, a place of great ſtrength. But *Ecbar* marching in perſon with 50,000 men againſt it, altho' it was bravely defended, he undermin'd it after ſome months ſiege, and having blown up a part of it, enter'd at the head of 20,000 men, and became maſter of it, with little reſiſtance, *Zemet* having ſhut himſelf and his family up in a room, and ſet it a-fire, upon the news of *Ecbar*'s entring the place. Upon the taking of this place *Radgee* ſubmitted to the conqueror.

He takes Chitor.

But this victory was ſcarcely obtain'd, when he was alarm'd by the news of his brother *Mamet Hegees* having enter'd the kingdom at *Cabul* with a ſtrong army. Upon this intelligence, he march'd directly towards that province, and that with ſuch expedition, that he ſurpriz'd *Mamet* before he was aware, who fled, and left his camp to *Ecbar*. This ſucceſs ſet him upon farther conqueſts, which he not only purſu'd in perſon, but ſent another diſtinct army againſt *Patana* on the eaſt ſide of the *Ganges*, under the conduct of *Badur-Chan*, *Allekooli-Chan*, and *Zemaen*, who having defeated the *Patanians* at four different places, agreed to ſet up for themſelves, and to conquer all *India*. *Ecbar* being appriz'd of their deſign by letters from his mother from *Agra*, made another expeditious march againſt the junto, and having put them to flight, two of the chiefs fell into his hands, of whom *Allekooli* was trodden to death by horſes, and *Badur* ſtrangled by *Ecbar*'s order.

Defeats his brother without fighting.

And quells a rebellion of ſome Chans.

Another rebellion breaking out in *Guzarat*, headed by two *Hoſſens*, and two other Chans, he made an incredible march of 300 miles in four days, tranſporting his army upon dromedaries, and coming thus unexpectedly upon the conſpirators, routed them near *Amadavar*, and kill'd a great number in the purſuit, among whom were *Ibrahim Hoſſen*, and *Mirza Chan*: And *Mahomet Hoſſen* being taken and beheaded, the neck of the rebellion was broken; and *Surat*, with ſome other towns in the kingdom of *Guzarat*, which were

were not ſubject to the Moguls before, now ſubmitted themſelves to him. It was after this victory that he began the famous caſtle of *Agra*, in which he employ'd 1,200 workmen for 12 years, and the charge of it was computed to have been 2,500,000 rupies, or 312,500 *l.* altho', at the ſame time, he laid out 1,500,000 rupies, or 187,500 *l.* upon the walls and palace at *Fettipore*, a place within 18 miles of *Agra*; but afterwards, for want of water, ſlighted it, and let it go to decay. He likewiſe began the famous *Mauſoleum*, or burying place, but neither he nor his ſon liv'd to finiſh it, tho' they laid out about 14 millions of rupies upon it. This great work is at *Scander*, i. e. *Alexander*, five miles from *Agra*, and is a ſquare of 300 paces every way, with a tower of chequer'd marble at each corner, and ten foot higher another tower, beautified on each ſide with three others, reſembling the famous *Septizonium* of *Severus*, whoſe ruins are ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome*.

He cauſes to build two palaces at a vaſt charge.

And begins a ſtately Mauſoleum.

Whilſt theſe three great buildings were carrying on, he added *Bengal* to his dominions, which he eaſily effected, becauſe of the effeminate temper of *Sha Dowet*, who was king of it. This prince living in debauchery, knew nothing of *Ecbar*'s deſign upon him, till he had paſt the *Ganges* with 200,000 foot and 50,000 horſe, and 600 elephants; and when he heard of it, he ſent an army of only 20,000 horſe to oppoſe his paſſage, who fought *Ecbar* for three hours with great bravery; but being overpower'd by numbers, they fled, and the king ſhut himſelf up in *Pathan*, a fortified town, to which *Ecbar* puſuing him, in four months time took it, and finding *Sha Dowet* dead drunk, order'd his head to be cut off, which was accordingly done, and thus he became maſter of the great kingdom of *Bengal*.

After this ſucceſs, he return'd to overſee his buildings, leaving his generals to purſue the conqueſts of other provinces, which they did with good ſucceſs, particularly *Moheb-Ally Chan* gain'd the caſtle of *Rota* by an out of the way ſtratagem. Having a ſeraglio of women along with him, he pretended to be going to *Bengal*, but being clog'd with his women, who retarded his march, offer'd any conſideration to the lord of the caſtle to ſuffer them to ſtay in it till his return. The *Raia* or lord of the place, who lov'd the fair ſex, hugg'd himſelf with ſuch a number of gueſts, and eaſily conſented to entertain them in the general's abſence. But *Moheb Ally* making all his women ſtrip, as many young men put on their habit, with a couragious eunuch to manage the attempt. As ſoon as they were admitted, they ſeiz'd upon the arms of the garriſon, and putting them to the ſword, made way for the general's forces, who entring at a ſignal given, ſoon became maſter of it, and put an immenſe treaſure into *Ecbar*'s poſſeſſion.

A ſtratagem of one of Ecbar's *generals.*

But we cannot but lament the fate of an unfortunate young lady, who being heireſs of a province of the *Patans*, and chuſing rather to hazard the danger of war than to ſubmit to be *Ecbar*'s vaſſal, march'd with an army againſt *Adam Chan*, one of the Mogul's generals; but her army being defeated, ſhe herſelf was taken, and rather than ſubmit to an unjuſt conqueror, or to hazard the injuries to which her ſex and beauty might expoſe her, among people whoſe will might be their law, ſhe poiſon'd herſelf.

A hapleſs attempt of a young lady.

Ecbar having been ſucceſsful on all hands, in quelling rebellions and ſubduing new provinces, became ſo formidable to the neighbouring princes, that ſeveral of them ſubmitted, and became vaſſals to him of their own accord, and as a token of ſubjection brought their daughters to be his concubines, for whom he built a fine palace at *Elabaſſe*, where the *Gemini* falls into *Ganges*.

The Mogul had three ſons, *viz. Selim*, *Morad*, and *Daen-Sha*, the firſt of which was the ſame formerly mention'd, to whom Sir *Thomas Roe* was ſent ambaſſador. The two eldeſt he employed in his wars, but with unequal ſucceſs, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

The king having an immoderate deſire of enlarging his empire, omitted no opportunity of getting poſſeſſion of other prince's dominions, and therefore hearing of the death of the king of *Decan*, reſolv'd to attack his ſon, before he ſhould be fix'd in the throne. To effect this he ſent *Chan Channa* with 30,000 horſe, who was to be join'd by another army at *Brampore* formerly mention'd; but whilſt the young king was getting his army in order at *Decan*, his ſiſter *Bieby* having fortified one of the frontier towns, and gotten a good reinforcement of men from their neighbour kings of *Golconda* and *Viſipor*, ſhe gave the command of her army to *Shuhel* an eunuch, who fought the Mogul's troops, for 18 hours with great courage, and even oppos'd a freſh reſerve brought by *Chan Channa*, for three hours longer. But at laſt the eunuch being kill'd, the *Decans* retir'd, and were purſued by the *Indoſtans*, when the brave amazon appear'd in the field, and ſtopping thoſe who retir'd, and joining to them a ſmall body of horſe they had brought from the town, ſhe gave ſuch a turn to the fortune of the day, that her enemies were fain to retire out of *Decan*.

The princeſs Bieby, *another* Amazon, *has better ſucceſs.*

Ecbar

Ecbar, being intent upon that war, ſent his ſon *Morad*, with 15,000 horſe to reinforce the *Chan*'s army, and to take the command of it with that general's advice and aſſiſtance, but the young prince giving himſelf over to wine and women, died without doing any thing worth relating. But after his death the *Decan* war continued with various ſucceſs all *Ecbar*'s life.

In the mean time, *Sha Selim* was ſent againſt *Raia Ranas*, between *Agra* and *Guzarat*. This prince was ſaid to be the deſcendant of *Porus*, and one of great courage and skill in ſoldierſhip; whilſt *Ecbar* himſelf went in perſon to countenance the *Decan* expedition; and by the way ſubdued *Badurſha*, a powerful *Radgee*, who had fortified a ſtrong caſtle againſt him, which he brought under his dominion. But in his march towards *Decan*, he was ſurpriz'd with the account of *Sha Selim*'s marching his army towards *Agra*, with an intention to uſurp the crown. Upon this intelligence he left the *Decan* war to the management of his third ſon *Sha Daen*, and return'd to *Agra*, whither the uſurper had gotten before him; but the report of his father's approach made him abandon it, having been diſappointed of the chief deſign of his going thither, which was his father's treaſure. *Selim* having left *Agra*, march'd towards *Bengal*, many towns owning him as he paſt.

Selim *rebels.*

Ecbar try'd gentle methods at firſt to reduce him to obedience, and wrote kind letters mix'd with threats, but to no purpoſe, till he was frighten'd by the ſucceſs of the *Decan* expedition. *Daen Sha* having again enter'd that country, laid ſiege to *Gandetzin*, where the warlike princeſs *Bieby* had ſhut herſelf up with a great number of the nobility, having ſtor'd the place with proviſions for two years, reſolving to hold out to the laſt extremity. They defended it bravely for near ſeven months, but at laſt the fortunate *Daen* took it by ſtorm, and put moſt of thoſe who had oppos'd him to the ſword, and the brave princeſs, diſdaining to be his priſoner, poiſon'd herſelf. In this place prince *Daen* got great treaſure, and the kings of *Viſipore* and *Golconda* made a kind of ſubmiſſion to the Mogul. This ſucceſs ſo terrified *Selim*, that he wrote ſubmiſſive letters to his father, and after deceiving him once or twice by falſe ſubmiſſions, was prevail'd upon to truſt his clemency, and went to *Agra*, where after a ſhort impriſonment *Ecbar* releas'd him. But his freedom did not continue long; for upon ſome new jealouſy, he was confin'd again, where he remain'd as long as his father liv'd, which was not long, having by miſtake taken a poiſon'd pill made by his phyſician, at his command, for his chief favourite, nor could they ſave him, tho' they omitted nothing to do it; ſo that having been rack'd with the force of the poiſon for 14 days, he died in the 72d year of his age, after a ſucceſsful reign of 52 years, and was buried in a golden coffin in his own *Mauſoleum*, of which we have made mention above.

Bieby *poiſons herſelf.*

Ecbar *dies of poiſon which he deſign'd for his favourite*

Upon his death, *Radgee Manſingh* and *Aſem Chan* giving out that he had, before his death, appointed *Coſorone*, *Selim*'s eldeſt ſon, to ſucceed him, proclaim'd him king, but *Selim*, by the aſſiſtance of ſome powerful friends, and the intereſt of the *Seraglio*, got poſſeſſion of the palace, as we obſerv'd in the laſt chapter, in Sir *Thomas Roe*'s account of the Mogul's court; and was ſolemnly crown'd in 1604.

Coſorone, *ſon of* Selim, *ſet up for king, but is diſappointed.*

Sha Selim *ſolemnly crown'd.*

As ſoon as he was crown'd he gave a general act of grace, but his ſon *Coſorone* believing it was deſign'd to entrap him, and his two ſupporters, refus'd to come in upon it, and fled to *Cabul*, but being purſu'd by his father, (for he durſt not truſt an affair of that conſequence to any one elſe, his ſon being generally belov'd) he fled to *Lahor*, but was denied entrance into the caſtle by *Ibrahim Chan*. So that in deſpair, he return'd with a wicked intention to fight his father's army, and in all probability had gotten the better of the firſt party of them which he encounter'd, had not his ſtandard-bearer thrown away his ſtandard and fled. After this, he and his chief followers were brought into the king's power by ſome watermen in paſſing a river, who put to death the chief of the rebels, and put his ſon in priſon.

But this was not the only conſpiracy againſt him; for his tyrany, which he began ſoon to exerciſe, made ſome other Chans form a plot to take his life as he march'd to *Cabul*, but it was diſcover'd, and he was inform'd that *Ethaman Doulet*, his treaſurer, had furniſh'd them with money out of the treaſury. This plot ſtruck him with terror, but getting the better of it, he caus'd the conſpirators to be put to death, and got a large ſum of money for ſparing *Doulet*, but put him out of his office. However, he ſoon got into favour by means of his daughter, a young widow, who being near the ſultan queen in her veil, *Selim* in jeſt lifted it up, and was ſo ſtruck with her beauty, that he advanced her to be his favourite queen, and call'd her *Normahal*, that is, *the glory of the court*. This marriage, and his doating upon his new wife, rais'd her father *Doulet*, and her brother *Aſaph Chan* to the greateſt places at court, as has been obſerv'd in another place.

A plot.

The king falls in love with Normahal.

Soon after this, Sir *Thomas Roe* arriv'd in the Mogul's country, of whoſe embaſſy we have given an account, and of the *Decan* wars, as far as they were carried on

in

in his time. We ſhall therefore paſs over what is related in that period, to avoid repetitions, and proceed to relate what paſt after his departure, about the year 1616.

We ſaid, from the accounts of Sir *Thomas Roe* and Mr. *Terry*, &c. that ſultan *Coroon* was ſent upon the *Decan* expedition, in which he was but juſt enter'd by the time that Sir *Thomas Roe*, whoſe buſineſs was chiefly to ſettle the *Eaſt India* trade, leſt the Mogul's court, having put the trade upon the beſt footing that he could, and having, by his prudent management, brought not only the Mogul, who was always his friend, but Sultan *Coroon*, *Aſaph Chan*, and *Normahal*, into the *Engliſh* intereſt.

After Sir *Thomas Roe*'s departure, our author tells us that the *Decan* war was carried on with ſucceſs under ſultan *Perwiſe*, whom his father ſent a ſecond time to manage it. To prevent which, he wrote letters, as if they had come from *Agra*, giving an account of the Mogul's death, and *Coroon*'s advancement to the throne. Thoſe letters he put into the hands of a cunning *Banian*, in his intereſt, who letting himſelf be taken by *Perwiſe*'s ſoldiers, as a ſpy, was brought before the prince, and behav'd ſo well, that it was believ'd through the whole camp, and *Perwiſe* march'd with part of the army to *Brampore*, and two other generals to *Surat* and *Agra*, according as their intereſt or conveniency led them, without reinforcing the garriſons they had in the *Decan* territories, ſo that the king of *Decan* got poſſeſſion of all his towns by this ſtratagem.

Selim was angry at their credulity, and blam'd their conduct; but to remedy the miſtake, ſent a new army againſt *Decan*, under the command of *Mahobet Chan* governor of *Brampore*. (formerly mention'd for his kindneſs to Sir *Thomas Roe*, and his good offices to the *Engliſh*) who ſoon recover'd part of what had been loſt by the precipitant departure of the army. This Chan's behaviour in the war was very acceptable to the Mogul, for which he gave him the governments of *Cabul* and *Banges*.

This prince ſent an ambaſſador to the king of *Perſia*, who carried with him very magnificent preſents, *viz.* 12 cheſts of choice linnen, 2 of rich ſaſhes, with daggers with handles of precious ſtones; and the ambaſſador's equipage was ſuch as became the ambaſſador of ſo great a prince. *Abbas* king of *Perſia* receiv'd him handſomely, and at his departure, preſented him, for the Mogul's uſe, with 500 horſes, 20 mules, 500 aſſes, 150 dromedaries, 18 cheſts of choice carpets and bezars, 20 camels load of *Schyras* wine, and 8 of conſerv'd dates, &c. But this probably happen'd before the coming of the *Perſian* ambaſſador, mention'd by Sir *Thomas Roe*, becauſe it may be imagin'd, after the treatment he met with at the Mogul's court, the Mogul's ambaſſador would not have been ſo well receiv'd at *Iſpahan*.

We obſerv'd in Sir *Thomas Roe*'s journal, that the Mogul had taken *Coſorone* out of priſon at his leaving *Aſmere*. But *Normahal*'s intereſt was ſo great with him, that he was once more perſuaded to deliver that unhappy prince into the hands of *Coroon*; who, being jealous of the affections of the people to *Coſorone*, and thinking it would be dangerous for him to uſurp the crown from his father whilſt he had an elder brother alive ſo belov'd, was reſolv'd to get rid of him at any rate; but knowing *Selim* had no intention to take his life, would not be ſeen in the matter, but feigning himſelf ſick, removed from the city where he had his brother priſoner (which our author does not name, but it was probably in or near the territories of *Decan*) under pretence of taking the country air for health's ſake, and, in the mean time, a villain was appointed to murder *Coſorone*, which he did with a bow-ſtring, after the Mahometan manner, having forced into his chamber. The next morning, the unhappy prince's wife coming into his chamber, and finding him dead, with viſible marks of the murder in his bruis'd face, fill'd the whole city with her lamentations; but *Coroon* returning, made ſhew of great grief, which nobody believ'd.

Sultan Coſorone murder'd by Coroon's order.

Upon the news of this murder, the Mogul wrote to *Coroon* and the aſſociates, that he would make enquiry into the fact, and never pardon any one who had a hand in it. This threat determin'd *Coroon* to uſurp the crown, which probably was his intention before: but he was now confirm'd in his deſign, by his father's ſending for *Coſorone*'s widow, and her family, and entailing the crown upon her ſon by the dead prince, and his giving him into the hands of his grandfather, by the mother, *Aſem Chan*.

Coroon rebels again.

To facilitate *Coroon*'s attempt, *Aſaph Chan* and *Normahal* had perſuaded the Mogul to tranſport his treaſure from *Agra* to *Lahor*, where he then reſided, and *Aſaph* went himſelf with the order, which the treaſurer at firſt diſputed, but afterwards provided camels, and had them loaded with the treaſure out of the caſtle of *Agra*. But being a prudent man, and jealous of the intelligence between *Aſaph* and his rebellious ſon-in-law, he had ſent ſpies upon the road he was to take, one of which return'd in haſte, informing him that *Coroon* was marching towards *Dehli* with 70,000 horſe. Upon this intelli-

gence *Elhabar Chan*, the treaſurer, unloaded all his camels, and, in ſpite of all that *Aſaph* could ſay to the contrary, he repoſited the treaſure in the caſtle, and fortified it againſt any attempt that could be made upon it, and at the ſame time ſent a truſty meſſenger, by another route, to *Labor*, with an account of what he had done, and his reaſons for it.

Selim *fights him.*

Selim being alarm'd at this new attempt of his ſon, march'd againſt him, with all the force he had in the provinces near *Labor*, and coming near *Debli*, *Coroon*, after having made a fruitleſs attempt upon the caſtle of *Agra*, return'd with his army to give his father battle. Both armies were divided into three parts. The Mogul's was led, one brigade by his youngeſt ſon *Sheryer*, aſſiſted by *Mahobet Chan*, the ſecond by *Abdul Chan*, and the third he led himſelf, aſſiſted by *Radgee Bertſing*. *Coroon*'s army was divided between *Bigermanſe*, *Chan Channa*, and *Ruſtan Chan*; he himſelf charg'd in *Chan Channa*'s diviſion.

Bigermanſe, with his brigade, charg'd *Bertſing*; *Mahobet* was encounter'd by *Coroon* and *Chan Channa*, and *Abdul Chan* was oppos'd by *Raſtan*. The action was furious on both ſides, and very bloody for about three hours. But *Bigarmanſe*'s valour bore down all before him; ſo that having put the Mogul's brigade in diſorder, he came up to *Selim* himſelf, and with as much confidence as if he had been, without diſpute, conqueror, told the Mogul, *He was his priſoner*: But one of that prince's guard gave him ſo ſeaſonable a blow with a pole-ax, as hinder'd him for ever from making inſolent ſpeeches to his maſter.

And beats his army.

Upon the death of this general, *Coroon*'s ſoldiers were ſo diſpirited, that they began to give ground, and the Mogul's party rallied, and purſu'd the advantage; ſo that, altho' *Coroon* behav'd himſelf with more bravery and perſonal courage than could have been expected in ſo bad a cauſe, his army deſerted the field, and he was forced to fly for company.

The Mogul did not purſue his victory; but being eager to entertain himſelf with his beloved *Normahal*, gave himſelf over to eaſe and pleaſure, by which he gave *Aſaph Chan* a freſh opportunity of working him to be, once more, reconcil'd to *Coroon*. But it did not laſt long, for upon pretence of an inſult offer'd to ſome of his friends in *Guzarat* by *Abdul Chan*'s deputy in that government, he took the field again, and the Mogul ſent his third ſon *Perwiſe* againſt him, who having been join'd by *Mahobet Chan*, obtain'd an entire victory over him, ſo that *Coroon* was forced to fly to the king of *Decan*, who

Coroon *obtains a pardon, but rebelling again, is beaten, and retires to* Decan.

receiv'd him kindly, as being uſeful to him againſt the Mogul, by the intelligence he had in his father's dominions.

A little before this laſt rupture the *Perſians* had attack'd *Candahor*, as belonging to that crown, and in ſpite of the aſſiſtance ſent by the Mogul, the *Perſian* army took the town, and poſſeſs'd it for ſome time. And now, after *Coroon*'s laſt rebellion, the *Usbec Tartars* made an incurſion as far as *Cabul*. Againſt theſe *Selim* ſent *Zaed Chan*, ſon to *Mahobet*, who ſharing the ſpirit and courage of his father, came unexpectedly upon the *Tartars*, who were loaded with plunder, and gave them a ſignal overthrow, and chas'd them out of *Indoſtan*; for which he was applauded by the Mogul, and rewarded. But *Selim*, being now ſecure, took a progreſs to *Caſmire*, indulging himſelf with *Normahal*, which opportunity *Coroon* laying hold of, left *Decan*, and going through the ſouthern provinces, rais'd a freſh army.

The Usbec Tartars beaten by the Mogul's forces.

Coroon *in arms again.*

Perwiſe march'd againſt him, and *Selim* awaking out of his lethargy at this freſh alarm, ſent orders for levying forces. And now, ſo inconſtant were the *Chans*, *Chan Channa* offer'd his ſervice to *Perwiſe*, and *Abdul Chan* was in the rebellion with *Coroon*. *Perwiſe* would not truſt *Channa*, but confin'd him, and ſent his wife and children to *Agra*.

Perwiſe meeting his brother's army near the *Ganges*, they engage in a bloody battle, where, after various ſucceſs, for ſome hours, and both the brothers wounded, the victory fell to the juſter ſide, *Coroon* fled to the ſtrong caſtle of *Rantas* with 4000 horſe, but, being cloſe purſued by *Mahobet*, he retir'd to *Patan*, leaving his ſeraglio behind, and taking only *Aſaph Chan*'s daughter with him. From thence he ſent to *Dareb*, the ſon of *Chan Channa*, to levy forces for him about *Bengal*: But *Perwiſe* having ſet a price upon his head, the *Omrahs* of the country, ſeeing *Coroon*'s affairs in a bad way, ſeiz'd *Dareb* and his children, and cutting off their heads, ſent them to *Perwiſe*.

But is again defeated by Perwiſe.

Upon this intelligence, *Coroon*, being ſtill purſued by *Mahobet*, retir'd to *Golconda*; but that king, afraid of having any of the Mogul's family too near his diamond mine, ſet a ſtrict guard upon the places, where he kept his treaſure.

This diamond mine lies near *Marcanda*, about 90 miles from *Maſulipatan*, upon the eaſt coaſt of *India within the Ganges*. It is a large rock, at the foot of a mountain. The ſoil, for many miles round it, is barren and ſandy; but as you approach the rock itſelf, it is of a reddiſh colour, and the vein of the rock is a pale yellow.

The diamond mine of Golconda.

There

There is plenty of diamonds in it, of an excellent water, beſides many other ſorts of jewels, ſuch as topazes, amethiſts, &c. Every diamond exceeding 20 carats is the king's property, all under that ſize belong to the finders.

Coroon finding his reception very cold at *Golconda*, and having, whilſt he ſtaid there, been kindly invited to *Decan*, and had money ſent him, took leave of the king, and went along with the meſſenger of *Melec Amber*, to *Decan*, where he ſtaid three months, and then having got together 10,000 horſe, attempted to enter *Brampore*, but was refus'd entrance by *Ruſtan*, whom *Perwiſe* had made governor of it: And after having in vain attempted to force it, he retir'd again to *Decan*.

Selim at firſt ſhew'd himſelf ſo grateful to *Mahobet*, who had the greateſt ſhare in all ſultan *Perwiſe*'s ſucceſs, that he careſs'd him very favourably, and beſtow'd upon his ſon the government of *Bengal*. But this countenance ſhew'd his family was look'd upon with a jealous eye, by *Normahal* and *Aſaph*; and therefore, having procured an order from the Mogul to *Mahobet* to ſend *Chan Channa* to *Agra*, altho' he foreſaw the ill uſe they were like to make of it, he obey'd the order; and they having, under hand, made that rebel's peace, got him to accuſe *Mahobet* of treaſon for having put his ſons to death, and for keeping himſelf priſoner, after he had deſerted *Coroon*'s party, and offer'd his ſervice to *Perwiſe*. This accuſation, together with a letter they had procur'd from *Perwiſe*, repreſenting *Mahobet* as an ambitious man, wrought ſo upon the jealous temper of *Selim*, that, forgetting the faithful ſervice he had often done him, he call'd him to court, and diſpos'd, in the mean time, of his government.

Mahobet Chan *in diſgrace by the contrivance of* Normahal *and her brother.*

Mahobet, altho' he was ſurpriz'd at this proceeding, being truly loyal, takes his journey to court, but being adviſ'd from ſeveral quarters of the intrigues carried on againſt him by the prevailing faction there, was perſuaded to go aſide to a ſtrong caſtle at *Rantimpore*, reſolving to take all dutiful ways to clear his innocence, and, at the ſame time, to ſecure himſelf againſt the malice of ſuch, as were indeed no leſs, their maſter's enemies than they were his.

In the mean time, *Coroon*, taking this opportunity, ſent a rich preſent to his father, of rare coins, and fine pictures, which he had bought from the *Portugueſes*, together with 100 elephants, which ſo mollified the old gentleman, prepar'd beforehand by his firm partiſans the queen and *Aſaph*, that he forgave him, and by *Aſaph*'s advice he was ſent for to court. And, at the ſame time, a poſitive order was diſpatch'd to *Mahobet* to deliver up *Rantimpore* to the queen, and that he himſelf ſhould go to *Perwiſe*, who was governor of *Orixa*. *Mahobet* being divided between his duty to his ſovereign and a juſt regard for his own ſafety againſt thoſe who had ſhut the king's ears from truth, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the Mogul, aſſuring him, *That he would ſerve him with his life and fortune, but praying his majeſty to excuſe him if he refus'd to put himſelf into the power of his enemies.* In order therefore to clear himſelf, and not be betray'd upon the road, he took 5000 Rasbout voluntiers with him, and march'd toward *Lahor*, where *Selim* then was; but the junto, being afraid of the force of truth, if he ſhould have acceſs to the Mogul, ſent him an order in his majeſty's name to diſmiſs his guard, and to come with only a few ſervants to court. *Mahobet* had too good ſenſe not to know the meaning of this order, and not thinking his duty concern'd in diſobeying the commands of *Normahal*, ſent his excuſe by his ſon-in-law. But this gentleman no ſooner arriv'd but he was ſtript of all his finery, and having been firſt beaten upon the ſoles of his feet, was cloth'd in rags, and put upon a lean jade, with his face to the tail, and in that poſture carried in proceſſion through the army by the queen's order.

Refuſes to appear ſingle at court.

Mahobet *raiſes forces,*

This baſe treatment *Mahobet* reſented ſo much, that he was reſolv'd to keep no meaſures any longer with the queen and *Aſaph*: And therefore having publiſh'd a manifeſto, *declaring his loyalty to the king, and that his deſign was only to free his maſter from the the power and ſubjection he was under to ſuch as had abus'd his name and authority to the great ſcandal of his beſt ſubjects, and to his diſhonour*; he rais'd an army of 20,000 Raſbouts, and march'd againſt *Normahal*'s army, (as it was call'd) which conſiſted of 50,000 men.

Normahal had ſo infatuated the Mogul by her charms, and the long aſcendant ſhe had had over him, that he was perſuaded to go in perſon againſt *Mahobet*, who either did not know he was there, or found his inevitable ruin, together with that of the empire and his maſter together, in going back. Having therefore, by his ſpies, found that her army was divided, a conſiderable number of them having paſt the river *Phat*, being an experienc'd ſoldier he loſt no time, but attack'd that part of the army which had paſt the river, and in two hours time, routed them entirely, having kill'd 6000 of them upon the ſpot; and then paſſing the river, march'd in order againſt the other army, which ſtood, without ſeeming to have any intention to oppoſe him, *ſo contrary it was to the inclinations*

and defeats the Mogul's army.

clinations of the ſoldiers, to ſupport a wicked miniſtry, who had put their weak prince upon meaſures contrary to his honour, and the intereſt of his kingdom; however they were over perſuaded by their generals, who were in the pay of the queen and her brother, and engaging with *Mahobet*, a bloody battle enſued, which laſted for five hours. But, at laſt, *Mahobet* got the victory, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. Twelve thouſand of the queen's forces were kill'd: *Selim* together with his beloved *Normahal* were taken, as likewiſe *Aſaph*, which laſt, *Mahobet* caus'd to be put in chains of ſilver.

His behaviour after the victory.

I will not pretend to juſtify *Mahobet*, in fighting againſt an army, where his lawful ſovereign was in perſon; but his behaviour afterwards ſhew'd that he had no treaſon in his heart, and that, in good earneſt, he meant no more than *to take the wicked from before the king, that his throne might be eſtabliſh'd in righteouſneſs*. For he no ſooner had the king in his power, but he did him all the homage due to him, and ſerv'd him with as much ſubmiſſion as formerly. Nor can this be call'd a grimace, for he uſurp'd no power but what the king freely gave him. All that he deſir'd was that the king would call a council together, and give him an opportunity before his majeſty and the council to juſtify his conduct. This was ſo reaſonable that *Selim* could not refuſe to comply with it without loſing the hearts of all his ſubjects.

He therefore ſummon'd the council together, and whereas, for ſome time paſt, he had been entirely govern'd by *Normahal*, and either had not called a council, or the lords of it were over-awed by the power of the queen, and her brother; now that *Mahobet* had given them courage to ſpeak their minds, the king was perſuaded to liſten to good council. So that *Mahobet* having ſatisfied his maſter of the innocency of his intentions, the council unanimouſly voted that the queen and her brother ſhould loſe their heads, with ſome others of the faction, as betrayers of the truſt repos'd in them.

Normahal and Aſaph condemn'd.

But *Selim* having ſtill a great affection for *Normahal*, with tears beg'd that ſhe might be ſpar'd; which *Mahobet*, out of regard to the king, conſented to, againſt the opinion of all the other well-wiſhers of their country, and even againſt his own judgment; and ſince he had agreed to ſpare her life, he generouſly releas'd her brother, and treated all the priſoners with great humanity. And, in ſhort, he put the government upon ſuch a footing, that, had *Selim* continued it in the form it was put, it had been happy for the country. But *Perwiſe* dying about this time, and *Selim* falling back into the ill meaſures of his wife, *Mahobet* retir'd from the world, and turn'd recluſe. But the queen having never forgiven him the ſentence pronounc'd againſt her, and having forgotten that it was owing to him alone that the ſentence was not executed, ſhe projected his deſtruction, altho' he had left her in full power. But *Aſaph Chan*, who, notwithſtanding the former ill uſe he had made of his credit with the Mogul, retain'd a grateful ſenſe of *Mahobet*'s generous treatment, labour'd all he could to divert her from her wicked deſign, but finding it in vain, he diſpatch'd a truſty meſſenger with a letter to him, diſcovering the queen's intention to murder him, warning him to take care of himſelf.

And ſpar'd.

Normahal contrives to kill Mahobet, which Aſaph diſcovers to him.

Mahobet, upon this intelligence, leaves his cell, and makes the beſt of his way to the *Radgee Rana*, who had long been his friend: But *Normahal* having caus'd an army to march that way, *Rana*, being afraid to risk a war, adviſ'd *Mahobet* to go to *Coroon*, to whom he wrote letters of recommendation, which *Mahobet* carried himſelf. As ſoon as *Coroon* had read *Rana*'s letters, he embrac'd *Mahobet*, and put entire confidence in him. This reconcilement aſtoniſh'd the whole empire, and *Normahal* too late repented her having forced *Mahobet* to leave his cell. The Mogul took it ſo to heart, that, being ſeiz'd with a fever, he died in three days, after he had reign'd 23 years with different turns of fortune. His death happen'd in the year 1627, having nam'd *Bullochy*, *Coſorone*'s ſon, for his ſucceſſor.

He flies to Coroon.

Selim dies.

Diſputes about the ſucceſſion.

As ſoon as he was dead, *Normahal* pretending a nomination made in favour of her ſon, ſultan *Sherier*, rais'd an army and march'd towards *Dehli*, having ſent her ſon to *Jangapore* to provide forces to join her, and being in poſſeſſion of vaſt treaſures, which had been *Selim*'s, ſhe doubted not to ſettle her ſon upon the throne. But in the mean time, ſome of the moſt powerful *Chans*, who had been about *Selim*, had join'd their forces, and as ſoon as *Selim* died, conducted *Bullochy* (now 13 years of age) to *Dehli*, where he was crown'd with great pomp; after which they march'd againſt *Sherier*, and paſſing, by another route than *Normahal* had taken, they deſignedly miſs'd of her, and coming unexpectedly upon her ſon, cut his forces in pieces, and put out his eyes; upon the news of which, the proud queen loſt all her ſpirit, and ſubmitted to the young king's mercy, who not only forgave her, but, during the ſhort while he liv'd, treated her as a queen.

Whilſt theſe things were carrying on at *Lahor*, *Coroon* having been inform'd of *Selim*'s death by *Aſaph*, (who kept with the new king, that he might be of uſe to his ſon-in-law) rais'd what forces he

he could by the intereſt of *Mahobet*, and his own, and march'd to *Agra*, where, without any difficulty, he was proclaim'd, and in a ſhort time, encreas'd in power, ſo that he march'd againſt his nephew; but *Aſaph* did his buſineſs before he arriv'd; for perceiving that moſt people were averſe to the young king, becauſe he would not ſhew himſelf according to cuſtom, he ventur'd to attack him in the bagnio, where he ſtrangled him, together with *Sherier*, and two ſons of *Perwiſe*. And thus *Coroon* became Mogul, without a competitor, and marching to *Dehli*, was crown'd in a full aſſembly of the nobility.

Coroon crown'd.

As ſoon as he was in full poſſeſſion, he declar'd *Aſaph Chan* his firſt miniſter, and next to him in power was *Mahobet*. He confin'd *Normahal* and her daughters, and ſettled at *Agra*. But our author had as bad an opinion of this prince as Sir *Thomas Roe* had, and gives, as one reaſon of it, his inceſtuous marriage with his own daughter. This is the ſubſtance of Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s account of the Mogul's country, and of the royal family then upon the throne. We ſhall now follow him into *Perſia*.

SECT. II.

Sir Thomas Herbert's *account of* Perſia.

SIR *Thomas* having made ſome ſtay in the Mogul's country, reſolv'd to viſit *Perſia*, and therefore went to *Diu*, which, by his ſaying, that a branch of the *Indies* makes it a kind of peninſula, I take to be *Diul*, in the *Tata* province, near the mouth of the *Indus*, weſtward of it, and not *Dio* in the province of *Guzarat*. This, our author ſays, is near the city which *Alexander* built, on the river *Hydaſpes*, a branch of *Indus*, and call'd it after the name of his horſe *Bucephalus*, who was kill'd in one of his battles with *Porus* at the place. And that it was at this *Diul* where his admiral *Nearchus* repair'd his fleet to ſail to *Ormus*, which lies weſt from thence.

Diul.

This city was once a place of great trade before the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſettled at *Surat*, for this was the mart for all the merchandize vendible in the Mogul's country, ſuch as opium, aſſafætida, cotton, indigo, arrack, and precious ſtones of all kinds, and likewiſe pearls and elephant's teeth. But the *Portugueſes* who had been ſettled there for many years had ſo diſguſted the natives, by their behaviour, that as ſoon as the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſet up at *Surat*, the trade of *Diul* dwindled away, and the town was in great decay when Sir *Thomas Roe* was there.

Leaving *Diu* in *December*, they paſt by *Jaſques* in the bay of *Ormus*, in the latitude of 28. This place *Albuquerque* brought in ſubjection to the *Portugueſes*, and built a fort at it; but captain *Shilling* having been kill'd there in 1623, the *Engliſh* took the town and fort, and gave both up to the *Perſians*.

Jaſques.

Near this is a ſmall iſland call'd *Aphrodoſia*, from a ſhrine there dedicated to *Venus*. In this iſland, in *Alexander*'s time, were made the beſt ſword-blades known in the world. Sir *Thomas* and his company paſt by this iſland in their way to *Gambroon*, in the bay of *Ormus*.

Aphrodoſia.

This ſea takes its name from an iſland call'd *Ormus*, about a league from the continent of *Carmania*, 15 miles in compaſs, in the latitude of 27 degrees, a barren ſoil; but the chief city *Ormus* was ſo beautiful, and ſo conveniently ſituated for trade, that it had been crowded with people from all parts of the world. It was not large, but very compact, the houſes well built, and prettily furniſhed with gilded leather, and *Indian* and *Chineſe* rarities. The *Bazar* or market place was once rich and beautiful, the churches magnificent, and the caſtles and forts ſtrong and well fortified.

Ormus.

This iſland had been, for many years, govern'd by its own native kings, till the *Portugueſes* got footing in it in the XVIth century, and built a caſtle in it, of which they kept poſſeſſion till the year 1622, when *Sha Abbas*, king of *Perſia* agreed with the *Engliſh* to take it, by joining their force with his, which they did upon the following conditions. 1. That the caſtle, when taken, ſhould be put into the hands of the *Engliſh*, with all the ordnance and ammunition: But that the *Perſians* might build another in any other part of the iſland. 2. That the ſpoil ſhould be equally divided between the two nations, and the priſoners taken ſhould be diſtributed according to their profeſſion of religion, the Chriſtian priſoners were to be deliver'd to the *Engliſh*, and the Pagans to the *Perſians*. 3. That the *Perſians* ſhould pay half the charge of the proviſions, powder, and ſhot, of the *Engliſh* fleet. 4. That the *Engliſh* ſhould have liberty to trade at *Gambroon* for ever cuſtom free, and have half the cuſtom paid by all ſhips.

Ormus *taken by the* Engliſh *and* Perſians.

Theſe articles being ſign'd and ſeal'd on both ſides, *Emangoly Chan*, governor and duke of *Schiraz* arriv'd at *Gambroon* with an army of 9,000 horſe and foot. The *Engliſh* fleet landed them upon the iſland, and joining their forces with them, eaſily became maſters of the town, and by ſpringing a mine brought down a part of the wall of the caſtle; but the *Portugueſes* ſallying out upon them, kill'd 1000 *Perſians*

ſians in one skirmiſh, and ſo held out for three or four months, and at laſt want of neceſſaries oblig'd them to ſurrender to the *Engliſh*, upon condition of having their lives ſpar'd, and that they ſhould be ſafely carried to *Muſcat*, on the other ſide of the bay, where their countrymen had another fort, which the *Engliſh* perform'd as far as depended upon them, but could not ſave 300 *Arabs* and *Portugueſes*, who fell into the hands of the *Perſians*, from having their heads cut off, and their women from being abus'd. And for a pretence not to keep their articles with the *Engliſh* in other reſpects, they alledg'd that an *Engliſh* ſailor was found among the *Perſians* at the pillaging of a church. For this reaſon, they took all the ſpoil to themſelves, and only allow'd the *Engliſh* 20,000 *l.* for their aſſiſtance, and part of the cannon of the caſtle. Thus was *Ormus* reduc'd from being a place of vaſt trade, in a ſhort time to be a poor deſolate place.

Gambroon. But the misfortune of *Ormus* was the making of *Gambroon*, a town in *Carmania*, where Sir *Thomas* arriv'd the latter end of *January*. This town ſoon felt the ſweet of the ruin of *Ormus*, for it became the place of rendezvous for all the trading part of the world both by ſea and land: And merchandizes of all kinds, eſpecially raw ſilk, carpets, cottons, &c. are brought from different places by land, and the harbour is full of ſhips, from all quarters.

Their houſes. The houſes in this city are built of brick, bak'd in the ſun, by which they become as hard as if they were burnt. Their houſes are low, with terraſſes above for ſleeping in the cool weather upon carpets. The windows are letticed, and open and ſhut at pleaſure. But, in the hotteſt weather they retire to *Lar*, about 60 miles farther north, for the conveniency of freſh ſprings, and cool ſhades.

Their drink. In the city of *Gambroon* they have the beſt *Shyraz* wine; but the moſt common drink is coffee, and ſherbet, too well known in this part of the world to need any deſcription: And in the hot weather they drink arrack to recruit their ſpirits. They have plenty of fruits of different kinds, but few of them the growth of the place, but imported from other places.

Their meat. They have abundance of mutton, cabrito's, hens, eggs, rice, oyſters, and plenty of other fiſh, by all which the place is well ſtor'd with proviſions.

Privilege of the Engliſh *at* Gambroon. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had agents there when Sir *Thomas* arriv'd; and the *Engliſh* agent had a privilege of having a flag upon the top of his houſe, in memory of the good ſervice they did at the ſiege of *Ormus*, and for ſome time they had half the cuſtoms of the place for goods imported.

The town is defended, towards the north and ſouth, by two caſtles, in which are planted 80 pieces of braſs cannon, which they brought from *Ormus*; but the *Perſian* gunners know little of their trade, being but baſe engineers.

The Moſchs and Jewiſh ſynagogues are poor places, but the *Hummums* or bagnio's are very neat and much frequented. But among other inconveniencies, they are peſter'd with jackals, which come into the town, by night, in flocks, and tear the dead, out of their graves, becauſe they cannot get at the living. The people hunt them with lances, ſwords and dogs, but they are ſo numerous, and withal ſo fierce, that they could not get the better of them. *Jackals a great plague to the inhabitants.*

Sir *Thomas Herbert* ſtaid 24 days at *Gambroon*, and then ſet out in company of Sir *Dudmore Cotton*, ambaſſador from *England* to the Sophy of *Perſia*, who had a caravan of 12 horſes and 29 camels. The ambaſſador was going to *Aſharaph*, upon the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, where he heard the Sophy was at that time. *Sir Dudmore Cotton, ambaſſador to the Sophy.*

They ſet out, along the ſhore, north-weſt, to *Band*, a village 16 miles from *Gambroon*, or, as they reckon diſtances in *Perſia*, five *Pharſangs*, allowing three miles to a *Pharſang*. In this village they found neat *Caravan-Serrays*, or inns, built for the uſe of travellers, where they lay convenient and ſecure: And there is a ſutler's tent by each of them, where proviſions of all kinds are to be had.

In this journey, they paſt by *Warmoot*, where the beſt *Aſſafætida* grows. The tree that produces it is not higher than a briar, whoſe leaves reſemble roſe leaves, and the root like a radiſh. It has a moſt noiſom ſmell, but the taſte ſo agreeable to the natives, that they uſe it in all their ſauces. *Beſt Aſſafætida at Warmoot.*

Mr. *Salmon* ſays * it is the liquor which diſtils from the plant call'd *Hiltot*, it thickens after it is drawn, and grows hard as Gum. There is of it white and black, but the white is beſt. He likewiſe ſays from Mr. *Chardin*'s authority, that if any of it is near goods in a ſhip, it communicates its ſmell to them, tho' ever ſo well and cloſe wrap'd up, and tarniſhes all gold and ſilver. * Preſent State of *Perſia*. Chap. VI

Lar is within three days journey of the *Perſian* gulf, or gulf of *Baſſora*, and is water'd with ſprings, which make the country near the town very fruitful, altho' ſome parts of the province are dry and barren. It has a ſtrong and ſtately caſtle built upon a rock which commands the town. The *Bazar* is an elegant fabrick built of white chalk ſtone. The fruits of this country are lemons, melons, oranges, pomegranates, &c. and dates, of which they obſerve, that, being male and female, *Lar.*

female, the latter will not bear, unleſs a flower'd bough of the male be applied to it. But this place labours under one inconveniency, that the water is not wholſome to drink, and frequently breeds diſeaſes.

The people of this place are a mixture of Jews and Mahometans, moſt of them bleare ey'd, with rotten teeth, and mangy legs, by reaſon of the unwholſome water, and the great heats, altho' this country lies without the tropic of *Cancer*, about five degrees. Moſt of them go naked, only a wreath of calicoe about their heads, a girdle of plaid of diverſe colours, to cover their nakedneſs, and ſandals upon their feet. But ſome have robes of ſatin on the whole body. They are fond of ſhooting with bows, and of rich ſwords. Their learning conſiſts in philoſophy and mathematicks, eſpecially aſtronomy.

Having paſt through ſeveral towns and villages, they arriv'd at *Sheraz*, one of the pleaſanteſt cities in *Perſia*, lying in 29 deg. 20 min. lat. It is 7 miles in compaſs, and lies in a plain of 20 miles long, and ſix broad, inclos'd on both ſides with loſty hills, and full of gardens, vineyards, woods, &c. very pleaſant to the eye, and fragrant to the ſmell. In this city, it is ſaid *Nimrod* liv'd, and the great *Cyrus* was born; and there is a tradition (as our author ſays) that the wiſe men ſet out from thence for *Jeruſalem* at our SAVIOUR's birth.

Sheraz.

In this city there are ſeveral beautiful *Moſchs*, whoſe high cupolas make a glaring figure from the hills near the place, being adorn'd with gold on the outſide, and pargetted with ſtone of an azure colour, like torquoiſes: The gold and ſtone ſo artfully join'd, that they look like flowers and poſies.

Fine Moſchs in this city.

It is likewiſe famous for an academy, where are read philoſophy, aſtrology, phyſick, chimiſtry, and mathematicks.

About the beginning of *March*, they keep a feaſt they call *Nourouz*, which is a ſort of carnival of 14 days, at what time the ladies have liberty to appear in publick, and do what they pleaſe.

The feaſt Nourouz

This city and province gave title to a duke, who, at the time our author travel'd thro' *Perſia*, was one of the tetrarchs, to whom the government of the kingdom was truſted by *Sha Abbas*, then *Sophy*. His territory was about 400 miles in circuit. As the great men of *Aſia* are very pompous in their titles, we ſhall ſet down this tetrarch's, as Sir *Thomas Herbert* has left them to us.

The titles of the duke of Sheraz.

EMANGOLICAWN, *Arch-Duke of* Shyraz, *Sultan of* Lar *and* Jaarown, *Lord of* Ormus, Maqueroon, Kermoen, Chuſiſtan, Sigeſtan, *and* Farſiſtan: *Prince of the gulf of* Perſia, *and the iſles in it*; *the great* Beglerbeg; *commander of* 12 ſultans, 50,000 *horſe*; SLAVE *to* Sha Abbas; *protector of muſſulmen*: Nutmug *of Comfort, and* Roſe *of* Delight. One would think that the SLAVE coming in among the great titles ſhould ſpoil all, eſpecially ſince it is not a bare compliment, but in good earneſt true; the king of *Perſia* may, at any time, command the worſt ſlave he has to put his foot upon the neck of thoſe mighty *Beglerbegs*, or ſtrangle them without any juſt cauſe. I omit the genealogy here inſerted, as nothing to our purpoſe.

Our travellers leaving *Sheraz*, arriv'd at the ſeat of the ancient *Perſepolis*, about 30 miles north eaſt of *Sheraz*. This once famous place was the metropolis of *Perſia*, till *Alexander*, among the other glories of the latter part of his life, burn'd it to the ground, at the inſtigation of a *Grecian* matron, who inherited nothing of the virtue of *Athens*, unleſs revenge againſt inſenſible beauties in architecture may be call'd ſo.

Perſepolis.

This city is ſaid to have been built by *Soſarmes*, but enlarg'd by *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*. It was, as *Curtius* ſays, the richeſt, nobleſt, and moſt beautiful city in the world, the houſes, for the moſt part, as to the timber work of them, built of cedar and cypreſs. But the chief ornament of the city was the palace of the great *Perſian* monarchs, which for ſituation, riches, architecture, and furniture, was not to be equal'd by any other that was ever heard of either in that or any other part of the world, and of which the very ruins are, to this day, the admiration of travellers.

A deſcription of it.

The palace was built about 400 paces from the city, upon a rock of about 50 acres of ground. The front of it was towards the weſt, 500 paces in length, to which the entry was by a ſtair of 95 ſteps, of 36 foot long, and 20 inches broad; but ſo eaſy, being only 3 inches deep, that a horſe might have gone up and down without great difficulty. The walls, on either ſide of this ſtair, were curiouſly carved with figures of men and beaſts, and, as you aſcend, the ſtair divides, winding to the right and left, having the wall on the outſide, and marble ballaſters on the inſide.

Thoſe two winding ſtair caſes afterwards turning towards one another, end in a ſquare landing place, from whence you go to a portico of white marble. At the top of the ſtair, there are ſome relicks of a gate, which ſeems to have led into a court, and towards the eaſt there are four ſtrange figures of beaſts, and four pillars interpoſed between them, which are ſuppos'd to have ſupported a gallery. From the firſt landing place, another ſtair goes

goes up to the ſecond ſtory, the ſtones of which were porphiry, mix'd with other marbles of different colours, in moſaick. And at the ſecond landing place, there is a large ſpace before you, which of old was ſurrounded with pillars, whereof 17 are ſtill ſtanding, but there are 100 pedeſtals. * The pillars which remain are fluted, of red and white marble, 60 foot high, and twelve of them 70; and a fathom diameter. [But I ſuppoſe there is ſome miſtake in thoſe meaſures, or they muſt have had other meaſures for architecture than either the *Greeks*, or *Romans*, for this proportion between the heighth and diameter of the pillars does not agree to any order of architecture us'd by the greateſt maſters.]

* Preſent ſtate of *Perſia*, Ch. II.

On the ſame floor with thoſe pillars, is a place 50 foot ſquare, the walls of it ſix or ſeven foot thick, of the fineſt marble, all carv'd in figures, in *baſs* and *half relieves*, of men fighting with lions, giants, and ſuch like; of princes giving audience to ambaſſadors; together with inſcriptions, which neither the people of the country, nor the learnedeſt men in *Europe*, could ever make any thing of.

Upon the eaſt ſide, oppoſite to the front, there was a tower, compaſs'd with a triple wall of poliſh'd marble, from the battlements of which, the kings of *Perſia* had a diſtinct proſpect of all the city below. As to the riches of it, before madam *Thais*'s unlucky arrival, or before *Alexander* gave himſelf to drinking, it is incredible to hear of it. At the entry, from the firſt landing place of the great ſtair, there was a throne of pure gold, curiouſly wrought, and thick ſet with jewels, of different kinds. In one of the inner of rooms, was an artificial vine, preſented by *Pitheus*, the ſtalk of which was of burniſh'd gold, and the cluſters of grapes upon it were of oriental pearl, mix'd with the fineſt rubies. In one of the bed-chambers was a bed-ſtead of immenſe value, of gold thick ſet with precious ſtones; the bolſter of which, was, in thoſe days, valu'd at 5000 talents, which is two and twenty millions and a half ſterling; and the footſtool was reckon'd at 3000 talents, or 13 millions and a half. This is, taking the talent at Mr. *Harris*'s computation, at 4500 *l.* for a talent of gold. But the value of talents is ſo uncertain, that we ſhall determine nothing about them.

There are many curious remains of this glorious palace ſtill extant, but what they were is only conjecture; but this much we know from the ancients, that there was a famous temple of *Diana* within the incloſure of that palace, which was ſaid to be outdone by no other building known at that time, unleſs it was by the temple of the ſame goddeſs at *Epheſus*. There are ſeveral ſtatues to be ſeen among the ruins of this palace, particularly one of a coloſſean ſize, very ugly, having a dreadful viſage, between man and beaſt; with ſeven arms on each ſide, which, inſtead of hands, have claws like a vulture. This ſtatue is ſuppos'd to be their great idol, or *Pagod*.

In ſeveral other places near *Perſepolis*, there are ſeveral ſtatues of giants, in ſeveral attitudes or poſtures, ſaid to have been made in memory of their old heroes, as was the cuſtom of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as well as of the *Perſians*, to eternize any remarkable event to poſterity.

About the 10th of *April* the ambaſſador enter'd *Iſpahan*, the capital city of *Perſia*, having been conducted thither the laſt ſtage, by the *Vizier*, ſultan *Meloy-embeg*, and an *Armenian* prince with 4000 horſe; an innumerable concourſe of men, women, and children, having lin'd the way, as they paſs'd, for about two miles from the city, who, in their language, bid him welcome. Iſpahan.

The old inhabitants of this country are *Georgians*, ſo call'd, either from their patron ſaint, or, as ſome imagine, from the *Greek*, *Ge-orgoi*, which ſignifies labourers of the earth, moſt of them being husbandmen. They hold ſtill their profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and are, for the moſt part, *Neſtorians*, but are in great reputation with the *Perſians*, for their fidelity; and for that reaſon are much truſted; and when any of them turn Mahometan, which is very rarely, they are highly rewarded, and get the beſt preferments in the ſtate.

Iſpahan ſtands in 32 deg. 40 min. latitude. It has, at different times, been call'd by ſeveral names, ſuch as *Dura*, *Hecatompolis*, *Nymzamena*, *Asbahan*, *Aeſpachan*, *Hagiſtan*, and *Aſhbahawn*. At preſent the people of the country pronounce the name *Spawhawn*, and it is by moſt *European* writers call'd *Iſpahan*. It is ſituated in the centre of the *Perſian* monarchy, in the *Parthian* territory. About the time that Sir *Dudmore Cotton* and Sir *Thomas Herbert* were there, it was reckon'd 9 miles in compaſs, and to contain 200,000 ſouls, of which number, beſides the natives, there were *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, *Poles*, *Muſcovites*, *Indians*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*. The city is pleaſantly ſituated, having the river *Syndery* or *Sinderhout* near it, from which they cut canals for the uſe of the city. This river in the rainy ſeaſon is ſo broad, that they paſs it by a bridge of 35 arches; but in the dry time of the year, children can wade through it, and after it has gone a few leagues below *Iſpahan*, it is quite loſt in the valleys. A deſcription of it.

The

The moſt famous and beautiful buildings of this city are, the *Meydan*, the *King's Palace*, the *Hummums*, and the *Seraglio*.

The Meydan. The *Meydan* is an oblong ſquare, 1000 paces in length, and 200 in breadth; the length of it reaching from north to ſouth. It is in the heart of the city, and built, on the ſides, with ſun-dry'd bricks; in the lower ſtory, are ſhops of different ſorts of merchandiſe, and, above, the different artiſts have their ſhops for working. The houſes are pargetted, or plaiſter'd with a cruſt of an azure colour. [The area of the ſquare (Mr. *Salmon* ſays) was deſign'd by *Sha Abbas* for horſemanſhip, and other manly exerciſes; eſpecially the bow and lance, at both which the *Perſians* are very dextrous; but it was turn'd into a market for horſes and cattle, and all ſort of eatables.]

The palace. The king's palace is on the weſt end of the ſquare, which is no wider than the *Meydan* in front, but runs out very wide farther back. The front of it is plaiſter'd with blue and gold, groteſq'd with poſies of *Arabic*. It is arch'd within, and enlighten'd with lettices; the rooms are emboſs'd above, and painted with red, white, blue and gold, and on the ſide with landskips, and ſuch ſports and recreations as are us'd in the country. The floors are cover'd with carpets of ſilk and gold.

[*Salmon* ſays, that the part of the palace next to the *Meydan*, to which it has two large gates, is appropriated for the courts of juſtice, where the *Vizier* and other judges ſit to adminiſter juſtice, on ſuch fix'd days; and, on the right hand there are certain rooms where offenders take ſanctuary. From hence to the hall of audience, there is a long gallery, ſupported by 40 pillars, and well painted and gilded; but at different diſtances, the floor riſes a foot higher, dividing the gallery into three parts, as it were three diſtinct rooms, without any partition. On the firſt two flats the nobility and great officers ſtand, according to the offices they bear (for there is no ſuch thing in *Perſia* as hereditary nobility.) Upon the third riſing the royal throne is placed, about a foot and an half from the ground; it is about 8 foot ſquare, cover'd with a rich carpet, with a rich brocade cuſhion for his majeſty to ſit croſs-leg'd upon, and another at his back.]

Within the Hippodrome, the cavalry are drawn up, who are upon guard, and many gentlemen on horſeback, arm'd with lances, bows, and ſwords, come to the gate of the palace, to accompany his majeſty, in caſe of his going abroad; and if he does not, they retire.

A great part of the ground, within the incloſure of the palace, is taken up in the *Seraglio*, and the king's gardens.

The Seraglio unknown. As to the *Seraglio*, it is very little known, either by the king's ſubjects, or ſtrangers; for no body has acceſs to it, but the women who are kept in it, the eunuchs who have the guard and management of it, and the Sophi himſelf, who goes thither when he pleaſes, or ſends for what women he will.

The gardens. The gardens are very magnificent, having a wall round them of three miles in circuit. In the middle, is a pond or reſervoir built in the form of a dodecagon, or 12 equal ſides, of five foot each; ſet with leaden pipes, through which the water plays in different manners. Leading to this are nine walks with an eaſy aſcent on all ſides, and planted with variety of trees. Round the wall are many ſummer houſes at proper diſtances; and at the north gate, there is a large ſummer houſe erected, for proſpect and pleaſure, divided into ſix rooms, of two ſtories high, the lower rooms are adorn'd with *Tanks* or baſons of white marble, to receive the water from the great one in the middle of the garden; and the upper rooms with paintings and carvings of different kinds. In thoſe gardens, there are trees of all ſorts, either for medicine, ſhade, or palate, and moſt of them always green and pleaſant. So that this is not improperly call'd the king's paradiſe.

The bagnios. The *Hummums*, or bagnios, of which there are many in this city, are ſtately buildings. Some of them are ſquare, and ſome round, built of white ſtone neatly poliſh'd; the windows large without, but narrow within, the glaſs thick and dark. The roof is round and cover'd with tiles reſembling torquoiſes, of a perfect blue, very beautiful and durable. Theſe *Hummums* are divided into different cells, ſome for ſweating and bathing in, others for other diverſions. The baths are of ſtone, pav'd with checquer'd marble. The men frequent them in the morning, and the women in the afternoon.

Bathing is ſo familiar to the *Perſians*, that if thoſe *Hummums* were as dear as they are at *London*, they would beggar half the city; but altho' the expence is but a trifle, the numbers who frequent them every day, makes amends for the lowneſs of the price. And altho' they are ſo much us'd, that does not hinder their being reputed a Catholicon, or common remedy for almoſt all diſtempers; eſpecially colds, catarrhs, aches, agues, and even poxes.

Rarities. There are few monuments of antiquity in or near this city; the greateſt I find, if it may be call'd ancient, is the cutting a way thro' a mountain to bring a river to *Iſpahan*, which employ'd 40,000, and ſometimes 100,000 men for 20 years together,

gether, in the reign of *Shaw Abbas*. There is likewiſe a pillar of death's heads, which was order'd to be pil'd up by the ſame *Abbas*, after having quell'd a rebellion which was rais'd againſt him. But the rebels having ſubmitted, he forgave them, and only put up the heads of ſuch as had died in battle; but to make his pillar of the height he deſign'd it, he allowed beaſts heads to be mix'd with the mens, and rais'd it to the heighth of any of the ſpires of their *Moſchs*.

Towns near Iſpahan. There are many towns near *Iſpahan*, which our author calls ſuburbs, but *Salmon* will not allow them that name, as being at ſome diſtance from the city. Theſe are *Jelphey*, *Gower-abaut*, *Abbas-abaut*, *Chans-abaut*, *Azan-abaut*, and *Cheig-Saban*. The inhabitants of *Jelphey* were ſubject to an *Armenian* prince, a vaſſal of the *Sophi*'s, who allow'd liberty of conſcience both to the prince and his ſubjects, who were, for the moſt part, *Jacobite* Chriſtians, upon their paying him ſuch taxes as his other ſubjects at *Iſpahan* paid. They were reckon'd to be about 10,000. Thoſe of *Gower-abaut* were deſcended from the ancient *Perſians*, and were hated by the reſt for their pretence to antiquity, and likewiſe becauſe they were more induſtrious. Theſe worſhip'd the ſun, under the name of *Mithra*, but built no temple to him, becauſe they had aſtronomy enough to know that they could not build one big enough to contain him. They are ſaid to be the diſciples of *Zoroaſter*. They acknowledge that there is one creator, the center of all perfection. But yet they worſhip an elemental fire; in reverence to which, they will not burn their dead, for fear of defiling it, but put the dead body upright in a hollow tree, where the birds of prey have acceſs to them; if they pick out the right eye of the perſon deceas'd, then they feaſt, as believing the ſoul gone to heaven; but if the left is firſt pick'd out, they lament, as if the ſoul of the party were gone to the devil.

Chriſtians. Among theſe people, the *Portugueſes* have two convents, one of Carmelites, and the other of *Auguſtine* friars, who have neat chapels, with organs, images, &c. by which they endeavour to allure the *Armenian* Chriſtians, but with little ſucceſs, for they adhere to that religion which they ſay was taught by a ſucceſſion down from the apoſtles, and particularly they are great enemies to image-worſhip.

The other towns mention'd, are a mixture of different ſorts of people, and of as different religions.

From *Iſpahan* to *Aſheraff*, where the king then was, is 400 miles. Thither the ambaſſador and Sir *Thomas* took their journey, in which they ſaw ſeveral houſes belonging to the king, neatly adorn'd, and beautiful gardens about them. But in other parts of the country, they travell'd through a deſart of ten miles broad, and 100 long; in ſome places they had a cawſey broad enough for ten horſes to go abreaſt, having ſandy and ſalt ground on both ſides, which will overwhelm both horſes and camels, and if the ſand and ſalt happen to be driven by the wind, if they miſs the cawſey, they muſt be ſwallowed up. This ſort of ſoil they had till they came to the borders of ancient *Parthia*.

As they march'd through this country, they met with parties of the *Nomades*, who had no fix'd habitation, but wander'd from place to place, carrying their tents along with them, and ſetting them up in ſuch places, where they found beſt graſs for their flocks. But almoſt at every 20 miles, they found a good houſe of the king's, where every thing was provided for them, as indeed they had all the way.

At laſt they arriv'd at *Aſharaff*, and were met by the ſultan of the town, attended by 50 *Cooſol-Baſſaws* of the king's life guard, about three miles out of the town, who conducted them, but with ſo little appearance of pomp and magnificence, that our author ſays it was no way becoming ſuch a king, or ſuch an ambaſſador. And we may imagine it was a poor reception they met with, ſince Sir *Thomas Herbert* takes no notice of what paſs'd, nor ſo much as mentions what the occaſion of the embaſſy was.

This city of *Aſharaff* is but two miles diſtant from the *Caſpian Sea*, near the center of its breadth from eaſt to weſt, upon the ſouth coaſt of that ſea, in 38 degrees n. latitude. The town was not large, but had a proſpect of increaſing, becauſe the king ſeem'd to have taken a liking to it. It has a pleaſant proſpect of the *Caſpian Sea* on one ſide, and mount *Taurus*, tho' at a great diſtance, on the other. The king had begun to build a new palace there, which had fine gardens near it. The city had not above 2000 families in it of its own inhabitants.

Hircania It lies in the old *Hircania*, now call'd *Mozendram*, a country of a fertile ſoil, and wholeſome climate, abounding in cattle, and conſequently in graſs; and by the induſtry of the people, and the nature of the ground, there is good ſtore of corn, fruit, &c. the country being well water'd with ſprings and rivers which take their riſe from mount *Taurus*, and winding thro' *Hircania*, empty themſelves in the *Caſpian* ſea. Of theſe, *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, *Araxy*, *Connec*, *Mazeros*, *Bundana*, *Hydira*, and *Aregus*, are the chief. Of old, this country was very full of woods, and they ſtock'd with ſeveral noxious animals,

mals, ſuch as lions, bears, tygers, wild cats, &c. but, in their places, it is now ſtock'd with cows, horſes, camels, buffalo's, ſheep, goats, mules, deer of both kinds, antilops, and hogs; as alſo with hens, pheaſants, partridges, nightingales, quails, wood-cocks, thruſhes, and other birds: And the rivers are ſtor'd with fiſh of ſeveral kinds.

The chief towns in this province are, *Tar-abaut*, *Aſheraff*, *Abbas-abaut*, *Periſehow*, *Omoal*, *Barfruthdea*, *Chacapore*, *Caban*, *Baldith*, *Baedz*, *Darabgier*, *Dengee*, *Sumachy*, *Ezez*, and *Bachu*. In this country, beſides oak, elm, aſh, mulberry-trees, &c. they have a tree call'd *Occhus*, which diſtils a juice of the taſte of honey. There is alſo a ſpring near *Bachu*, of an oily ſubſtance, which will take fire from the ſun beams, or any other great heat. This water is call'd *Naphti*, and ſeems to agree (in our author's opinion) with the water which *Nehemiah* is ſaid to have conſum'd by fire from the altar, 2 *Macc.* I. 36. [But if that ſtory was true, I ſhould rather think the conſuming the water was a miracle, than a natural quality in the ſpring: And the king of *Perſia*'s enquiring into the truth of the fact, as there related, and upon evidence of the truth of it, ſeparating the place, where it was done, from common uſe, ſeems to denote, that it was not the nature of the water, or, at leaſt, that it was not known to the *Perſians* at that time.]

Burning water.

They have many ſilk worms in this country, which yield a great quantity of raw ſilk to the king every year: And if it may be believ'd, the ſilk made here, will be of the colour which is laid before the worms, whilſt they are feeding in order to ſpin the ſilk. But this the reader is to believe as he pleaſes; tho' the ſilk of that country is of different colours, ſome being white, other green, yellow, and ſand colour.

Sir *Thomas* having ſtaid at *Aſheraff* till *Whitſunday*, left it to take a view of ſome of the towns about the *Caſpian* ſea. The firſt place he came to was *Tar-abaut*, or, as it is call'd in our *Atlas*, *Terabath*, about five miles diſtance from the other, weſtward. This town is built after a different manner from the other towns in *Perſia*, having the roofs of the houſes ſharp like ours, whereas the *Perſian* houſes are generally flat roofed. The ſtreets of it are broad, but not regular; but there are 3000 houſes in it, moſt of which have gardens belonging to them, ſome of which reaching as far as the ſhore. The king has a houſe here towards the ſea, with two courts ſet with flowers and trees, beautiful enough. This houſe is but low, altho' the rooms are high: The chambers richly furniſh'd, the cielings finely painted, and emboſs'd with gold. This city has a fair proſpect of the *Caſpian* ſea, which lies near it, and from whence the courſe to *Aſtracan*, lying on the north weſt coaſt of the ſea, may, with a fair wind, be perform'd in eight days, being about 600 miles.

Tar-abaut.

The *Caſpian* ſea is ſomething of an oval form, and is reckon'd 3000 miles in circuit. The taſte and colour of the water reſembles the ocean; but it has this peculiarity in it, if the *Mediterranean* may not be ſaid to be like it in this, *viz.* that altho' it is confin'd on all ſides, and has a conſtant flux of many rivers into it, and no viſible vent by which it diſcharges itſelf, yet it is never ſeen to overflow its banks, and has no diſcernible flux or reflux, any more than the *Mediterranean*. It is perhaps for this reaſon, that ſome are of opinion that it has a ſubterraneous communication with the *Euxine* or *Black* ſea, which lies about 10 degrees weſt from it, and is obſerv'd to have a conſtant current from the eaſtern ſhore, which lies next to the *Caſpian* ſea.

The Caſpian ſea.

Twelve miles from *Tar-abaut*, upon the ſame coaſt, lies *Chacapore*, where the moſt remarkable thing is a river which is ſalt only one month in the year.

Chacapore, Barfruthdea, and Omoal.

Not far from this town is *Barfruthdea*, and next, towards *Taurus* is *Omoal*; in the laſt of which there is a *Babel* of languages, and ſuch diverſity of religions, that ſix days of the week are ſabbaths: For the *Armenians* keep Sunday, the *Piquans* Monday, the *Gowers* or Fire-worſhippers Tueſday; the *Banians* Thurſday; the *Perſian* Mahometans Friday, and the Jews Saturday.

Here our author names many other towns, without either giving the geography of them, or telling any thing diverting or inſtructive about them. We ſhall therefore paſs over the names of ſuch as ſeem of leſs importance, and not found in our maps, and ſhall only ſay, in general, that they viſited many places about the *Caſpian* ſea towards mount *Taurus*, which is one of the greateſt hills in the world, both for length and heighth, being reputed 3000 miles in length, from the Leſſer *Aſia* to the farther part of the *Eaſt Indies*, and ſo, in a manner, divides all that is call'd *Aſia* into two parts; and, in many places is ſo high, that the clouds are ſeen at a good diſtance below, by thoſe who have had the curioſity to go up to the top of it in ſeveral parts of this long ridge of hills. From the top of this mountain, when the clouds are diſpers'd, may be ſeen a great part of *Tartary*, which is a third part of all *Aſia*, beſides that part of it which is in *Europe*. On one top of *Taurus*, which is call'd *Damoan*,

Mount Taurus.

Damoan, is to be ſeen the *Caſpian* ſea, altho' 160 miles diſtant from it; and this top ends in a peak, where the ſparks of ſulphur continually iſſue out, like *Ætna* or *Veſuvius*; from whence moſt part of *Aſia* are furniſh'd with brimſtone: And the ſulphur contain'd in this mountain produces hot baths, which are much frequented, not only from *Perſia*, and the dominions on each ſide of the *Taurus*, near adjoining to it, but from more diſtant countries, and people get great benefit from thoſe waters.

In one part of this mountain, was a round temple or fane, in the middle of which was an altar, rais'd five ſteps from the floor, under which the *Pyree* or idol fire was kept, and ador'd; and, according to their tradition, had continued, for 50 generations, unextinguiſh'd. To this holy fire they ſacrific'd human victims.

The idol fire.

A part of this mountain was under the dominion of *Meleik Bahamen*, who govern'd a conſiderable body of people inhabiting many hills and dales, near the *Perſian* territories, independent of any other ſovereign, with a mutual love and confidence between him and his ſubjects; till *Sha Abbas*, under pretence of his being a ſpy upon his actions, ſent *Methiculi-beg* with 30,000 men againſt him. But this general not being able to gain any advantage of this mountain king by force, obtain'd his end by treachery; for pretending to make peace with him, he invited him and his ſons to an entertainment provided for them in his tent, where he murder'd the old gentleman, with three hopeful youths, and by that baſe method brought his kingdom under the dominion of his maſter.

There are multitudes of Jews living about this mountain near and in the *Perſian* dominions. They pretend to be the deſcendants of thoſe whom *Salmanaſſar* carried away captive, 2 *Kings*, XVII. 6. after he had taken *Samaria*. Thoſe Jews ſay, that *Noah*'s ark, after the flood, reſted upon this peak of *Taurus*, and that *Ararat*, *Caucaſus*, and *Taurus*, are different names for the ſame ridge of hills.

Jews ſent to the ſides of Taurus *by the king of* Aſſyria.

In this courſe, Sir *Thomas* and his company viſited *Nova*, and *Damoan*, which laſt the Jews call *Jehud*, in 36 degrees lat. and is the utmoſt limit of ancient *Media* towards the north, in a cheap plentiful country. There were at this time 200 families of Jews in this town.

From hence they proceeded farther ſouth into the province of *Bomahem*, in *Media*, reckon'd of old a fine country, but now barren and miſerable; ſo that the camels and dromedaries make a hard ſhift to live in it.

They viſited *Tauris*, the metropolis of *Media*, call'd *Ecbatana* in ancient times; where was a palace built by the prophet *Daniel*, which afterwards became the *Mauſoleum* of the *Median* kings. There was likewiſe in this city the palace of *Darius*, the roof of which was ſtudded and plated with gold. But both thoſe palaces are quite deſtroy'd. This city and the neighbouring country have often been the ſeat of war between the *Turks* and *Perſians*; and therefore the city was frequently pillag'd, and once quite deſtroy'd by *Oſman* in 1585. But *Sha Abbas*'s elder brother, having given the *Turks* a notable overthrow near this city, rebuilt it, and *Sha Abbas* himſelf finiſh'd it in 1619.

Tauris *the old* Ecbatana.

After viſiting other poor towns in *Media*, they came to *Casbin* or *Kazvin*, the ancient *Arſacia*, from *Arſaces* the founder of the *Median* empire. It lies ſouth of the *Caſpian* ſea, in 36 deg. and a half, and is, next to *Iſpahan*, one of the largeſt cities of *Perſia*. It was here where *Epheſtion*, the great favourite of *Alexander*, died, and was buried; but there is no memory of the magnificent tomb his maſter built for him. This city is ſeven miles in compaſs within the walls, and had, at the time when Sir *Thomas* was there, 200,000 ſouls in it.

Casbin.

Since their leaving *Aſharaff*, our author has not ſo much as mention'd the ambaſſador Sir *Dudmore Cotton*; but now he tells us, that both he and Sir *Robert Sherly* died at *Casbin*, and were buried there, and that their retinues were forced to get a paſſport for travelling homewards, which with much to do they procur'd by a long attendance, and was as follows.

The death of Sir Robert Sherly *and* Sir D. Cotton.

" The high and mighty ſtar, whoſe
" head is cover'd with the ſun,
" whoſe motion is comparable to the
" firmament, whoſe imperial ma-
" jeſty is come from *Aſheraff*, and
" has diſpatch'd the lord ambaſ-
" ſador of the *Engliſh* king, &c.
" The command of the great king is,
" that his followers be conducted
" from our palace of *Cazbin* to *Sa-*
" *way*; by the *Daraguod* of *Sa-*
" *way*, to the city of *Coom*, and by
" the ſultan of *Coom* to the city of
" *Caſhan*, &c. through all my terri-
" tories. Fail not my command. I
" alſo command them a ſafe travel.

King of Perſia's *paſſport.*

July Bamen Heg. 1008.

With the paſſport Sir *Thomas Herbert*, with the officers and ſervants of the ambaſſadors began their journey by night from *Casbin*, to avoid the heat of the day, and having ſtop'd at the neceſſary places by the way, arriv'd at *Saway*, call'd

Sava. call'd *Sava* in our maps, in 35 degrees. And from thence they paſs'd thro' plains where they ſaw many artificial mounts and trenches, (being the place where *Mithridates*, and *Lucullus* the *Roman* general, had their camps) and arriv'd at *Coom* or in the *Atlas Kom*, in 34 deg.

Coom or Kom.

This city is ſaid to have been once 50 miles in circuit, and was anciently call'd *Arbacia*, in the *Parthian* territories. It was at this time much reduc'd in its grandeur, there being not above 2000 houſes in it, but moſt of them above the common ſtructures of that country, and well furniſh'd as well as built. It abounded in gardens which yielded moſt delicious fruits, ſuch as we have in *Europe*. It had a beautiful *Bazar*, and fine *Moſchs*. Here lies enſhrin'd *Fatima*, the daughter of the great impoſtor, and wife of *Mortis Hali*, whom the *Perſians*, in oppoſition to the *Turks*, reverence next to, if not equal with, his father-in-law. *Fatima*'s tomb is three yards high, cover'd with velvet, and three or four ſteps of pure ſilver lead up to it.

Fatima's tomb.

The next town of note they went to was *Caſhan*, upon the road to *Iſpahan*. This is a pleaſant, well built city, and a place of trade, well peopled, in a fine country. It had twice the number of houſes that were in *Coom*. And the people appear'd to be induſtrious and good natur'd. The commodities expos'd in the *Bazar* were ſilks, damasks, carpets of ſilk and gold, ſpices of different ſorts, ſome the produce of the country, and others brought from foreign parts. The inhabitants manufactur'd abundance of ſilks, ſatins, and cloth of gold: And were dextrous at dying ſilks of curious colours, at ſtaining linnen in figures, and at making lively flowers and other fancies upon leather. The *Caravan Raw*, or place for ſtrangers to lodge, is moſt magnificent in this place, being capable of accomodating the greateſt prince of *Aſia*.

Caſhan.

Leaving the road to *Iſpahan* at this place, they travell'd weſtward towards *Bagdad*, where they arriv'd the end of *Auguſt*. This being the once famous city of *Babylon*, ſo often mention'd both in ſcripture and prophane hiſtory, our author gives ſome account of it under both names, which being but ſhort, we ſhall here inſert for the reader's entertainment. Of the miſtake of making theſe two cities one, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Bagdad and old Babylon.

The tower of *Babel* having been interrupted by the confuſion of tongues, *Nimrod*, living near it 56 years, increas'd it to a conſiderable city, making it the metropolis of his conqueſts. He having brought idolatry among his people, they worſhip'd him after his death, under the name of *Sadormin*, from whence came the *Roman Saturn*.

Belus ſucceeded *Nimrod*, and, upon his demiſe, was worſhip'd under the name of *Baal*, or *Bel*. His ſon *Ninus*, having conquer'd *Lybia*, *Arabia*, *Media*, and *Bactria*, became a ſort of an univerſal monarch. He enlarg'd *Niniveh* on the *Tygris*, which became in after ages the metropolis of *Aſſyria*. But upon the death of *Ninus*, his wife *Semiramis*, who reign'd 40 years in great ſplendor, enlarg'd *Babylon* beyond any city in the world at that time. It was ſhe who built the bridge over *Euphrates*, which divided *Babylon* into two equal parts. She likewiſe built thoſe ſtupendous hanging gardens, ſo much talk'd of, and which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in another place. She rais'd two obelisks of 134 foot high, and 25 foot ſquare at the baſe. Theſe were brought down the *Tygris*, and ſo up *Euphrates* to *Babylon*. As alſo two ſtately palaces, one at each end of the bridge, formerly mention'd, one of which reach'd 30 furlongs, and the other 60, or 3750, and 7500 paces in extent, and each of thoſe palaces was ſurrounded with a wall. To her too was owing the wonderful wall, 50 cubits 75 foot high, and 40 foot thick, ſo that ſix chariots might drive a-breaſt upon the top of them. But the moſt wonderful work of all was the prodigious ſtructure in the middle of the city. It was of black marble; at the baſe it was 1000 paces every way, upon which were erected 8 towers, one above another, a mile high, but thoſe diminiſhing as they aſcended made a ſort of a pyramid; on the top of which was a chappel. In this chappel ſtood a bed and table of ſolid gold, with three images of the ſame metal, 12 cubits, or 18 foot high. The firſt was the ſtatue of *Belus*, under the name of *Jupiter*; the ſecond of *Ninus*, call'd *Ops*; and the third of *Semiramis* herſelf, under the title of *Juno*. This temple was afterwards deſtroy'd by *Xerxes*. In it this virago of a queen was buried, and her heart is ſaid to have been put in a globe of gold at the top of the chappel.

Semiramis added the greateſt beauties to Babylon, viz.

The hanging gardens.

Two obelisks.

Two palaces.

The wall.

The temple of Belus.

This city was afterwards much improv'd and beautified by *Nabuchadnezar*, as both ſacred and prophane writers affirm: Particularly the palace which he ſo much boaſted of, that it brought a judgment from heaven upon him.

Enlarg'd by Nabuchadnezar.

Babylon is ſaid to have continued for ſeveral ages in great ſplendor, *the glory of the whole earth*, as *Iſaiah* calls it; and as *Pauſanias* terms it, *the moſt glorious city the ſun ever beheld*. But the great *Cyrus*, king of *Perſia*, by an unheard of ſtratagem, became maſter of it, when it was thought to have been impregnable, and indeed was ſo at that time. That

Taken by Cyrus *after an odd manner.*

victorious prince, being appointed by heaven to depreſs the *Aſſyrian* pride, turn'd the courſe of the *Euphrates*, and enter'd the city by the bed of that river, then dry, and ſo, in ſpite of the walls, *and gates of braſs*, he became maſter of it, before they were aware. The city was ſo large, that *Ariſtotle* ſays, *Cyrus* had been three days maſter of one half of it, before thoſe of the other ſide knew that he had taken it. But this great conqueror did not demoliſh it; for it was, after his time, rich and magnificent; inſomuch that *Alexander* is ſaid to have found in it 200,000 talents of gold, which, according to the former computation of talents, as us'd by this author, amount to nine hundred millions ſterling. Nor was this famous city ruin'd by *Alexander*; but ſoon afterwards, *Seleucus Nicanor*, or his ſon *Antiochus*, having the vanity to build a city after his own name, founded *Seleucia* 50 miles north of *Babylon*, upon the *Tygris*, where it falls into the *Euphrates*. To this new city he tranſplanted 5, or 600,000 ſouls from *Babylon*, which gave the finiſhing ſtroke to that city, of which there is ſo little memory now left, that, by the beſt accounts we have, no body can tell where *Babylon* the great ſtood.

Seleucia *built.*

Bagdad.

Our author ſays, *Bagdad* was built upon the ruins of *Babylon*; but that muſt be a miſtake, for *Babylon*, by all accounts, was upon *Euphrates*, and it is evident that *Bagdad* ſtands upon the *Tygris*, above 100 miles from the meeting of the two rivers.

This city is placed by our author in 36 degrees of latitude, but by others in 33. It was firſt founded by the ſecond caliph of the *Saracens*, about the middle of the VIIIth century, as *Salmon* ſays. It was taken and retaken ſeveral times by the *Turks* and *Perſians*, but has been for many years paſt in the poſſeſſion of the former. It is much decay'd from what it once was, and our author ſays, that, when he was in that country, it was not equal to *Briſtol* either in bulk or beauty.

Shuſhan.

Sir *Thomas*'s company purſuing their way to *Aleppo*, which he ſays is 40 days journey from *Bagdad* by the caravan, paſs'd by the ancient *Shuſhan*, the ſpring palace of the *Median* kings, as *Ecbatane* was their ſummer reſidence, and *Babylon* the winter. It was built by *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*; and now goes by the name of *Valdac* or *Baldac*. It lies upon the river *Choaſpes*, which took its riſe from the mountain *Jaaro*, and fell into the ſea near *Baſſora*. This city was 120 furlongs, or 15 miles, in compaſs, beautified with walls, palaces, and temples. The king's palace is ſaid to have been built by *Mordecai*, when he was become favourite to *Ahaſhuerus*; the outſide of it is ſaid to have been of checquer'd marble; it was arch'd and ſupported by pillars richly gilded, &c. But now lies in rubbiſh, as *Babylon* does; ſo that it is not eaſy to fix the particular place of its ſituation. I omit what our author ſays of *Paradiſe*, or the garden of *Eden*'s having been near this place, becauſe it is to little purpoſe to diſpute about the ſituation of places before the flood, when we find ſo little certainty as to others ſo many ages after, and conſequently ſo much nearer our own times. Nor did I think it proper to trouble the reader with our author's ſucceſſion of the *Perſian* kings from *Nimrod*, ſince our buſineſs is not to write the hiſtory of any particular empire or kingdom. We ſhall therefore proceed to the other obſervations he makes upon this country, and then follow him through other parts of the eaſt, till his return homeward.

The ſituation of Perſia.

Our author obſerves that this country of *Perſia* had been known by ſeveral names, ſuch as *Cuth*, *Cuſh*, *Elam*, *Arſacia*, *Artea*, *Saracenia*, and *Azenica*. But *Perſia* was the moſt famous name, and that by which it was known in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. It is bounded by *India* proper, or the Mogul's dominions, on the eaſt; the *Indian* ocean, and the gulph of *Perſia*, on the ſouth; the river *Tygris* on the weſt; and a part of *Tartary*, and the *Caſpian* ſea, on the north. Nor does the *Tygris* ſeem to be an improper boundary for *Perſia*, altho' the Turks may poſſeſs, at this preſent, ſome parts of provinces eaſt of that river, becauſe, as that depends upon chance of war, or, more properly, upon providence, what has been gain'd by the Turks at one time, may be recover'd by the *Perſians* at another. It is pretty near as broad as long; our author reckoning it from *Candahar* to *Babylon* (by which he means *Bagdad*) 1320 miles, and from the bay of *Ormus* to the borders of *Tartary* is 1488 miles.

The air.

The air muſt be ſuppos'd to be very different in this large country, which, as it lies in our maps, is ſituated between 25 and 45 degrees of lat. The north and eaſt provinces of it are very fertile; but the ſouth and weſtern, except where the rivers water the ground, are ſandy and barren: But in general *Perſia* is a healthful country. [*Salmon* ſays, the air in the ſouth parts, eſpecially at *Gambroon*, is very ſickly in the ſpring and fall, which proves very fatal to the *European* factors.]

The people.

The people are generally ſtrait, and well limb'd, tawny complexion'd, chearful, but very much given to luſt. The men are good ſoldiers, and lovers of glory.

They

They ſuffer no hair to grow, but upon their upper lip, which they let grow to a great length, and turn it downwards; and they have one lock upon the crown of their heads, for their prophet to pull them up by at the laſt judgment; the reſt of the hair they ſhave, and by rubbing the skin, two or three times, with the oyl *Dowac*, prevent its growing again.

Their dreſs. Upon their heads they wear wreathes of calicoe, both to ſhelter them from the ſun, and by way of helmet; but the great people have theirs interwoven with ſilk and gold, with a gold fringe at the tying. They wear nothing about their necks, and their other garments are much of the ſame faſhion with thoſe already mention'd, us'd by the *Indians*; their ſhoes or rather ſlippers of leather, of ſuch colour as they fancy.

The women. The women are not tall, but well ſhap'd and comely, rather fat than lean; they are naturally pale, which they mend by painting; they are generally black hair'd, their forehead high, eyes black, noſes high, pretty large mouth, thick lips, and round cheeks. When they go abroad, they are veil'd, and ſpeak to no body; the ordinary ſort, when they ride abroad, ſit as men do; but the better ſort upon camels in a cage unſeen. They let their hair hang in curls upon their ſhoulders, or plated in a cawl of gold, with a chain of pearl round their face and chin. Their ears and noſes are hung with rich pendants and rings, and their arms, hands, and legs, painted in flowers, &c.

The courtezans. The ladies of pleaſure are laſcivious in their carriage and dreſs, dancing about to the tune of their bells and timbrels, to which they make every muſcle keep time. Their habit is looſe and gawdy, but under it they uſe drawers of gold brocade, ſatin, or tiſſue; are very tempting, and will either drink, or do any thing, for money, which they are very fond of.

When the king has any feaſt, the queens may be preſent; but when he has a mind to drink hard, they withdraw to make way for their betters, the timbrel dancers. [Mr. *Salmon* ſays, the dreſs both of men and women is prodigious expenſive. A man's turbant will coſt him ten pound, and the finer ſort a great deal more; their ſaſhes from 20 to 100 crowns; and a cloſe bodied coat of ſable, which none will be without that is able to purchaſe it, coſts 100 *l.* And if we reckon their furniture for riding, a ſmall ſum will not epuip a man or woman of faſhion in that country.

Nor are they leſs chargeable at their tables; not in their extravagant eating or drinking, but in their diſhes and cups, which are all gold in the perſons of quality's houſes. And one very good cuſtom they had, which was, that, altho' ſome of them would drink pretty hard, they never urg'd any body elſe to drink, but every one drank at his pleaſure, and retir'd when he had a mind.

Their exerciſes. They begin their boys very early to all ſorts of exerciſe, and to bear fatigue, and to live hardly. They train them up from four years old to wreſtling, running, ſhooting with bow and fuſee, riding, cudgelling, and ſuch like. And indeed they are very active at all thoſe. Nothing is more common with them than to cleave an orange with an arrow at full ſpeed a horſeback, and that not only when the orange hangs in their view either before or on one ſide, but when they are paſt it, they will turn their body round, and hit the mark while their horſe is going on at full carrier; by which practice, as they are retiring before an enemy, they do as much miſchief with their arrows, as in the attack. In time of peace, the men amuſe themſelves in hunting, hawking, &c. And the people of buſineſs are very induſtrious in their ſeveral employments.

They have a great liking to poetry, and are great encouragers of ſuch as ſpend their time that way, giving great rewards for very indifferent verſes. They are likewiſe fond of muſick, and make eunuchs of boys for the ſake of their voices, as well as as to guard their ſeraglios. But one remarkable difference there is between the *Perſian* eunuchs and the *Italians*, *viz.* that ſome of the former have been brave men and great generals, whereas the latter are emaſculated in every ſenſe of the word.

They are fond of marrying their children ſoon, to augment the number of ſoldiers for the *Sophi*, and of ſouls to praiſe *Mahomet* in heaven; and, as their *Alchoran* allows poligamy under thoſe pretences, ſo it allows inceſtuous marriages under colour of preſerving love in families. The friends on both ſides generally make up the match, and when all matters are agreed, the bride is bravely mounted on horſeback, cover'd with a vail of lawn, and conducted by one troop of her friends, and met, about half way, by another, and being enter'd the Moſch, the prieſt demands their mutual conſents, and that of their parents, and then joining their hands, ties a cord about both their bodies, and takes a mutual oath of them, regiſters the time of the marriage, and ſo diſmiſſes them. At night the bride is bath'd and perfum'd, and if ſhe is found to be a maid, or thought ſo, the next night the new married couple bath together, if not, ſhe is ſent back with diſgrace, and the marriage void.

Their marriages.

Burials In burying their dead, they embalm ſome; but the bodies of the poorer ſort are fill'd with bitumen, or juice of cedar, and

and ſo buried in deep pits in their cœmitaries, but never in their Moſchs, nor in any place where another has been buried, becauſe they will not diſturb the bones of one dead friend for the ſake of another. The head of the corps is laid towards *Medina*, and the friends of the deceas'd watch ſeven days about the grave, ſinging pſalms, and performing other acts of devotion, to chaſe away evil ſpirits: For they believe that when a muſſulman is buried, *Muengar* and *Quarequar*, two ugly devils, attack the corps, the one with an iron club, and the other with a flaming braſs hook, commanding the deceas'd to raiſe his head, at which time his ſoul returns to him. Then he makes his confeſſion, and if his life has been vertuous, the two devils fly away, and give place to two angels in white ſilk, who take charge of him till the laſt judgment; but if his vices got the better of his vertues, in his life time, he is conſign'd to the two devils, to be knock'd down by the club, and rais'd up with the hook, alternately, till *Mahomet*, or his diſciple *Hali*, call a council to deliver him out of of this purgatory.

Having thus touch'd upon the religion of the *Perſians*, we ſhall follow our author in giving a ſhort account of *Mahomet*, and the manner of his framing and introducing his impoſture in thoſe parts; and altho' it may be thought more proper to have reſerv'd the following hiſtory of *Mahomet* till we come to treat of *Arabia*, the place of his birth, yet ſince we find it in the relation of Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s travels, we ſhall inſert it in this place.

I have now before me the life of *Mahomet* by Monſieur *Boulainvilliers*, tranſlated into *Engliſh:* And I cannot ſay but he has very artfully work'd it up, and makes *Mahomet* appear indeed a prophet, as he call'd himſelf. But altho' I lament the diviſions of the eaſtern church at that time, and blame thoſe who either by their ignorance, or obſtinacy, or perhaps for worſe reaſons, were the occaſions of them, yet I cannot believe that *Mahomet*'s deſign was ſo good as that gentleman repreſents it; and I cannot help thinking that the book has been written to ſupport the Arian or Socinian cauſe, eſpecially *p.* 220, where he ſays, "He certainly had read "the Holy Scriptures of both Teſtaments; "and he has applied them *very happily* "to matters contain'd in his *Alchoran:* "For, altho' he *ſeems to have alter'd the* "*paſſages* he quoted in ſome places, 'tis "plain he had no farrher meaning in it, "than to ſatisfy the prejudices of his countrymen, and to improve their opinions "and traditions upon ſeveral articles "in themſelves of little importance." — *P.* 221 he adds, "Furthermore, he has "not attack'd the Chriſtian religion *di-*"*rectly*; it is rather *ironically*, and ſeems "not applicable but only to the abuſes of "it, which all the world acknowledge, and "of which he himſelf had been an eye-"witneſs. For, ſince he has not alone e-"ſtabliſh'd the *Unity* of GOD as the "baſis of all truth in religion; the ne-"ceſſity of loving him, and of obeying "his laws, which only conſiſt in making "a right uſe of the reaſon he has given "us; but alſo the reſurrection, the final "judgment, and ſtate of retribution, which "are the particular doctrines of Chriſtia-"nity; in ſhort, ſince he acknowledges "the truth of the miſſion of JESUS "CHRIST, his birth of a virgin, his "miracles, and the ſanctity of his doctrine, "he ſeems to have adopted and embraced "all that is moſt marvellous in Chriſtia-"nity itſelf; ſo that what he retrench'd, "relates obviouſly to THOSE ABUSES A-"LONE, which it was impoſſible he "ſhould not condemn."

This quotation, with what follows in this place, and ſeveral other parts of the book, made me very cautious of taking *Mahomet*'s life upon this author's word. For I own myſelf not of thoſe faſhionable divines who think the Divinity of CHRIST a contradiction to the Unity of GOD, or that, applauding the ſanctity of Our Saviour's doctrine, makes an atonement for throwing out his ſatisfaction for the ſins of mankind. Nor can I rank theſe great articles among *thoſe abuſes alone* which *Mahomet* could not but condemn.

The reader therefore will not be ſurpriz'd if I chuſe to ſtick to Dr. *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet* rather than the other, eſpecially ſince *Boulainvilliers* gives no vouchers for his account, and Dr. *Prideaux* ſays nothing without book, but quotes his authors for every part of the life of the impoſtor. And as I deſign to ſay nothing more of *Mahomet* or his religion but what I ſhall ſay in this place, I ſhall ſupply Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s account out of Dr. *Prideaux*.

Mahomet the great impoſtor.

Mahomet, the great impoſtor, and founder of that falſe religion, (ſince ſpread through great part of *Aſia* and *Africa*, and ſet up in ſuch ſplendor, in that famous city in *Europe*, which, to this day, bears the name of the firſt Chriſtian emperor,) was born in the city of *Mecca*, not far from the *Red Sea*, in *May*, 571, or 574, *Juſtinian* II. being emperor of the eaſt, and *Coſroe* king of *Perſia*. Sir *Thomas* ſays, his father was *Abdar*, an idolater, and his mother *Emma*, a Jeweſs. His parents being poor, he was taken into the houſe of *Zayed Ben Hartah*, or *Abu Taleb*, a rich merchant, who, as Dr. *Prideaux* ſays, was his uncle. This man bred him to his buſineſs, and employed him,

him, as his factor, till he was 25, and at his death left *Mahomet* in good circumſtances. But the war between *Coſroe* and the emperor making trade at a low ebb, he got into the army, firſt, againſt the *Perſians*, under *Heraclius*, and afterwards for them. Having, by the war, encreas'd his ſtock, he ſet up for himſelf, and getting a good number of *Tartars* and *Arabians* in his own pay, he defeated one party of Chriſtians, and afterwards got the better of a body of *Perſians*. But the *Perſians* ſoon after falling upon him, with a greater force, defeated his banditti, and took his money, he himſelf being oblig'd to fly upon a dromedary, and leave his men to be cut off.

His next ſtep to recover himſelf was to betake himſelf to his old trade, and getting into the ſervice of *Cadigha*, a rich widow of *Mecca*, whoſe agent he became, he inſinuated himſelf ſo far into her good graces, that ſhe married him, by which he became one of the richeſt men in *Mecca*.

With his riches, his ambition increas'd, and finding the broils among the Chriſtians roſe high upon the murder of the emperor *Mauritius* by *Phocas*, who, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtianity, was countenanc'd by the pope of *Rome*, *Mahomet* gave out that he was ordain'd to reform the world, and to give a more perfect ſyſtem of religion than either *Moſes* or CHRIST had taught.

During his trading, he had got acquainted with many Jews and Chriſtians, eſpecially with *Abdia Ben Salon*, a *Perſian* Jew, with one *Sergius*, an *Italian* monk, a *Sabellian* heretick, and one *John* of *Antioch*, a *Neſtorian*. Thoſe he conſulted about his deſign of reformation, and to them he is ſaid to have been indebted, not only for putting his *Alchoran* into a dreſs, and good ſtile, (for he was an illiterate man himſelf) but likewiſe for the ſubſtance of it: For it is a jumble of Judaiſm, Paganiſm, and Chriſtianity, huddled together.

The alchoran.

But being preſs'd to ſhew his commiſſion, as *Moſes* and CHRIST did, by working miracles in confirmation of the doctrine he taught, he is ſaid by ſome to have bred up pigeons to feed out of his ears, which he pretended to be angels, who came to reveal myſteries. But leſt this trick ſhould not take, or that it ſhould be diſcover'd, he told his followers, that GOD had confirm'd the revelations given to the Jews and Chriſtians by miracles; but that finding that, notwithſtanding thoſe miracles, the followers of both the former prophets had turn'd aſide from the precepts given them, it had been predeſtinated that this third diſcovery, which he was commanded to exhibit to the world, ſhould be confirm'd by the ſword; and the ſucceſs which his arms, and thoſe of his diſciples ſhould have, would ſhew the world, better than walking through the ſea, or raiſing the dead, the truth of his doctrine.

Mahomet's pretended miracles:

But, becauſe his leud carnal life was a great objection to his progreſs, and was made uſe of by many, not without reaſon, to ridicule his pretence to revelation; whether by the advice of his two aſſiſtants, as is ſaid by ſome, or by his own ſagacity, he retir'd himſelf for two or three years together, for ſeveral hours every day, to a cave near *Mecca*, where his accomplices are believ'd to have met him privately, and by degrees to have compil'd the *Alchoran*. But as he was too much given to luſt, to give himſelf up to the Spirit, he contriv'd one chapter of his *Alchoran* to juſtify what he would not abandon; and therefore, under pretence of multiplying the followers of the true religion, and furniſhing paradice with ſouls, he allow'd poligamy, and as many concubines as true believers had a mind to. And being well aware, that the world, in general, was fonder of ſenſitive pleaſures then of joys purely ſpiritual, he dreſs'd up his paradiſe as a place where men enjoy all thoſe delights which humane nature is too fond of in this world, promiſing his proſelites abundance of fine women in paradiſe, and all other pleaſures which are apteſt to allure young rakes.

His retirement

This bait, together with his pretended ſequeſtration at certain hours, procur'd him ſome diſciples. As he was young, and very fond of his wife *Cadigha*, he made her his firſt proſelite; and the next was *Haly*, the merchant's ſon who had bred him; and after him *Abu Becar*, a man of conſiderable ſubſtance and authority in *Mecca*. Having thus by degrees got over ſome of the topping people of the city to his ſcheme, he took ſeveral wives from among them, inſomuch that he is ſaid to have had no leſs than 15, and ſome of them of the moſt conſiderable families of the place. With the aſſiſtance of his wives relations, he began to publiſh his new doctrines, and proclaim'd himſelf a prophet ſent by GOD to reform the world, and to deſtroy all idolaters. And accordingly one of the firſt principles of his *Alchoran* was, *That there is but one GOD*, and, *that all idols were to be deſtroyed.*

His proſelites.

Idols diſclaim'd by Mahomet,

But in his doctrine of the *Unity* of the GODHEAD, his heretical coadjutors had taught him to diſclaim the *Trinity*, and the *Divinity* of CHRIST, at the ſame time that he renounced the idolatry of the *Arabians*. And therefore he gave out that the aſcribing ſons or daughters, or making aſſociates with GOD, was impious and blaſphemous; and by the explaining that part of the *Alchoran*, he

together with the Trinity.

ſtruck at the root of Chriſtianity, as well as of the Heathen deities.

The way in which he pretended to be inſtructed in this religion was by the angel *Gabriel*, who was ſent from heaven to reveal it to him; but that his appearance was ſo glorious, that he could not bear the dazling ſplendor of it, and therefore fell into a trance every time he came to him. This he gave out, to make the falling ſickneſs, to which he was ſubject, a means of promoting his impoſture; and ſo every fit of that diſtemper produced a new revelation, which had been concerted before hand by him as his aſſociates; and when he had recover'd out of the fit, he dictated his pretended revelation to his ſecretary, and then gave the writing to his followers to get by heart, and the original was brought back to him, and laid up in a cheſt, which he call'd, *the cheſt of his apoſtleſhip*.

Mahomet *baniſhed.*

But the government at *Mecca*, ſmelling out the impoſtor's deſign, to ſet up for royalty, and that he intended to get all temporal as well as ſpiritual power into his hands, ſet themſelves to oppoſe him with open force, and therefore baniſh'd him the town, and had put an end to his life and religion together, if ſome of his diſciples and relations had not ſav'd him by their intereſt.

Having been ſhock'd with oppoſition in his own city, he was forced to retire to *Medina*, another town in *Arabia*, near the *Red Sea*, north of *Mecca*, where he found better reception, his religion having been preach'd up there by ſome of his followers before he arriv'd. But his wive's friend's having made up matters with the magiſtrates of *Mecca*, he went back to that city, and in the 12th year of his pretended apoſtleſhip, he contriv'd his ſham cavalcade to heaven, of which we ſhall give a ſhort account, as Dr. *Prideaux* has it from the beſt authors. *

* Life of *Mahomet* p. 31. VII Edit.

His pretended journey to heaven.

" At night, as he lay in his bed with " his beſt beloved wife *Ayeſha*, he heard a " knocking at his door; whereupon ri- " ſing, he found there the angel *Gabriel*, " with 70 pair of wings expanded from " his ſides, whiter than ſnow, and clearer " than chriſtal, and the beaſt *Alborac* " ſtanding by him, which they ſay is

The beaſt Alborac.

" the beaſt on which the prophets us'd to " ride, when they were carried from " one place to another, upon the execu- " tion of any divine command. *Maho-* " *met* deſcribes it to be a beaſt as white " as milk, and of a mix'd nature, be- " tween an aſs and a mule, and of a ſize " between both, and of that extraordina- " ry ſwiftneſs, that his paſſing from one " place to another, was as quick as that " of lightning; and from hence it is that " he has the name of *Alborac*, that word " ſignifying lightning in the *Arabic* " tongue.

" As ſoon as *Mahomet* appear'd at the " door, the angel *Gabriel* moſt kindly " embracing him, did, with a very ſweet " and pleaſing countenance, ſalute him in " the name of GOD, and told him, he " was ſent to bring him unto GOD in " heaven, where he ſhould ſee ſtrange " myſteries, which were not lawful to be " ſeen by any other man, and then bid " him get upon *Alborac*. But the beaſt, " it ſeems, having long lain idle, from " the time of CHRIST till *Mahomet* (there " having been no prophet in all that time " to employ him) was grown ſo reſty and " skittiſh, that he would not ſtand ſtill " for *Mahomet* to get up upon him, till " at length he was forced to bribe him to " it, by promiſing him a place in para- " dice; whereupon having quietly taken " him upon his back, the angel *Gabriel* " leading the way, with the bridle of the " beaſt in his hand, he carried him from " *Mecca* to *Jeruſalem* in the twinkling " of an eye.

Carries Mahomet *to* Jeruſalem.

" On his coming thither, all the pro- " phets and ſaints departed, appear'd at " the gate of the temple to ſalute him, " and from thence attending to the chief " oratory, deſir'd him to pray for them, " and then departed. Whereupon *Ma-* " *homet* with the angel *Gabriel* going " out of the temple, found there a *Lad-* " *der* of *Light* ready fix'd for them, " which they immediately aſcended, lea- " ving *Alborac* there ty'd at a rock till " their return.

The firſt heaven.

" On their arrival at the firſt heaven, " the angel *Gabriel* knock'd at the gate, " and having inform'd the porter who he " was, and that he had brought *Maho-* " *met*, the friend of GOD with him, by " divine command, the gates were imme- " diately open'd, which he deſcribes to " be of a prodigious largeneſs. This firſt " heaven, he tells us, was all of pure " ſilver, and that he there ſaw the ſtars " hanging from it by chains of gold, each " of them being of the bigneſs of mount " *Noho* near *Mecca*, and that, in " thoſe ſtars, angels kept watch and " ward for the guard of heaven, to keep " off the devils from approaching near it, " leſt they ſhould overhear and know " what was there done. On his firſt en- " tering into this heaven, he ſays, he met " with an old decrepit man, and this was " our firſt father *Adam*, who immediate- " ly embraced him, giving GOD thanks " for ſo great a ſon, and then recommend- " ed himſelf to his prayers. As he en- " ter'd farther, he ſaw a multitude of an- " gels of all manner of ſhapes; ſome in

He meets Adam.

" that

" that of men, others in that of birds,
" and others in beaſts of all ſorts. Among
" thoſe who appear'd in the ſhape of
The cock angel. " birds, he ſaw a *Cock* of colour as white
" as ſnow, and of ſo prodigious a big-
" neſs, that his feet ſtanding upon the
" firſt heaven, his head reach'd up to
" the ſecond, which was at the diſtance
" of 500 years journey from it, accord-
" ing to the uſual rate of travelling upon
" earth. But others among them, as they
" relate this matter from their prophet,
" hyperbolize much higher concerning it,
" telling us that the head of this cock
" reaches up through all the ſeven hea-
" vens, as far as the throne of GOD,
" which is above ſeven times higher, and
" in the deſcription of him, ſay that his
" wings are all over deck'd with *Carbun-*
" *cles* and *Pearls*, and that he extends
" his wings, one to the eaſt, and another
" to the weſt, at a diſtance proportiona-
" ble to his heighth.

" Concerning all theſe, the impoſtor
" tells us the angel *Gabriel* inform'd him,
" that they were angels, who did, from
" thence, intercede with GOD, for all
" living creatures on the earth. That
" thoſe who interceded for men, had the
" ſhape of men, and thoſe who inter-
" ceeded for beaſts, the ſhape of beaſts;
" and thoſe who interceded for birds, the
" ſhape of birds, according to their ſeve-
" ral kinds. And that as to the great
" cock, he was the chief angel of the
" cocks, that every morning, GOD ſing-
" ing an holy hymn, this cock conſtantly
" join'd with him in it by his crowing,
" which is ſoloud, that all hear it that are
" in heaven and earth, except *Men* and
" *Faries*, and then all the other cocks in
" heaven and earth crow alſo. But when
" the day of judgment ſhall draw near,
" GOD ſhall command him to draw in
" his wings, and crow no more, which
" ſhall be a ſign that that day is at hand,
" to all that are in heaven and earth, ex-
" cepting ſtill *Men* and *Fairies*, who be-
" ing before deaf to his crowing, ſhall not
" then be ſenſible of his ſilence. This cock
" the Mahometans look on to be in that
" great favour with GOD, that whereas
" it is a common ſaying with them, that
" there are three voices which GOD al-
" ways hears; they reckon the firſt the
" voice of him that is conſtantly reading
" the *Alchoran*; the ſecond, the voice of
" him, who early every morning, prays
" for the pardon of his ſins; and the
" third, the voice of this cock when he
" croweth, which they ſay is ever moſt
" acceptable to him.

" All this ſtuff of the cock *Abdollah*
" [for ſo he call'd *Salon* the *Jew*] helped
" *Mahomet* to out of the *Talmudiſts*;
" for it is all borrow'd from them, with
" ſome little variation only to make it
" look not totally the ſame. For in the
" tract *Bava Baltira* of the *Babyloniſh*
" *Talmud* we have a ſtory of ſuch a pro-
" digious bird call'd *Ziz*, which ſtanding
" with his feet upon the earth, reaches
" unto the heavens with his head, and
" with the ſpeading of his wings darkens
" the whole orb of the ſun, and cauſes
" a total eclipſe thereof. This bird the
" *Chaldee* paraphraſe on the Pſalms ſays,
" is a *Cock*, which he deſcribes of the
" ſame bigneſs, and tells us that he crows
" before the LORD. And the ſame pa-
" raphraſt on *Job* tells us of him, and of
" his crowing every morning before the
" LORD, and that GOD gives him
" wiſdom for this purpoſe.

" From this firſt heaven, the impoſtor *The ſecond heaven.*
" tells us, he aſcended up into the ſecond,
" which was at the diſtance [above men-
" tion'd] of 500 years journey above it;
" and this he makes the diſtance of every
" one of the ſeven heavens each above
" the other. Here the gates being open'd
" to him as in the firſt heaven, at his en-
" trance he met *Noah*, who rejoycing *He meets Noah.*
" much at the ſight of him, recommended
" himſelf to his prayers. In this heaven,
" which was made of pure gold, he tells
" us, he ſaw twice as many angels as in
" the other, and, among them, one of a
" prodigious greatneſs; for his feet being
" placed on this ſecond heaven, his head
" reached to the third.

" From the ſecond, he aſcended to the *The third heaven.*
" third, which was made of precious
" ſtones, where, at the entrance, he met
" *Abraham*, who alſo recommended him- Abraham
" ſelf to his prayers. And there he ſaw
" a vaſt many more angels than in the
" former; and among them another great
" one of ſo prodigious a ſize, that the
" diſtance between his two eyes was as
" much as 70,000 days journey, accord-
" ing to our rate of travelling. But Maho-
" here *Mahomet* was out in his mathe- met *out in his calculation.*
" maticks; for, the diſtance between a
" man's eyes being in proportion to his
" heighth, but as one is to ſeventy two,
" according to this rate, the heighth of
" this angel muſt have been near 14,000
" years journey, which is four times as
" much as the highth of all his ſeven hea-
" vens put together; and therefore it is
" impoſſible ſuch an angel could ever
" ſtand within any one of 'em. But here
" he places him with a large table before
" him, in which he was continually wri-
" ting in, and blotting out. The angel
" *Gabriel* told this was the angel of
" death, who continually writes into the
" table, which he had before him, the
" names of all that are to be born, and
" there computes the days of their life,
" and as he finds they have compleated

" the

" the number aſſign'd them, again he " blots them out, and that whoever has " his name thus blotted out by him, im- " mediately dies.

The fourth heaven. " From hence he aſcended up to the " fourth heaven, which was all of *Eme-* " *rald*; where, at his entrance he met Joſeph. " *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Jacob*, who recom- " mended himſelf to his prayers. In this " heaven he ſaw a vaſtly greater number " of angels than in the former; and a- " mong them another great angel reach- " ing to the fifth heaven, who was con- " tinually weeping and making great la- " mentation and mourning. This the an- " gel *Gabriel* told him, was for the ſins " of men, and the deſtruction which they " did thereby bring upon themſelves.

The fifth heaven. " From hence he aſcended to the fifth " heaven, which was made of *Adamant*, Moſes. " where he found *Moſes*, who recom- " mended himſelf to his prayers. There " alſo the number of angels increas'd.

The ſixth heaven. St. John Baptiſt. " Going up to the ſixth, which was " of *Carbuncle*, he found *John* the *Bap-* " *tiſt*, who recommended himſelf to his " prayers. The number of angels here " was much greater than in the former.

The ſeventh heaven. Jeſus Chriſt own'd by Mahomet to be his ſuperiour. " From hence he aſcended to the ſe- " venth, which was all made of divine " light. Here he found JESUS CHRIST, " where it is to be obſerv'd he alters his " ſtile; for he ſaith not that JESUS " CHRIST recommended himſelf to his " prayers, but that he recommended him- " ſelf to CHRIST, deſiring him to pray " for him; whereby he acknowledges " him certainly to be the greater. But " it was his uſage thro' the whole ſcheme " of his impoſture, thus to flatter the " chriſtians on all occaſions. Here he ſays " he found a much greater number of an- " gels, than in all the other heavens be- " ſides; and among them one extraordi- " nary angel, having 70,000 heads, and " in every head 70,000 tongues, and " every tongue uttering 70,000 diſtinct " voices at the ſame time, with which he " continu'd day and night inceſſantly " praiſing GOD.

" The angel *Gabriel* having brought " him thus far, told him, it was not " permitted him to go any farther, and " therefore directed him to aſcend the reſt " of the way to the throne of GOD by " himſelf, which he ſays he perform'd " with great difficulty, paſſing through " waters and ſnow, and many other ſuch " difficult paſſages, till he came where " he heard a voice ſaying to him, *O* Ma- " homet! *Salute thy Creator*; from " whence aſcending higher, he came to a " place where he ſaw a vaſt extenſion of " light, of that exceeding brightneſs, " that his eyes could not bear it. And " this was the habitation of the Almigh- " ty, where his throne was placed; on *The throne of GOD.* " the right ſide of which, he ſays, GOD's " name, and his own were written, in " theſe *Arabic* words, *La ellah ellallah,* " *Mahumed reſul allah. There is no* " GOD *but* GOD, *and* Mahomet is " GOD's *prophet*. This is the Creed of " the *Mahometans*; which words he al- " ſo ſays were written upon the gates of " all the ſeven heavens he paſs'd thro'.

" Being approach'd to the preſence of " GOD, as near as within two bows " ſhots, he tells us, he ſaw him ſitting " on his throne, with a covering of " 70,000 vails before his face; that on " his drawing thus near, in ſign of his fa- " vour, he put forth his hand, and laid " it upon him, which was of that ex- " ceeding coldneſs, that it pierced to the " very marrow of his back, and he could " not bear it. That after this, GOD, " entring into a very familiar converſe " with him, reveal'd unto him many " hidden myſteries, made him underſtand " *the whole of his law*, and gave him " many things in charge, concerning his " inſtructing men in the knowledge of it: " and, in concluſion, gave him many " privileges above the reſt of mankind; " as that he ſhould be the perfecteſt of " all creatures; that, at the day of judg- " ment he ſhould be honour'd and ad- " vanc'd above the reſt of mankind; that " he ſhould be the Redeemer of all that " believe in him; that he ſhould have " the knowledge of all languages; and " laſtly, that the ſpoils of all whom he " ſhould conquer in war, ſhould belong " to him alone. And then returning, he " found the angel *Gabriel*, tarrying for " him, at the place where he had left " him, who conducting him back thro' " the ſeven heavens, the ſame way that " he brought him, ſet him again upon " *Alborac*, which they had left at *Jeru-* " *ſalem*, and taking the bridle, as be- " fore, conducted him to *Mecca*, in the " ſame manner as he had brought him " from thence. And all this was done in " the ſpace of the tenth part of a night.

But as ridiculous as this journey of his muſt have appear'd in the eyes of all people of ſenſe, yet his father-in-law *Abu Bekar* giving into it made it be ſwallow'd, and when it once took, every thing he ſaid after that, paſs'd as an oracle; altho' to do juſtice to the *Arabians*, upon his firſt declaration, that he had perform'd this jant in the tenth part of one night, they laugh'd at him for his folly, and there wanted the credit of his diſciple to make it go down. And for ſome time after it was a diſputed point among the muſſulmen, whether the prophet was in the body or out of the body, when this

this happen'd, or more properly ſpeaking whether he had a viſion of what he ſaid he ſaw, or if the journey was real: But their doctors at laſt gave it for a real journey, and it is receiv'd as ſuch by the *Mahometans* all the world over.

Having eſtabliſh'd his credit then by this out of the way ſtory, he proceeded to build up his religion by the help of the ſword, as he had declar'd in his *Alchoran*, to have been the way by which GOD had appointed this laſt diſpenſation to be propagated. To this end he appointed his chief proſelites, *Hali*, *Abu Bekar*, and *Oſman*, as his generals over ſuch forces as their joint ſtocks could raiſe. It is true, their firſt expeditions were rather robberies than any ſet war; but as they ſoon became a formidable banditti, and made all the priſoners they took ſubmit to their prophet's doctrine, they gave umbrage to all their neighbours, and particularly the people of *Mecca*, who out of jealouſy of his ambition, laid a plot to ſurprize and cut him off; which he having private notice of, fled to *Medina*, and this elopement gave birth to the great Æra by which the Mahometans reckon their time, which they call the *Hegira*, or the flight of the prophet, as we compute our years of GOD. This flight happen'd *July* 16, in the year of our Lord 622. But their computing their time by moons occaſions great uncertainty as to the time of beginning their year, and the *Hegira* falls out at different ſeaſon of the year.

The Hegira, or flight from Mecca, the Æra of his followers.

But we are told the *Perſians* have another computation by ſolar years, having 365 days, as we make uſe of, but only with this difference, that they have no intercalary days, or leap year: And Dr. *Prideaux* ſays, their æra is from the advancement of *Yeſdegird* to the throne, which was in our 634. But they likewiſe make uſe of the *Hegira* and lunar year, which diverſity makes their reckoning confus'd, as we obſerv'd in the *Indoſtans*.

Mahomet, after his flight from *Mecca*, being ſettled at *Medina*, married his daughter *Fatima*, by his beloved wife *Cadigha*, to his diſciple *Hali*. She was the only child who ſurviv'd him, notwithſtanding his many wives, and his being ſaid to have been, in a very extraordinary degree, fitted by nature for procreation of children. He us'd to ſay, there never were but four good women, *viz.* *Aſaiah*, the wife of *Pharaoh*, the mother of CHRIST; his own wife *Cadigha*, and his daughter *Fatima*.

Having ſent out his troops to pillage travellers, he got a good deal of booty from merchants, which brought a great number of thieviſh *Arabs* into his party: And then he gave inſtructions to all his captains to oblige all that they conquer'd to ſubmit to his religion, or to pay a conſtant tribute for liberty of conſcience, which is the practice of all his followers to this day.

But he did not always meet with equal ſucceſs, being ſometimes defeated by thoſe againſt whom he made war. But then he had an anſwer ready to ſuch as objected theſe diſappointments to him, *viz.* that the defeat was occaſion'd by the ſins of ſome one or more perſons in his army, which *Gabriel* had no commiſſion to reveal to him. And when ſome of his followers were ready to mutiny for having loſt ſome near relation, he told them, that thoſe perſons would have died at that time, altho' they had ſtaid at home; for there being a certain predeſtinated period of life to all men, it is no matter whether they go to war or ſtay at home, for they die no ſooner in the field than they ſhould have done in their beds: Only with this difference, that they went directly to paradiſe, who died fighting for the faith.

His excuſe for being beaten.

In one of his expeditions, where his party had got the better, and had put a whole tribe of Jewiſh *Arabs* to the ſword; they fell to drinking and gaming after this victory, and being warm with wine, and deeply engag'd at play, a quarrel aroſe among them, which had like to have ruin'd all his ſcheme; but, by his addreſs, he got all pacified: However, leſt the ſame inconvenience ſhould happen again, the next fit of his old diſtemper brought a new revelation, prohibiting drinking wine, and playing at all games of chance.

The occaſion of his forbidding the uſe of wine.

But his countrymen of *Mecca*, being ſtill jealous of him, enter'd into a confederacy with the Jews of *Arabia* to deſtroy him; and to that end march'd an army of 10,000 men againſt him. The prophet being in no condition to make head againſt them, entrench'd himſelf, and left the camp ſhould be forced, he apply'd ſome golden weapons ſo opportunely among the enemy's officers, that they retir'd and left him for that time. Soon after, having recruited his army, he march'd againſt *Mecca*; but after a skirmiſh with little advantage of either ſide, they made up matters, the people of *Mecca* allowing all their citizens who favour'd his doctrine, free liberty to join him, and any, then in his army, who pleas'd, might retire to *Mecca*, whither he himſelf, or his diſciples might likewiſe go, provided they went without arms, and ſtaid but three days.

But now having eſtabliſh'd his authority in his army, who had got riches by this club reformation, he made himſelf

he proclaim'd not only the prophet of GOD, but likewiſe King of the Faithful: So that he ap'd the three great offices of our Bleſſed Saviour, ſtiling himſelf *King*, *Prieſt*, and *Prophet*.

Hitherto he had appointed his followers to ſhew the greateſt veneration towards *Jeruſalem*, calling it *the holy city*, but having about this time contracted a great averſion to the Jews, he alter'd that precept, and order'd, by a new revelation, that his diſciples ſhould pray with their faces towards *Mecca*, and perform all their pilgrimages to the temple there, inſtead of *Jeruſalem*; which contradiction to his former pretended divine command ſo ſcandaliz'd ſome of his followers, that they left him upon it. But, to magnify this temple of *Mecca*, he pretended it was built in heaven for the angels to worſhip in, and, upon the creation of *Adam*, it ſerv'd for his uſe, while he ſtaid in heaven, (where the impoſtor ſuppos'd paradiſe to have been;) but after his fall, he pray'd that he might have ſuch a temple upon earth, and GOD was pleas'd to ſend the ſimilitude of it, in curtains of light, to *Mecca*, according to which model *Seth* built one with ſtones and clay. But that having been deſtroyed by the flood, GOD Almighty commanded *Abraham* to build another in the ſame place, having ſhew'd him the form of it in a viſion, which *Abraham* and his ſon *Iſhmael* perform'd. That after generations having polluted that temple with idol worſhip, *Mahomet* had orders from GOD to purge it, and conſecrate it again to the ſervice of GOD.

The temple of Mecca.

The truth of the matter, ſtrip'd of *Mahomet*'s fiction, was, that this temple of *Mecca* had been a heathen temple in as great veneration, among the *Arabs*, as that of *Delphos* among the *Greeks*; and all their tribes reſorted to it, once a year, to perform their idolatrous rites, till *Mahomet* made them change one bad religion for another, and the ſame temple has kept its reputation for ſanctity ever ſince among his followers.

At his firſt publiſhing his doctrine by ſcraps, as he pretended to have receiv'd it from the angel *Gabriel*, he ſhew'd great regard for the Jews, hoping thereby to make them his proſelites; but when he found that they were great enemies to his religion, and by asking him ſuch queſtions as he could not tell how to anſwer, they expos'd him and ridicul'd him, he took ſuch a mortal averſion to them, that he gave them no quarter, but ſold for ſlaves all that eſcap'd the ſword.

In the 7th year of the *Hegira*, or flight from *Mecca*, he took the city of *Caibar*, inhabited by Jews, where out of curioſity to try whether he was a prophet, as he pretended, *Zainah*, the daughter of one of the chief men of the place, in whoſe houſe he lodg'd, poiſon'd a ſhoulder of mutton, and preſented it to him for ſupper. Some ſay the mutton ſpoke to him, and told him it was poiſon'd; but that muſt be a fable; for altho' he diſlik'd the taſte of it, ſo as to ſpit out what he had put in his mouth, the poiſon was ſo ſtrong that he never recover'd it, but died of it three years after, and often in the time that he liv'd after that poiſon'd bit, he complain'd of the fatal ſhoulder of mutton, and rav'd of it at his death.

Having now gotten together an army of 10,000 men, he unexpectedly ſet upon *Mecca*, before they were prepar'd for him, having truſted to the peace that had been made between them; but *Abu Sophian*, who was the chief man of the city, and had been a mortal enemy to *Mahomet*, applying himſelf to one of the impoſtor's uncles, who liv'd in the city, went with him to the camp, and owning his new religion, ſav'd the city, but gave it up to *Mahomet*. The firſt thing he did was to deſtroy all who refus'd to embrace his religion; and then to deſtroy all the idols out of the temple, and to conſecrate it anew.

He takes poſſeſſion of Mecca.

The gaining of this city, and bringing the inhabitants to his worſhip, ſoon prevail'd with moſt parts of *Arabia* to come and ſubmit to him; ſo that in the IXth year of the *Hegira*, he ſaw himſelf a powerful prince, and ſent his governors and deputies to all the chief provinces to ſettle his religion, and to deſtroy the idols wherever they went.

But now reſiding at *Medina*, he propos'd to make a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, teaching his followers, that once in their lives they were to do the ſame, if poſſible, or to get ſome other to perform it in their name. Having done his pilgrimage, and return'd to his houſe at *Medina*, he began to decline apace, ſtill complaining that the poiſon, every now and then, burn'd his bowels. Being at laſt ſeiz'd with a fever, he became delirious, and calling for pen, ink, and paper, told them he would write a book which ſhould keep them from error after his death: But *Omar*, one of the chief of his followers, ſaid what he had already written was ſufficient, and ſo forbad them to obey him, as not knowing what he ſaid. Soon after this he dy'd (in the 63d year of his age, according to their reckoning, but the 61ſt by ours) after he had kept his bed 13 days. His death occaſion'd great confuſion among his followers, there being many of them who would not believe he could die: But *Abu Beker* formerly mention'd ſhew'd them from ſeveral paſſages of the *Alcoran*,

His death.

ran, that he was to die like other men, and then aſſur'd them that he was certainly dead.

There was a diſpute about his burial which had ſet his diſciples together by the ears, but for the prudence of the ſame *Abu Beker*, who ſaid that *Mahomet* had often declar'd that a prophet ought to be buried in the place where he died This ended the debate, and he was buried in the very room where he died, which was the chamber of his beloved wife *Ayeſha*: So that his having been buried at *Mecca* is a miſtake, and the ſtory of the coffin's being ſuſpended in the air by loadſtones is a ridiculous fable.

And burial.

His character.

This impoſtor was a man of a comely aſpect, a proper ſtature, and affected to be thought to reſemble *Abraham*: He had a piercing wit, and inſinuating behaviour. In the former part of his life he was taken up with bloodſhed and rapine, purely in compliance with the temper of his countrymen, who were continually at variance, tribe againſt tribe, but in the latter part of his life he purſued the ſame trade under the ſanctified name of religion. His two predominant paſſions were *ambition* and *luſt*, as may appear from the courſe he took to gain empire and government, and his making uſe of ſo many women. And to ſhew his being given up to luſt, he has ſeveral chapters in the *Alcoran*, in which he impiouſly introduces GOD as approving of adultery in him, upon the foot of which allowance, he took *Zayd*'s wife from him to the great ſcandal of his diſciples. But, which is worſe, in the 33d chapter of the *Alcoran* he brings in GOD exempting him from the laws againſt inceſt, by which he had oblig'd his followers in the 4th chapter, *viz.* That they might not marry their *mothers, mothers-in-law, ſtepmothers, aunts, ſiſters, nieces, wives ſiſters*, or *ſons wives*; but he is exempted from this reſtriction, and licence expreſly given him to take any believer whatſoever, who ſhall be willing to proſtitute herſelf to him. They who ſpeak moſt modeſtly of the number of his wives, call them 15, others ſay 21; but they could not content him, for beſides them he had many concubines, among whom there was one, of whom he was very fond, an *Egyptian* Chriſtian; but at firſt he lay with her privately, and when his wives *Ayeſha* and *Haphſha* found it out, he took an oath to have no more to do with her, upon their promiſe not to divulge it: But his luſt ſoon got the better of his religion; but being caught a ſecond time, by his two wives, they upbraided him with his perjury as well as adultery, and left his houſe; but to ſalve that matter, out came a new revelation allowing not only him, but all muſſulmen, to lie with their maid-ſervants as often as they pleas'd. His followers being fond of this licence, his two wives were forced to ſubmit, and ſent their fathers to make their peace with *Mahomet*, who from that time, went as often as he pleas'd to his maid *Mary*, and had a ſon by her call'd *Abraham*; but after the impoſtor's death the mother and ſon return'd to *Egypt*, and were no more heard of. But he had no other child alive at his death, except *Fatima* the wife of *Hali*, who out-liv'd her father only 60 days.

But altho' he indulg'd himſelf in all leudneſs, he confin'd his followers to four wives, and allowed any man's wife to complain to the judge if her husband did not diſpenſe his favours to her equally with the other wives, and the judge could oblige him to do her juſtice.

He was jealous of his wives, and therefore threatens them in the *Alcoran* with double puniſhment both here and hereafter if they were falſe to him; but it was ſaid, *Ayeſha* did not mind his threats; however he lov'd her ſo well, that he makes GOD to vouch for her vertue. Nor did the effects of his jealouſy end with his life; for he ſtrictly forbids any of his followers to touch any of his wives after his death, altho' ſome of them were in the vigour of youth; particularly *Ayeſha* was not 20 when he died, and was forced to live a widow 48 years after.

After his death, *Abu Beker* took the looſe papers of his revelations, as he call'd them, and collected them into chapters; but as they had been deliver'd at different times, and all of them upon different occaſions, there were ſeveral groſs contradictions in them, ſome of which *Abu Beker* alter'd, pretending to make up from memory what was wanting in the original manuſcripts, or what was not legible in them. But *Othman* becoming *Caliph*, ſome time after, call'd in the copies, under pretence of correcting them by the original, and burn'd them all, and ſo vamp'd up the *Alcoran* as it ſtands to this day. This alteration happen'd in the 32d year of the *Hegira*, in the year of CHRIST 652.

This impoſture, falſe and ridiculous as it was, having been calculated to the vices of men, and ſupported by force and violence, ſpread in 80 years time over more provinces than the *Romans* conquer'd in 800 years, and the ſucceſſors of this impoſtor held an univerſal ſway over the greateſt part of *Aſia* and *Africa* for 300 years; and out of the aſhes of that dominion have ſprung three empires the greateſt in the world to this day, *viz.* the *Turkiſh*, that of *Perſia*, and that of the *Mogul*.

Having now given, moſtly from Dr. *Prideaux*, as full an account of the firſt broaching

broaching of *Mahometiſm* as I thought neceſſary, let me beg the reader's patience a little to give a very ſhort abridgment of ſome part of that author's letter to the *Deiſts*, bound in with his life of *Mahomet*.

Marks of an impoſture. He gives ſeven marks of an impoſture. 1. All impoſtures have for their end ſome carnal intereſt. 2. Wicked men are always authors of them. 3. Both theſe appear in the very contexture of the impoſture itſelf. 4. No impoſture can be ſo fram'd but it muſt contain ſome palpible falſities, which diſcover the falſity of all the reſt. 5. Wherever it is firſt propagated, it muſt be by craft and fraud. The ſixth I omit, as not being ſo material. 7. It can never be eſtabliſh'd but by violence. All impoſtures muſt have moſt if not all theſe marks; and it is plain that *Mahomet*'s had them all, at leaſt the ſix here mention'd.

1. 1. No man would be at the trouble, or would run the hazard of impoſing upon the world in matters of religion, but for ſome worldly intereſt; becauſe it would not be worth while to encounter all the oppoſition he muſt expect to meet with in the attempt, for nothing. *Mahomet*'s aim was to gratify his ambition and luſt, as he plainly did, as we obſerv'd in his life. His deſign was to get the ſovereignty of his country into his hands, and to debauch as many women as he took a liking to.

2. 2. No good man would impoſe a falſe religion upon the world, becauſe if any religion is true, the framing a falſe one is the greateſt impiety that can be done, as being a diſhonour to GOD, and a grievous injury to men; robbing GOD of that worſhip due to him, and involving men into gulit and miſery, by putting them at a greater diſtance with their Creator, under a pretence of reconciling them to him. A man who can bring himſelf to this pitch of wickedneſs, muſt have thrown off all regard to religion, except an hypocritical ſhew of it. Such a perſon *Mahomet* was, who to ſerve his ambition and luſt adventur'd to make uſe of the ſacred name of GOD to patronize his luſt and rapine.

3. 3. The carnal deſign, or worldly intereſt, as well as the wickedneſs of the impoſtor, muſt ſoon appear in the contexture of the impoſture itſelf. When any man has propos'd to himſelf an end of ſelf-intereſt to be purſued, and frames a new ſcheme of religion to attain that end, the end muſt unavoidably appear in the means, and the impoſture quickly diſcovers what the deſign is, and alſo the heart of the impoſtor. This was ſo plain in *Mahomet*'s caſe, that his countrymen, eſpecially the people of *Mecca*, eaſily found it out, for all his natural cunning and ſagacity, and therefore they oppos'd his growing greatneſs, and but for ſome falſe brethren among themſelves, they would have put an end to his prophetſhip with his life. But whoever will look into the *Alcoran*, will ſee that there is ſcarce a leaf of it which does not tend to gratify and ſupport either the author's *ambition* or *luſt*. So that in the very contexture of the *Alcoran* one may read the carnal deſign, and the wickedneſs of the impoſtor. And however cunningly ſome people may act the hypocrite, it will appear to a ſtrict obſerver to be all grimace and affectation, and the bent of their inclinations being againſt vertue, they will get the better, and peep thro' the maſk in ſpite of his cunning; and the more he has reſtrain'd his luſts, when his intention was not to ſubdue, but to encourage them, they will break out with more force, and be more conſpicuous by having been conceal'd for a time.

4. All impoſtures muſt have ſome palpable falſities in them, which diſcover the cheat of all the reſt. For in framing a lye of ſuch a nature as the introducing a falſe religion, there are two impoſſible qualifications requir'd to hinder the diſcovery, *viz.* a thorough knowledge of all manner of truths, and ſuch a memory as is able to make them preſent to one's mind upon any occaſion. For if his lye contradicts any one known truth, it is blown up at once, and the cloven foot appears. And this alone is ſufficient to convict the *Alcoran* of impoſture. For, altho' he there allows the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be of divine authority, yet he contradicts them both, not only in doctrine (for that he did by deſign) but in matters of fact, which he did thro' ignorance, notwithſtanding his pretence of receiving his *Alcoran*, by divine command, from the angel *Gabriel*. Thus, for inſtance, ſo wretchedly was he out in chronology, that he makes *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes*, to have been the mother of our Saviour *. But his making GOD approve of adultery, inceſt, murder, rapine, &c. is a plain indication of the palpable falſity of the *Alcoran*, by which we may judge of the whole. 4

5. All impoſtures are carried on by craft and cunning. It is a neceſſary ingredient in all lies to be propagated with art and trick; for *truth* only wants no varniſh. Impoſture muſt be ſupported by ſoothing the paſſions, and falling in with the corrupt inclinations of thoſe whom the impoſtor would make his proſelytes. Thus *Mahomet* inſinuated himſelf with people of all ranks and degrees, and fitted chapters in his *Alcoran* to all their different humours and vices. He knew that

* Dr. *Prideaux* ſhews that the *French* tranſlation of the *Alcoran*, from which the *Engliſh* was taken, has put *Joachim* in the text inſtead of *Amram*, and ſo corrected *Mahomet*'s blunder. *Lett. to the Deiſts.* Ed. VII. p. 140.

that the *Arabians* were bent upon luſt and rapine, and therefore he indulged them in thoſe two paſſions, to bring them over to his religion; and with art and cunning retain'd a great many of their rites and ceremonies, to engatiate them to his ſcheme; particularly indulging them in the veneration they had for a long time had for the temple of *Mecca*, for which reaſon, he chang'd his *Kebla* or center of worſhip from *Jeruſalem*, where it had been fix'd by his firſt pretended revelation, to *Mecca*, and order'd all his pilgrims to go thither, as they had us'd to do for many ages before. But the moſt artful thing he made uſe of to keep his followers from being undeceiv'd was, his forbidding them ever to enter into any diſpute about his religion. He was ſufficiently aware that his ſyſtem could not bear the teſt of reaſon, and therefore he precluded them from all examination, leſt the cheat ſhould be found out by a fair trial. Beſides that he knew the *Arabs* were a people not much addicted to any religion, and the moſt illiterate of any known nation at that time, the people of *Mecca* not ſo much as knowing how to read or write. But as he knew the *Jewiſh* and chriſtian religions had been eſtabliſh'd upon the credit of *prophecies* and *miracles*, and that he was conſcious to himſelf he was not capable of pronouncing the one, nor of performing the other, he took care to diſclaim both as uſeleſs, and ſet up the power of the *ſword* againſt both. It is true, his pretended journey to heaven, had it been true, was a ſtrong miracle; but it has no voucher but *himſelf*, and is ſuch a heap of ſtuff, that it alone may be ſufficient to invalidate the whole *impoſture*.

6. All impoſtures, when truſted in many hands, are ſoon diſcover'd. Moſt conſpiracies are diſcover'd by ſome *falſe brother* or other, eſpecially if any great wickedneſs is intended by it, or any danger attends the execution of the plot. But this I paſs by as not neceſſary in *Mahomet*'s caſe, where the impoſture diſcover'd itſelf.

7. The laſt mark of an impoſture is its being eſtabliſh'd by force and violence. For, if it has *worldly intereſt* for its end, *wicked men* for its authors, *falſity* and *error* for its doctrines, and owes its riſe and progreſs to *fraud* and *deceit*, nothing can ſupport it long, but *force* and *violence*. And indeed nothing is more evident, than that *Mahomet*'s impoſture ow'd all its ſucceſs to the *ſword*; it began, and was carried on by *blood*; he proſecuted with *war* all that would not ſubmit to it, and made it death for any to gainſay it, or ſo much as to raiſe the leaſt *diſpute* about any of the *doctrines* of it. And indeed it is only by *force*, that doctrines, which are repugnant to reaſon and common ſenſe, can be cram'd down peoples throats.

But Dr. *Prideaux*'s deſign, in laying down theſe *marks* of an *impoſture*, was to vindicate the *chriſtian* religion from that imputation, I ſhall therefore beg leave to touch upon what he has more largely handled in the letter here refer'd to.

1. The doctor juſtly challenges all the enemies of *chriſtianity* to ſhew any view of *worldly intereſt* in the firſt founder of it, or his followers. Neither HE nor his *apoſtles* ſooth'd men in their *luſts*. The doctrine they preach'd was the fartheſt remov'd from gratifying *ambition* or *carnal deſires* of any that ever appear'd in the world. Altho' our SAVIOUR had all the temptation imaginable from the temper of the *Jews* at that time, and their expectation of a *Meſſiah* who ſhould be a glorious conqueror, to indulge his ambition, and had he fram'd his doctrine to their miſtaken notions, there is not the leaſt doubt, but he muſt have found greater encouragement than *Mahomet* could expect, becauſe the whole nation in general, were prepoſſeſs'd in favour of ſuch a *Meſſiah*, yet, inſtead of that, he would not ſo much as take upon him to decide even the ſmalleſt controverſies; he told them *his kingdom was not of this world*; that his deſign was to make them better men, and not richer; that any who intended to be his followers muſt *take up their croſs* in order to it. He did not cultivate his doctrine to ſooth the pride of the *Phariſees*, nor did he frame ſuch a *reſurrection* and *future ſtate*, as might entice the *Sadducees* to give into them. He did not flatter the leading men of any party, but openly reprov'd their *vices*, and expos'd their *hypocriſy*; and inſtead of cajoling them, by falling in with their vicious inclinations, he diſoblig'd the chief prieſts and rulers of the *Jews* by teaching ſincerity in oppoſition to their hypocriſy, and a true ſpiritual life in oppoſition to the formal performances. He rejected all their ſuperindncements and falſe gloſſes upon the law of *Moſes*, which procur'd him their hatred, becauſe they took it for granted, that the Meſſiah was to reſtore the *Moſaic* œconomy to its greater ſplendor. Nay, he was ſo far from conſulting worldly intereſt or carnal views, that the very eſſence of his doctrine and the ſubſtance of his religion was his being to be made a ſacrifice, and to ſubmit to a violent death; and that not to raiſe his followers to great ſtations in this life, or to procure a voluptuous paradiſe for them hereafter, but to reconcile them to GOD, and to procure the pardon of their ſins; but even theſe were

1. Chriſtianity *not calculated to promote worldly intereſt.*

6.

7.

annex'd to repentance and a virtuous life; and the future rewards he promis'd them were of a piece with his religion, truly ſpiritual.

In a word, both CHRIST and his apoſtles utterly renounced all temporal intereſt, and were far from uſing any arguments from carnal conſiderations to bring any people over to the religion they taught: heaven and ſalvation was what he and they propos'd at the end, and virtue and godlineſs as the only means to attain that end.

2. Chriſt *and his apoſtles not wicked men.*

2. Nor can it be objected to the author, or to the firſt teachers of chriſtianity, that they were wicked men. The rulers of the *Jews*, who were the greateſt enemies to CHRIST, in ſo much that they proſecuted him even to death, could not find the leaſt crime to object againſt him; ſo that even *Pilate* himſelf declar'd that *he found no fault in him*, altho', to pleaſe that ſtiff-necked people, he wickedly condemn'd him. Nor could the bittereſt adverſaries afterwards, ſuch as *Celſus*, *Porphiry* and *Julian*, find any objection againſt the morals of either CHRIST or his apoſtles. So that neither in the time of our Saviour's preaching, which was three years, nor afterwards in the time that the apoſtles ſtaid at *Jeruſalem*, or in the land of *Judea*, nor after their diſperſion, was there any accuſation either againſt him or them for any immoral practices; unleſs it may be alledged that the *Jews* objected to our Saviour that he had a *Devil*, becauſe he wrought ſuch evident miracles that they could not deny them; and the other enemies of our religion attributed the miracles wrought by the apoſtles to *magick*: but the nature of their miracles was a ſufficient confutation of that calumny, and their enemies did not believe themſelves when they talk'd ſo idly. But had CHRIST and his apoſtles been ſuch wicked people as *Mahomet*, there would not have wanted enow to have made the diſcovery, and they had oppoſers who would have been both able and willing to have expos'd them, had there been any room for it. We may therefore juſtly conclude from the ſilence of ſo many virulent adverſaries, upon that ſubject, that there was no wickedneſs to be objected to them.

3. *Nothing in the contexture of chriſtianity ſhews any ſign of ſelf-intereſt or of the wickedneſs of the author.*

3. The whole *frame* and *texture* of chriſtianity is a demonſtration againſt the carnality of the religion and the wickedneſs of the author and of the firſt preachers of it. It is the greateſt contradiction to ſay that CHRIST and his apoſtles were wicked impoſtors, and invented a new religion to promote a ſecular view, and yet in the whole ſyſtem of the religion they taught, there is not the leaſt veſtige or ſign of *ſecular intereſt*, nor the ſmalleſt *allowance* of the leaſt crime to thoſe who ſhould embrace it. It had been the moſt unaccountable madneſs to have propos'd to carry on a *ſecular end* by *means* which in the very nature of them deſtroy the end they were invented to ſupport. And yet this is the caſe, upon the ſuppoſition of the *chriſtian religion*'s being an *impoſture*. The doctrines of chriſtianity are *repentance*, *mortification* and *ſelf-denial*; and in the very firſt entrance into it by baptiſm, all people are oblig'd to *renounce* all the *pomps* and *vanities* of the *world*, and all the ſinful *luſts* of the *fleſh*. Every one is put upon his guard that he muſt expect *tribulations*, *afflictions*, and *perſecutions* if he will be a *chriſtian*. And that this was the conſtant doctrine of the *goſpel* is not only evident from the *New Teſtament*, the charter of chriſtianity, but from the accounts which *heathen writers* give of the behaviour of the firſt chriſtians. The very character which *Pliny* gives of the chriſtians in his time, ſhews what their practice was, as well as what they profeſs'd. He ſays *, *their greateſt crime or error was that they met upon a ſtated day* (that was Sunday) *before it was light, and rehears'd, alternately, a hymn to* CHRIST *as* GOD, *and bound themſelves with an oath or ſacrament* (*not to any wicked intent, but*) *that they ſhould not commit theft, robbery, or adultery, that they ſhould not break their word, nor refuſe to reſtore the pledge*, &c. Did this look like a *carnal* religion? or were ſuch men likely to promote an *impoſture?* To imagine that people ſhould take ſo much pains to make the proſelites *renounce the world*, of which they gave eminent examples by *ſelling all that they had and diſtributing to the poor*, as the firſt chriſtians did, to a man, and at the ſame time to object, that their doing ſo, was for *worldly intereſt*, is ſuch a contradiction to common ſenſe, as neither *Jews* nor Heathens in thoſe days had the face to object to them.

* Plinij Epiſt. L. X. Epiſt. 97.

But if we take a ſhort view of the *chriſtian religion*, it will appear to be, of all that ever yet was taught in the world, the fartheſt from encouraging vice, and the ſtricteſt ſtandard of virtue. It not only forbids the overt acts of wickedneſs, but the very imagination of the heart towards it. It not only reſtrains all groſs acts of impiety, but the leaſt tendencies towards vice, the harbouring the leaſt inclinations to ſin in the heart. Nor does the chriſtian religion leſs forcibly command and recommend virtue, than it forbids vice; as may appear from the whole tenour of the New Teſtament; ſo that I need not inſtance any one precept. Is it poſſible then, that a religion which ſo throughly forbids ſin, and preſcribes holineſs,

lineſs, could ever be the product of a wicked mind, or be calculated to promote worldly and carnal views? Whoever conſiders our religion without prejudice, and can have the face to aſſert this, muſt ſpeak againſt his heart for ſupporting a deſign directly oppoſite to that of the *chriſtian* ſyſtem, and more agreeable to the genius of the *Alcoran*, which is to promote ambition and luſt.

But here the Doctor takes notice of two objections, 1. That good men (otherwiſe) may, and have made uſe of an *impoſture* to promote a good end, ſuch as *Minos*, king of *Crete*, and *Numa*, king of *Rome*, who, to gain the greater credit to their laws, pretended to have receiv'd them from heaven. 2. That it is poſſible that one may be an impoſtor by *enthuſiaſm*, and ſo altho' he has no deſign to impoſe upon the world, may be deceiv'd himſelf, and take his own heated imagination for divine revelation.

As to the firſt, of a man (otherwiſe good) endeavouring to enforce good laws by divine authority, which he has not, or by counterfeit miracles, this the Doctor obſerves, amounts no higher than a *pious fraud*, and *ſuch men may, for the ſake of ſuch ends, be ſtill denominated good and righteous in the main, however they were out in making uſe of ſuch means to promote them.* But where the impoſture is in the end, where the religion is falſe as well as the pretended revelation or miracles to ſupport it, this impoſture is utterly wicked.

The caſe of *Minos* having been only with regard to *political* or *civil laws*, does not concern our preſent ſubject. The ſtory of *Numa*, concerning religion as well as civil government, is one of thoſe *pious frauds*; for he taught no new religion, but the old heatheniſm practis'd thro' all *Italy*, and thro' all *Greece*; ſo that all that *Numa* did, was to regulate the worſhip of the ſame Gods formerly acknowledg'd, and to bring the looſe diſorderly rabble who then inhabited that new city, to ſome uniformity in religion and government with the more polite cities of *Italy* and their more remote neighbours of *Greece*, which *Numa* himſelf had been well acquainted with among the *Sabins*: and to gain the more credit among thoſe barbarous people, he pretended to have receiv'd his rules from heaven by the nymph *Ægeria*.

But as CHRIST and his apoſtles not only aſſerted their divine commiſſion, but, in vertue of it, alter'd the whole plan of the *Jewiſh* religion, and introduced a new œconomy as to the ceremonial part at leaſt; if they were impoſtors, they were ſo in the worſt ſenſe. They could have had no good deſign in altering a religion which they own'd to have been inſtituted by GOD himſelf, unleſs they really had a commiſſion to do it; and their pretending to ſuch a commiſſion without authority was the higheſt blaſphemy.

But either our Saviour and his apoſtles were *Atheiſts*, or *Free-thinkers*, in the modern ſtile, or elſe they believ'd reveal'd religion. If they were *Atheiſts*, it is an unaccountable contradiction to think that they would all expoſe themſelves to death (as indeed every one of them was murder'd, except St. *John*) for perſuading others into a belief of what they did not believe themſelves. If they were *Deiſts*, or *Free-thinkers*, it was againſt the firſt principle of that ſect to pretend *Revelation*, and therefore they were deſtroying by the means, what they muſt have propos'd as their end, and pretended *Revelation* to ſhew that there never was *Revelation*; which was ſuch a mad undertaking, as is againſt common ſenſe. But if they believ'd an inſtituted religion, they muſt have been the wickedeſt men in the world. CHRIST and his apoſtles had been bred in the Jewiſh religion, which they to their laſt breath own'd to have been of divine inſtitution. And now what can be ſaid bad enough of men, thus perſuaded, to take upon them to aboliſh GOD's own revelation, had they done it without his authority. Had they aboliſh'd a religion which they own'd for true, to ſet up another which they knew to be falſe, and ſo by their own confeſſion had led men from ſaving truth, to embrace what they muſt have known to be damnable error, they muſt have been the moſt conſummate wicked men that ever were in the world. But their whole behaviour, even by the confeſſion of their enemies, being a contradiction to this character, it is plain that they could not be capable of ſo deteſtable an impoſture.

As to the ſecond objection, that CHRIST and his apoſtles might have been *Enthuſiaſts*, and ſo were deceiv'd themſelves; it is inconceivable, that the heat of fancy could make a whole ſet of men imagine, that they had divine revelation, to bring a new religion into the world, altho' there are ſeveral inſtances of ſtrange conceits and extravagances, upon the foundation of a religion already eſtabliſh'd. But ſuppoſing that *Enthuſiaſm* ſhould have ſo poſſeſs'd our Saviour and his apoſtles, as to make them dream that they had divine revelation to publiſh a new religion; is it agreeable to common reaſon to imagine, that a ſet of religious madmen ſhould be capable of framing ſo rational, uniform, and perfect a ſcheme of doctrine and principles as that of *Chriſtianity* muſt be allowed to be? But a great part of the Chriſtian creed cannot proceed from

from enthuſiaſm; the articles of our Saviour's *Reſurrection* and *Aſcenſion*, and the deſcent of the HOLY GHOST upon the apoſtles, a great number of illiterate men being enabled to ſpeak all languages, are facts which came under the cognizance of the ſenſes, and were not the objects of enthuſiaſm. For, let them be never ſo great enthuſiaſts, it is not to be imagin'd that 500 men at one time and in one place, in their ſenſes, ſhould fancy that they ſaw a man, whom they had known and convers'd with but very lately before, and yet that all theſe 500 ſhould be miſtaken. The like may be ſaid of the *Aſcenſion*, and *Deſcent* of the HOLY GHOST. And if this religious enthuſiaſm had poſſeſs'd all the diſciples, to make them fancy things that never happen'd; by what were others poſſeſs'd, who were not of that new religion then, and yet heard thoſe illiterate people ſpeak the different languages us'd in *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*? This ſpeaking with tongues was a demonſtration above the power of enthuſiaſm. And indeed that, and the miracles wrought by CHRIST and his apoſtles, will for ever confirm the truth of their revelation, beyond contradiction to all but the obſtinate, who will not believe the Chriſtian doctrine, becauſe it is not, like the *Alchoran*, ſuited to their inclinations.

4. As to any palpable falſhood in the Chriſtian ſyſtem, which always accompanies all impoſtures, let it be produced. The matters of fact contain'd in the goſpels and acts of the apoſtles were never convicted of falſhood. And their having paſs'd without contradiction, that can be ſhew'd at the time when they were done, and publiſh'd, is a ſufficient argument of the truth of them. The *Jews*, who were the bittereſt enemies of Chriſtianity, never attempted to invalidate the accounts which the *Evangeliſts* gave of our Saviour's *Life* and *Miracles*, and they only diſputed his *Reſurrection* by a forged lie, which they put into the mouth of the ſoldiers, which can have no force againſt the teſtimony of ſo many *ſober* people, who aſſerted that they had ſeen and convers'd with him. The ſtory of *Herod*'s murdering the innocents, related by St. *Matthew*, is likewiſe atteſted by *Macrobius*; * and the miraculous eclipſe of the ſun, which happen'd at the death of CHRIST, when the moon was in the full, contrary to the nature of a *Solar Eclipſe*, is related by *Phlegon Trallianus*, as well as by St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*. And both *Jews* and Heathens own'd that our Saviour wrought the miracles related in the goſpels, only the firſt attributed them to the *Tetagrammaton*, or ſacred name JEHOVAH, which they pretended he had ſtolen out of the temple; and the latter imputed them to his skill in magick.

* Saturnalia, l. 2. c. 4.

Nor were his *prophecies* leſs true than his *miracles*. The *ſucceſs* his apoſtles ſhould have in preaching the *goſpel*, the *calling* in of the *Gentiles*, and their *embracing* his *religion*, the *rejection* of the *Jews* for their infidelity, all foretold by him with the moſt minute circumſtances, is an evident demonſtration of the *divinity* of his miſſion. But his particular prediction of the time and circumſtances of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and more particularly of the *temple*, is very remarkable. It was impoſſible by any ſagacity below *revelation* to foretell, that, *before that generation ſhould paſs away*, the *Romans* ſhould be ſo exaſperated againſt the *Jews*, as to deſtroy their city, or that, even in that caſe, that glorious *temple* ſhould be ſo demoliſh'd that, *there ſhould not be left one ſtone upon another* in it. And when *Julian* commonly call'd the *Apoſtate*, ſome centuries afterwards, having a deſign to give the lye to this prophecy, by rebuilding the temple, had employ'd all the power of the *Roman* empire in the work, heaven itſelf declar'd viſibly againſt it, as not only chriſtian but heathen writers have left upon record; particularly *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who ſerv'd under *Julian* when this happen'd, ſays, that *great balls of fire broke out from the foundations of the building, which by their frequent irruptions made the place inacceſſible, and ſometimes deſtroy'd the workmen---and by this means, the element ſtill perſiſting as of purpoſe to obſtruct it, the work ceas'd* †. † L. 23. c. 1.

And if we look into the *doctrinal* part of the *Goſpel*, it is ſo worthy of GOD, and ſo exactly fitted to perfect humane nature, ſo of a piece through the whole, the precepts of it ſo pure, holy, and divine, that that alone is ſufficient proof of the *Divinity* of its *Author*. For if we look into the blunders and contradictions of the ſyſtems of divinity fram'd by the wiſeſt philoſophers, we may conclude that, conſidering the education of CHRIST and his apoſtles, had they been ordinary men, and not aſſiſted from *Heaven*, it had been impoſſible for them to have compil'd ſuch a *perfect* religion as they left behind them, and we may truly ſay, *The finger of* GOD *was there.*

5. Our Saviour and his apoſtles made uſe of no fraud or craft to propagate the Chriſtian religion. They did not *ſooth* the rich and great, either by courting their perſons, or conniving at their vices and paſſions. They told all people of their ſins, and warn'd them to repent, denouncing judgments upon them if they did not; by which they drew the odium of the rulers upon them. They did not indulge

5. *No fraud us'd in the* chriſtian religion.

indulge men in ſuch paſſions as were agreeable to humane corrupt nature, or in ſuch ſins as long cuſtom had made to paſs for lawful. They ſtruck at the very root of vice, and laid ſuch a reſtraint upon luſt, that they made the precepts of morality ſtricter than ever they had been made either by natural or reveal'd religion. They retain'd no rites and cuſtoms, even tho' commanded, in order to pleaſe men, but aboliſh'd even *Circumciſion*, the great diſtinguiſhing ceremony of the Jews, and openly declar'd that *Sacrifices* were ceas'd. They did not, like *Mahomet*, ſhift or alter precepts, as occaſion requir'd, but what was once made a *Goſpel Law*, continued to be ſo. Nor did any one precept claſh with, or contradict another, when fairly ſtated. Nor did they, as *Mahomet*, forbid a rational enquiry into the truth of the goſpel; our Saviour bids the Jews *ſearch the ſcriptures* to examine the truth; and St. *Paul* commends the *Beræans* for doing ſo, and he freely allows and commands all people to *try all things, and only to hold faſt that which is good.* This is another evidence that the author and firſt preachers of *Chriſtianity* had no intention to impoſe upon mankind. Another proof that there was no trick in the preaching the goſpel is, that it was done at a time when learning was at its greateſt pitch in the world, and both *Jews* and *Gentiles* as tenacious of their different religions, and as capable of defending them as ever they were. So that if *Chriſtianity* had been an *Impoſture*, it could not have held out long, without having been detected and ſilenced. And indeed its enemies of all ſides tried their ſtrength againſt it, and both men and devils combin'd againſt it. And the ſucceſs it met with, by the only aſſiſtance of truth and vertue, ſhews that GOD was of its ſide.

But becauſe the Heathens who oppos'd Chriſtianity pretended, that the *Miracles* wrought by CHRIST, and his apoſtles, were done by *Magick*, and they ſet up the tricks done by *Simon Magus*, *Apollonius Tyaneus*, *Apuleius*, and others, to confront them, Dr. *Prideax*, to ſhew the difference between *lying wonders* (which both *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, as well as CHRIST and his apoſtles, allow may be done) and true miracles, which ſhew the finger of GOD, lays down the following marks. 1. That *true miracles* are always done in ſubſervience to the will of GOD, and for promoting truth and righteouſneſs; but *falſe miracles*, or *lying wonders*, are done for promoting error and wickedneſs. 2. *Miracles* are never allow'd to be done to co-operate with any prophet or teacher, but ſuch, as being ſent of GOD, are good and righteous perſons; but *falſe wonders* co-operate with ſuch only who are wicked and impious. 3. *Miracles* are only perform'd in great and ſerious matters, where the honour of GOD, or the good of men are concern'd; but *falſe* and *lying wonders* are done, either to promote the diſhonour of GOD, or to do miſchief to men, or elſe upon ſuch trifling and frivolous occaſions, as are beneath GOD to exert his Almighty Power in. But, as many wonders may be done, by powers lower than the divine; for inſtance, either by good ſpirits, or even by bad ones, *by their ſuperior knowledge of the powers of nature*, and by their *higher capacity of applying their knowledge to effects* above what we can do; the difficulty is to diſtinguiſh between the *true miracle* and the *falſe*. And here the three marks above-mention'd will ſolve the difficulty. For,

Marks of true miracles.

Where wonders or pretended miracles are done, to a *wicked purpoſe* (ſuch as, to influence a bad practice, or give credit to a falſe doctrine) or by a *Man* of a *profligate* and *leud life*, or finally upon a *trifling occaſion*, beneath the Majeſty of GOD to interpoſe his power in, we may be ſure that the perſon who does this pretended *miracle* is one of thoſe falſe prophets mention'd by *Moſes* and CHRIST in the old and new teſtament, againſt whom they warn their followers. But when the ſame works are done by *pious* and *good men*, who teach nothing contrary to *natural religion*, or to any *former revelations* given by *divine authority*, and upon ſuch *ſolemn occaſions* as are conſiſtent with the majeſty of GOD to appear in, in theſe circumſtances, altho' the works done may be ſuch as inferior powers may be able to effect, and conſequently not *properly* miracles, we have no reaſon to ſuſpect their having been done under the influence of evil ſpirits; but they may be allow'd as a *proof* of the *doctrines* they are vouch'd for. For, although they are not, *ſtrictly ſpeaking*, miracles, that is, ſuch as nothing under omnipotence can do, as the changing the fix'd order of nature, *bringing the ſun ten degrees backward*, or *ſtopping his courſe for a whole day*, the *raiſing a man to life who had been dead four days*, *giving ſight to one born blind*, &c. Yet, conſidering the circumſtances, accompanying them, they muſt have been by GOD's approbation, by good angels, whoſe wills are always ſubſervient to his.

But where the *Miracles* are ſuch as nothing but a creating power is able to perform, ſuch as no created being can

ſo much as imitate, in that caſe, the very *works* are a demonſtration of a *divine miſſion.*

To apply theſe two caſes to the miracles of CHRIST and his apoſtles.

1. Allowing that ſome of their *miracles* might be *producible* by an *inferior* power to that of GOD, yet, ſince they were, without exception, *good men*, and did not teach any doctrine, in *oppoſition* to any *former revelation*, nor did their miracles upon a leſs *weighty occaſion* than bringing mankind to the truth; in this light, altho' the *miracles* they did, had not been ſuch as GOD *only* can do, it muſt be ſaid they were *authoriz'd* by GOD.

The Goſpel not contrary to the Law of Moſes.

If it be ſaid that the doctrines of *Chriſtianity* were *oppoſite* to revelation, as tending to deſtroy the *Moſaic* law; that is a miſtake. For, both CHRIST and his apoſtles own'd the law and the prophets to have been from GOD, nor did they ever charge them with any falſhood, or blame the Jews for obſerving them. On the contrary, the law and the prophets were the ground-work on which CHRIST built his religion, and, as he himſelf ſaid, *he came not to deſtroy the Law, but to fulfil it.* The *Law* contain'd in *types* and *ſhadows*, and the *Prophets* in *dark ſayings* and *prophecies*, that which the *Goſpel* has reveal'd in *ſubſtance* and *reality*; and thus the goſpel did not *condemn* or *contradict* the *law*, but aboliſh'd it by having *fulfill'd* it. This our Saviour told the *Jews* in expreſs words, and bids them *ſearch the ſcriptures*, viz. the Old Teſtament, becauſe *they teſtify'd of him.* And St. *Paul* calls the law *our ſchoolmaſter to bring us to* CHRIST. And that *the law had only a ſhadow of good things to come, but that* CHRIST *was the ſubſtance.* And St. *Peter* ſhews, that *all the prophets bear witneſs to him, that thro' his name, whoſoever believes in him, ſhall receive remiſſion of ſins. Chriſtianity* therefore is not oppoſite to the *Moſaic* revelation, but improv'd and perfected it in that manner, in which *Moſes* and the prophets declar'd it ſhould. But,

Chriſt's miracles above the power of any but GOD.

2. If we conſider ſuch of the miracles of CHRIST and his apoſtles as could not be produced by any power under omnipotency, (as many of them undeniably were) there is no room left for any imputation of *trick* or *impoſture.* What other power, but his, could *raiſe* the *dead* after the ſeparation of ſoul and body? Who but the great creator, could give the organs of ſight to thoſe who were *born blind?* And who but he who firſt diſpos'd the wonderful frame of the human body, was able to *reſtore* ſo many bodies, to *health* and *perfection*, when the parts and veſſels neceſſary to it were *decay'd* and throughly *periſh'd!* And yet CHRIST did ſo, by a word of his mouth, and gave power to his diſciples to do the ſame. And this not as *Chriſtians only* pretend, but as could not be denied by the *Jews*, nor controverted by the *Gentiles.* Whoever will allow the facts, (and they are as manifeſt as any part of hiſtory) and yet deny that GOD ſet his ſeal to the *truth* of the *goſpel*, winks hard, becauſe he is reſolved not to ſee, and ſuch, the proverb ſays, *are the blindeſt of all men.*

6. No pretence of any one Chriſtian having diſcover'd the cheat.

6. Among all the 500 followers of CHRIST, and who all ſaw him after he had riſen from the dead, there was not one ſingle perſon who diſcover'd that it was a ſtory contriv'd to cheat the world. The moſt conſiderable of his diſciples were often brought before the rulers of the *Jews*, and examined about their doctrine, and particularly about the *reſurrection* of their maſter; and yet there never was one of them who deny'd it. Nor were they ever confronted with one ſingle perſon of their number who pretended to *diſcover* the *impoſture.* Is it then to be conceiv'd that ſo many people were truſted with one ſecret contrivance, and pretended they had ſeen a man whom they all knew to have been crucify'd, I ſay, to pretend that they ſaw him afterwards alive, and to juſtify this in the eye of the world, againſt all the threatnings of the magiſtrates both *Jewiſh* and *Heathen*; that for aſſerting this ſo many were ſcourg'd, impriſon'd, and put to death, and yet not one falſe brother to be found who made his fortune by a ſeaſonable diſcovery of the trick? This argument alone is a demonſtration of their believing it themſelves, and they muſt have been all mad, if they would have cheated the world, to the loſs of their own lives, when they had ſo many inſtances before them of the torments attending their owning CHRIST and his religion.

7. Chriſtianity not propagated by violence.

7. But to proceed to the laſt mark given of an impoſture, *viz.* its being only to be ſupported by *force* and *violence.* Nothing can be ſaid againſt the Chriſtian religion more contrary to truth than this. Look through the whole doctrine of the goſpel, and ſee if there be the leaſt ſhadow of any allowance to the followers of CHRIST to uſe *force*, even in ſelf-defence. When St. *Peter* cut off *Malchus*'s ear, in the defence of his maſter, he was ſo far from juſtifying him in it, that he tells him, *They that take the ſword ſhall periſh by the ſword.* And in all the perſecutions of the apoſtles and firſt Chriſtians for 300 years, wherein many thouſands loſt their lives for their religion, there is not one inſtance of reſiſtance, much leſs any form'd deſign of propagating their religion

religion by force. Our Saviour reſtrain'd his diſciples from revenging injuries, and preach'd up meekneſs and patience, ſelf-denial and bearing the croſs. He gave them orders indeed *to go into all the world, and to preach the goſpel to every creature.* But where will any one find a precept for knocking thoſe on the head that would not receive it? All the force they were to uſe was the force of truth and of ſound argument, back'd with a good life and miracles; but let any one give an inſtance of their making uſe of the ſword to ſupport their cauſe. All the violence they were authoriz'd by their maſter to make uſe of was, *to ſhake off the duſt of their feet againſt thoſe cities who would not receive the goſpel*; but any other force was deny'd them by the whole tenour of their religion.

Nor was it only humane prudence that hinder'd them from uſing force at firſt, becauſe they were few, and had all the powers of the earth againſt them. For, in the ſecond and third centuries, when they were put to death in multitudes, for no other reaſon but becauſe they profeſs'd Chriſtianity, they were ſo numerous, that they might have reſiſted to purpoſe, had their religion allow'd any ſuch thing. But their *arms* then were only *prayers* and *tears*; and if Chriſtians, ſince that time, have pretended to propagate religion by force and violence, they have gone beyond their maſter's commiſſion, and taken other arms for promoting Chriſtianity than he ever allow'd, or than the beſt Chriſtians ever practis'd.

And indeed the progreſs that the goſpel made by the good lives, and patient ſufferings of the profeſſors of it, againſt all the force and malice of the united powers of the world againſt it; the conqueſt which Chriſtians made by their own blood in the cruel perſecutions they underwent, without a ſingle attempt to ſpill one drop of the blood of their moſt cruel and unjuſt perſecutors; is an undeniable proof that the Chriſtian religion is from GOD, ſince no impoſture can be long ſupported but by force, which, it is evident to all the world, Chriſtianity was not, in the firſt ages; and if any have us'd violence to proagate it ſince, it is a ſhrewd ſign, that they had added ſomething to the goſpel, which would never have gone down without force, as not having that evidence of truth, nor that title to GOD's aſſiſtance in the eſtabliſhing of it, that the doctrines left by CHRIST and his apoſtles had. I might enlarge upon this argument, were it proper to trouble the reader with it in this place; but having already made what ſome may think too long a digreſſion, I ſhall not purſue it farther.

But before I have done with Dr. *Prideaux*, I muſt take notice of the latter part of his letter above mention'd, in which he gives a moſt rational account of the idolatry and polytheiſm of the Heathens, and, among the reſt, of the ſuperſtition of the *Perſian* Heathens. In anſwer to an objection, he ſuppoſes made, to his aſſertion, that *Mahomet* was the only impoſtor, who ever eſtabliſh'd his fiction, and made it a ſtanding religion in the world. The objection is this. " If *Ma-*
" *homet* be the only impoſtor, that ever
" eſtabliſh'd his impoſture in the world,
" how then has it come to paſs, that
" there have been ſo many *falſe religions*
" among mankind? " To this he anſwers thus. *

* Letter to the deiſts. p 173

Thoſe falſe religions came " not by
" *impoſture*, ſuch as *Mahomet*'s was, ---
" but from corruptions inſenſibly growing
" upon that religion which was at firſt
" true. The firſt religion, which GOD
" gave unto man, was that natural reli-
" gion, which he imprinted on his very
" nature, when he firſt created him; and
" as much of that as eſcap'd the ruin with
" which the fall overwhelm'd him, was
" that by which GOD was ſerv'd by him
" afterwards; only with this addition;
" that, whereas man, in his innocency,
" addreſs'd himſelf to GOD immediately,
" of himſelf alone, and in his own name;
" after his fall, he could never have
" any more acceſs to him, but through a
" *Mediator*; GOD's infinite purity and
" greatneſs, on the one hand, and man's
" infinite guilt and vileneſs on the o-
" ther, after that fatal miſcarriage of our
" firſt parents, put them at ſo vaſt a
" diſtance, the one from the other, that,
" in the nature of the thing, there
" could be no other way thenceforth of
" maintaining any communion between
" them; and therefore had not this way
" been found out to bring man again to
" GOD, he muſt totally have been eſtran-
" ged from him for ever after. But GOD,
" of his infinite mercy, having reſolv'd
" not thus to caſt us off, he appointed us
" a *Mediator* as ſoon as we had fallen,
" and promis'd to ſend him, in his ap-
" pointed time, to take our nature upon
" him, and therein to pay that price of
" redemption for us; by virtue of which
" his *Mediation* ſhould always be ſuffi-
" cient, to obtain mercy, pardon, and
" acceptance for us. And this is what
" was meant by GOD's promiſing imme-
" diately after the fall, that *the ſeed of*
" *the woman ſhould break the ſerpent's*
" *head*; which being farther explain'd
" by *after-revelations*, the whole re-
" ligion of GOD's people after that, was
" to offer their worſhip to him through
" hope in this *Mediator*: And all *idola-*

Serving GOD *by a* Mediator *when begun.*

and why.

" *try*,

" *try*, *polytheiſm*, and other *falſe worſhips* " which after aroſe in the Heathen world, " were all by ſuch corrupt deviations " therefrom, as the ſuperſtitions of men, " the unfaithful way of tranſmitting *divine* " *Revelations*, by *Tradition only*, and the " decay of all divine knowledge occaſion'd " thereby, in proceſs of time, introduced " among them. For, when mankind be- " gan to encreaſe after the flood, and " they were taught from *Noah* their fore- " father thus to worſhip GOD *in the hope* " of a *Mediator*; as the knowledge of " thoſe divine truths he deliver'd to them " began to decay, and ſuperſtition to " encreaſe among them, they began to " determine themſelves to ſuch *Mediators* " as their own imaginations led them to " fancy; and ſome choſe angels, others " men deceas'd, for this office; and, in " proceſs of time, erected temples and i- " mages to them, and honour'd them " with *divine worſhip*, in order to render " them the more helpful and beneficent " unto them. The *Babylonians* or " *Chaldeans*, who were the firſt form'd " ſtate after the flood, look'd upon *An-* " *gels* to have been the *Mediators* ap- " pointed by GOD, through whom they " were to come unto him: And for this " reaſon they directed their worſhip to the " *ſun* and *moon*, and to the reſt of the " *planets*, which they fancied to be the " habitations where thoſe *angels* dwelt; " and alſo erected *images* to them, into " which they reckon'd their influence and " divine power deſcended, and remain'd " with them, when thoſe luminaries them- " ſelves were ſet, and diſappear'd in their " *Horizon*: So that their notion was, to " make their addreſſes, through thoſe " images, to the *planets*, and thro' them " to the *angels* that dwelt in them; and " thro' the *angels* to GOD himſelf, whom " they acknowledged to be the one ſu- " preme being, who was the *Creator* and " *Governor* of all things. And this was " the firſt *idolatrous religion* which " was eſtabliſh'd in the world, and long " prevail'd over a great part of it, and is " ſtill preſerv'd in the eaſt, among the " the ſect of the *Sabians* to this day.

Hence came the idolatry *and multiplicity of* gods.

" But the *Perſians*, not liking the " worſhip of the *planets* by *images*, al- " low'd no other *ſymbol* to repreſent " thoſe glorious luminaries by, but *fire* " only, of which they reckon'd them " to be conſtituted; and therefore, where- " ever they prevail'd, they deſtroy'd all " *images* out of the *temples*, and placed " *fire* in their ſtead, and from thence the " *Magi*, or the *worſhippers of fire*, had " their original. But, from their having " one *ſymbol*, they ſpeedily came to the " aſſerting but of *one deity*, repreſented " by it, which they would have to be " *Light*, and that, of the mixture of this " and *Darkneſs* all things in this world " were compounded; that *Light* was the " cauſe and principle of all good, and " *Darkneſs* the cauſe and principle of all " evil; and therefore under the *ſymbol* of " fire, they worſhip'd *light* as their *God*, " but deteſted *Darkneſs*, as we do the " *Devil*. And from hence *Manes* the " heretick had his two principles, which " he would have introduced into the " *Chriſtian* religion. But, above theſe, " they acknowledg'd a ſupreme GOD, " in reſpect of whom, their God *Light* " was but an inferiour *Deity*, or a *Me-* " *diator*, by whom they were to have " acceſs to him. And this religion ob- " tain'd through all *Perſia*, and other " parts to the eaſt of it, where it remains " to this day among the *Perſees* in *India*, " and the inhabitants of the province of " *Kerman*, on the ſouth coaſt of *Perſia*.

" But the practice of the *Babylonians* " or *Chaldeans*, in worſhipping their " *Gods Mediators* by *images*, obtain'd in " all the *Weſtern* parts of the world; " for they, holding that they were to " have acceſs to GOD through *angels*, as " their *mediators*, and to the *angels* " through the *planets*, and to the *planets* " through the *images* which they had e- " rected to them, gave to thoſe *images* " the names of the *planets*, and under " thoſe names gave *divine worſhip* to them; " which idolatry paſſing from *Babylon* " or *Chaldea* into *Arabia*, and from " thence to the *Egyptians* and *Phœnici-* " *ans*, was, by them, carried into *Greece*, " and, from thence, ſpread itſelf into all " parts of this *weſtern* ſide of the " world, as that of the *Magi* did on " the *Eaſtern*: For the chief *Gods* of the " *Greeks*, as well as the names by which " they were call'd, came from the *E-* " *gyptians* and *Phœnicians*, and were " no more than the *images* by which " the *Babylonians* worſhip'd the *ſun*, " *moon*, and other *planets*, with the " names of thoſe *planets* given to them. " Afterward, indeed, they added to their " number other *deities* alſo, which were ori- " ginally either ſome of the fix'd ſtars, or elſe " the ſouls of men departed, as of *Bel* or *Be-* " *lus*, among the *Babylonians*, *Abraham* " and *Iſhmael* among the *Arabians*, *O-* " *rus* and *Oſirus* among the *Egyptians*, " *Æſculapius* and *Hercules* among the " *Greeks*, and *Romulus* or *Quirinus* among " the *Romans*. For, it early became a " cuſtom among the worſhippers of ima- " ges, as well *Greeks* as *Barbarians*, to " deify men departed, reckoning thoſe " who liv'd juſtly and righteouſly, or had " made themſelves eminent by any wor- " thy actions in this life, to have thoſe " habitations alloted them in the heavens

" above,

" above, where they were in a capacity " to be mediators to GOD for men, and " therefore they offer'd *divine worſhip* to " them as ſuch. And this was it that " gave occaſion to ſo many *apotheoſes* or " *deifications* among them, and ſo vaſtly " encreas'd the number of their *gods*, in " all the idolatrous parts of the world, " and alſo the various methods of *ſuper-* " *ſtition*, whereby they paid their wor- " ſhip to them. Yet they all hold the " notion of one ſupreme GOD, and rec- " kon'd all the others as *mediators* under " him: And this one GOD, whom they " held to be made of none, and to be the " maker or father of all things elſe, was, " among the *Chaldeans* of old (and ſtill " among the *Sabians*, who are the " remainder of them) ſtill call'd DEUS " DEORUM, and, among the *Arabs*, " ALLAH TAAL, *i. e.* the *high and ſu-* " *preme* GOD, and, agreeable hereto, " among the *Greeks* was, *the father of* " *gods and men.* "

From this rational account of the origine of idolatry, the Dr. with a great deal of reaſon makes theſe two reflections.

1. " That the notion of a *mediator* " between GOD and *man* was what " run through all religions that ever " were in the world, to the coming of " JESUS CHRIST, and was the fundamen- " tal principle which run through every " one of them, as to all the worſhip " which was practic'd in them; which " could no otherwiſe become ſo *univerſal* " among mankind, but by a *tradition* " as *univerſally* deliver'd to them. And " what can better account for this *tradi-* " *tion*, and alſo the *univerſality* of it, " than what is deliver'd to us in *ſcrip-* " *ture*, of our being deſcended from one " common parent, who upon his fall " from the favour of GOD, having had " this promiſe of a *mediator* made to him, " through whom we might be again re- " concil'd unto him, tranſmitted it to all " his poſterity

2. " That the miſtakes and errors a- " bout the worſhip of GOD, and the ſer- " vice we owe unto him, which men are " apt to run into, when left to the con- " duct of their own light only, are mon- " ſtrous and endleſs, and therefore evi- " dently demonſtrate the neceſſity of *di-* " *vine revelations*. For, if GOD does " expect from us an account of our " actions, it is neceſſary he ſhould give " us a *law* for the *rule* of them; and if " the *law* of our *reaſon alone* be inſuffi- " cient for this (as from the continual er- " rors, and endleſs abſurdities, which " mankind, when left to themſelves, have " ever, hitherto, run into, it evidently " appears that it is) this demonſtrably " proves the neceſſity of another to ſup- " ply its defect; and that, in our caſe, we " muſt have a *reveal'd religion*, as well " as a *natural*, or elſe we can have no " certain knowledge of the *will* of GOD, " or of any of thoſe duties, of *worſhip* " *ſervice*, which we are to perform to- " wards him. And if this proves the ne- " ceſſity of ſuch a *reveal'd religion*, (as I " think it undeniably muſt, to every " one who believes GOD will account " with us for what we do) all that I " have farther to offer is, that you would " throughly examine and conſider the o- " ther religions which are in the world; " and if it does not appear, vaſtly above " them all, the worthieſt of GOD, for " him to give unto us, and the worthieſt " for us to obſerve, and that not only in " reſpect of the honour given to him, " but alſo of the improvement and per- " fection brought to our own natures " thereby, I will be content that you " ſhall then perſiſt to believe it an *impo-* " *ſture*, and, as ſuch, reject it for ever. "

Sign'd, *Humphrey Prideaux.*

Having made this long digreſſion, (which I thought not improper upon ſeveral accounts, and ſhall be ſorry if the readers are of another opinion) I ſhall now return to Sir *Thomas Herbert*. He tells us, as I obſerv'd before, that the *Alcoran* was digeſted by *Oſman* after *Mahomet's* death into 114 *Azaoras* or chapters. It contains, not ſo much rules for devotion, and a good life, as a relation of *Mahomet's* acts, intermix'd with the arts of war and peace, ſyſtems of *Rhetorick*, *Mathema-* *ticks*, and *Ethicks*, borrowed out of *Ari-* *ſtotle* and other philoſophers, but groſly and confuſedly handled. *The alcoran.*

There are ſeveral plauſible good laws in ſeveral places of the *Alcoran*; but thoſe are ſo contradicted and explain'd away, by other chapters of it, that they ſignify nonthig. Not to mention what we took notice of before concerning marriage, the *Alcoran* ſays, *Curſed be the* *ſlayer*; but that command is made uſe- leſs (for the worſt reaſon for murder or bloodſhed of any in the world, *viz.* for religion) and it is meritorious among the Mahometans to ſlay all who will not embrace their religion.

They are enjoined five ſtated hours e- very day for devotion, *viz.* at break of day, at noon, at three o' clock, at ſun- ſet, and at mdinight. But the *Perſians*, who make free with the *Alcoran* on ma- ny occaſions, have only three of the five, *viz.* morning, noon, and night.

But not to trouble ourſelves with the ſenſeleſs inconſiſtencies of the *Alcoran*, nothing ſhews the impoſture of it plainer than the voluptuous *Paradiſe* he has pre- par'd

par'd for his followers. Having fram'd his laſt judgment out of the new teſtament, blended with a good deal of fuſtian of his own, and deſcrib'd hell in a dreadful manner enough, in his carnal conception; he makes paradiſe a place juſt fit for a goat like himſelf, full of all the delights that ſenſual appetites can deſire, but nothing in which the ſoul is any way concern'd: A certain ſign that GOD Almighty had no hand in framing the *Alcoran*, and only permitted the impoſture to prevail as a puniſhment for the wickedneſs of thoſe who corrupted the true religion, which once made ſuch a glorious figure in the eaſt.

There being nothing more which we think proper to collect from this author with regard to *Perſia*, we ſhall follow him to *India*, taking notice of what he ſays that is material, and has not been taken notice of in our *Traveller* from other authors.

Sir *Thomas Herbert*, having ſpent ſome time in *Perſia*, return'd to *Swally* bay, and ſailing from thence in *April*, paſs'd by *Gundavee*, *Daman*, *St. John de Vacas*, *Choul*, and *Dabul*, towns which had been ſubjected to the crown of *Portugal* by *Albuquerque*. Upon the 23d of this month they came to *Dellyns* bay, or mount *Elly*, upon the coaſt of *Malabar*, where, amongſt other things brought them by the natives, (for they did not go aſhore) they had the wood *Calambuco*, brought from the mountains of *Chamoys*, in *Cochin China*, and ſold at great rates, as being much in uſe among the *Banians* in their obſequies, and by the *Japaneſes* in their houſes, thinking no pillow ſo wholſome to ſleep upon. They have ſeveral fruits here which we have not mention'd before, ſuch as, *Jacks*, of the ſhape of a pumpion, of a yellow colour, with veins through it on the outſide, and full of kernels within, which lie in golden cloves. They grow upon a low tree; this fruit is not very pleaſant to the taſte, but is reckon'd excellent for the ſtomach and back. The *Anana* is much of the bigneſs of the *Jack*, growing like an *Artichoak*; it is pleaſant to the taſte, and likewiſe good for the ſtomach. The *Duroyen* is not unlike the others, but more beautiful without; and tho' it ſmells like a rotten onion, yet the meat of it is white, cordial, and nouriſhing. The *Areca* tree grows high; the fruit of it is like a walnut, but has neither taſte nor ſmell; they wrap it in a *Betel* leaf, and being ſo chew'd, it is reckon'd good for the cholick, melancholy, worms, and ſeveral other diſtempers; and ſtupifies the ſenſes; for which reaſon the *Indian* women uſe it when they are to be burnt with their husbands.

Mount Elly.

Calambuco wood.

Jacks.

Anana.

Duroyen

Areca.

Mount *Elly* divides *Decan* from *Malabar*, and is a hilly country in about 12 deg. lat. but is not mark'd in our *Atlas*.

Malabar extends from 7 to 14 deg. of lat. *viz.* from cape *Comorin* to *Baticala*, ſo that it is above 400 miles in length from ſouth to north, but its utmoſt breadth is 100 miles, and towards the ſouth not above 50. And yet ſo populous is this country, that the *Samorin* of *Calicut* is able to bring 200,000 men to the field, againſt his powerful neighbours, the kings of *Narſinga*, *Decan* and *Golconda*. It has ſeveral defenſible towns and harbours, the chief of which are, *Coulam*, *Cochin*, *Calicut* and *Mangapore*.

Malabar.

Malabar is divided into ſeveral petty governments, but all ſubject to the great *Samorin*, a naked negro, proud and tyrannical, and values himſelf much upon his being the firſt *Brachman*. The *Nayrocs* are his nobles, who are as great tyrants over their inferiors as the *Samorin* is over them, only they are not allowed to put them to death. The inhabitants are rather black than olive, with curled hair, longer than the *Africans*, but over it they have a ſort of turbant. They go naked, having only a wreath of calico about their waſtes. The women are veil'd, as the *Indians* of other places, and have their ears, lips, and noſes, hung with rings, and pendants, according to their quality or ability.

Our author ſays it had been a cuſtom, but aboliſh'd before his time, that the *Brachman* had the firſt night of the bride. The people here are much given to luſt, and take all methods to heighten their natural inclinations. But they abſtain from wine, or any ſtrong liquors, and, for the moſt part, from fleſh, living only upon milk, herbs, and roots, and rice, and fruit.

The great *Samorin* reſides at *Calicut*, which had been much defaced by the *Portugueſes*, who transferr'd the trade to *Goa*. They had deſtroyed their temples, in which they had many images, or *Pagods* of different colours and figures.

This coaſt is much inhabited by two ſorts of people, the *Banians*, and the *Chriſtians* of St. *Thomas*; both which are diffus'd through ſeveral parts of *India*. The *Banians* are a good-natur'd ſort of people, and abhor the ſhedding of blood ſo much, that they will bear oppreſſion, or any injury, rather than reſiſt; and believing the tranſmigration of ſouls, will not take the life of any creature. They are morally honeſt, courteous in their behaviour, temperate, abſtemious, charitable, and merciful. This mild diſpoſition expoſes them to the inſults of the other Gentiles, and of the *Moors* who frequent *Malabar*. The Chriſtians of St. *Thomas* are

The Banians.

The Chriſtians of St. Thomas.

are the poſterity of ſuch as are ſaid to have been converted by that apoſtle. They have ceremonies different from both the church of *Rome* and the church of *England*, as moſt Chriſtians of the eaſt have; but, as far as Sir *Thomas* ſays of them, they agree in ſubſtance with the church of *England*.

Upon their departure from the coaſt of *Malabar*, they went to *Ceylan*, of which we have already given a deſcription. Upon *Columbo*'s peak, on the ſouthweſt of this iſland, they pretend to ſhew the footſteps of old *Adam*, and not far from it, there is a lake of ſalt water, which they call *Eve*'s tears for the murder of *Abel*.

From *Ceylan* they held a northerly courſe along the coaſt of *Cormandel*, where there were *Engliſh* and *Dutch* factories, and ſo up to the bay of *Bengal*, where the *Ganges* enters the ſea at five mouths, after it has run 3000 miles thro' *Indoſtan*, and been encreas'd by 50 other rivers by the way. Our author tells us of an odd ceremony of marriage at *Negapatan*, upon the coaſt of *Cormandel*, about 11 deg. lat. He ſays, the prieſt leads a cow, with the bridegroom and bride, to the water-ſide, and after a ſhort prayer, he links their hands about the cow's tail, pours upon them hallowed oyl, and then drives the cow into the water, where the married couple are up to the middle, and ſtaying a while, they come out, are untied, and ſo indiſſolvably married. He tells us likewiſe the origine of that barbarous cuſtom of the women ſubmitting to be burnt with the dead bodies of their husbands. He ſays, it was a cuſtom among the laſcivious women among the *Indians*, upon very ſlight provocations, to poiſon their husbands, that they might have new ones; upon which this law, which they call *Draco's Law*, was invented, that the wives ſhould be burnt with their husband's body; but where Mahometiſm prevails, this cuſtom ceaſes. In this country likewiſe they have the proceſſion of their idol upon a chariot of eight wheels richly gilt, with their *Jogues* and young proſtitutes in great numbers, who perform a leud proceſſion.

An odd ceremony of marriage *on the coaſt of* Cormandel.

Origine of burning wives with their dead husbands.

Meliapore. At *Meliapore*, upon the ſame coaſt, was ſaid to be the ſepulchre of St. *Thomas*, which brought a great number of Chriſtians thither; but *John* III. king of *Portugal*, had it tranſported to *Goa*.

Narſinga *Narſinga*, or *Biſnagar*, is a kingdom to the ſouth of *Golconda*, whoſe king was ſo ſtrong in forces, that he neither valued the Mogul, nor his nearer neighbours of *Decan* or *Golconda*. He had all neceſſaries within himſelf, and his revenue was two millions ſterling.

Having coaſted along this *Cormandel* ſide, and ſo to *Bengal*, they directed their courſe to *Malacca*, formerly mention'd often in other voyages. Our author is of opinion, that *Solomon*'s *Ophir* was either this peninſula, or ſome place near it, which he founds upon the affinity of names, as for inſtance, the old name of *Ganges* was *Jocktan*, and *Taphin* near it retains the name of *Ophir*. In ſhort, the names of *Havilah*, *Abimael*, *Elmodan*, *Jerah*, he thinks to be the ſame with *Ava* or *Chava* in *Pegu*, *Malli* in *Malabar*, the *Emodian* mountains, and the province of *Joor* or *Jehor*. But I ſhall not determine whether this conjecture be true or falſe. Malacca.

Molucca had a king of its own, ſubject to the king of *Siam*, 'till *Albuquerque* took it, and fortified the city with no leſs than 300 pieces of cannon; he took above a million of pieces of eight from the king's exchequer, and kill'd the king, which was ſo reſented by the king of *Siam*, and the neighbouring princes, that, taking the advantage of *Albuquerque*'s abſence, they retook the town, but, which was ſtrange, allow'd the *Portugueſes* to ſail away in their own ſhips. But not long after it was again taken by the *Portugueſes*, and they were poſſeſs'd of it till the *Dutch* drove them out. When the *Siamites* were driven from their own country, they ſettled here, and were a great help to the trade of the city. The country about it is fruitful, but very hot, as it muſt be, lying in 5 deg. n. lat.

North from *Malacca* is *Patana*, in the ſame peninſula, in 7 deg. It was under its own king, tributary, as our author ſays, to *Dehli*, but it is more likely it was to *Siam*, as *Malacca* was; for *Dehli* is above 1500 miles from it. The *Mogul*, ſince he became great, has attempted it, but has not been able to extend his conqueſts ſo far. Our author ſays the people of the place drink ſtrong liquors to exceſs. They are a mixtute of Mahometans and Gentiles, are an hoſpitable people, but very leud, which the women take great pains to excite and encourage. Patana.

The next place Sir *Thomas* mentions is *Siam*, which, altho' it comes to the coaſt towards the bay of *Bengal*, yet comprehends a large extent of country towards the eaſt and ſouth, on both ſides of the gulph of *Siam*. The whole peninſula of *Malacca* is reckon'd to belong to *Siam*; ſo that from the ſouth point of *Malacca*, which is only one degree from the line, the dominion of *Siam* reaches to 25 degrees n. lat. which makes it 1440 miles long. It is commonly underſtood to comprehend *Malacca* toward the ſouth, *Laos* and *Cambodia* towards the eaſt. In his Siam.

this view, it is bounded on the north by a part of *Pegu* and *Ava*, on the weſt by a part of *Pegu* and the bay of *Bengal*, on the ſouth by the *Indian* ocean or by the equinoctial line in one part of it, and on the eaſt by *Cochin China* and that part of the ocean, whoſe bay makes the gulph of *Siam*. The figure of it is very irregular, running in a ſmall ſtrip ſouthward to make the peninſula of *Malacca*; and the gulph of *Siam* butting in a great way into the country, weſtward of *Cambodia*.

The religion of this country is the moſt vile and laſcivious ſort of Heatheniſm; and their prieſts, or *Tallapois*, are great pretenders to *Divination*, and, by that, taking advantage of the ignorance of the natives, have got a great aſcendant over them. But Sir *Thomas* ſays, they are much addicted to the deteſtable ſin of Sodomy. [I wiſh to GOD the Heathens of the *Indies* were the only people who could be reproach'd with that abomination.] But they tolerate Chriſtians, Moors, and people of other religions different from their own.

Rivers in Siam. There are ſeveral good rivers that water this country; but the chief of them are, the *Menan*, which runs through the middle of proper *Siam*, and makes an iſland (about 60 miles from the head of the gulph, where it enters the ſea) call'd *Indy*, where the king has his palace, which is a large well-built houſe, and thought to be defencible. The river *Mecan* ſeems to be larger than *Menan*; it runs through the the kingdoms of *Laos* and *Cambodia*, in the middle of which eaſtward, it divides into two rivers, that branch towards the eaſt retaining its former name, falls into the *Ocean*, about 30 miles from the other, which is call'd *Oubequame* river; but both of them enter the ſea on the ſouth part of *Cambodia*.

This country muſt be different in its air and ſoil, according to the difference of its latitude, and if the hotteſt parts of it yield little graſs, they abound in rich ſtones, ſuch as diamonds, chryſolites, onyx, magnets and bezoars: And in this country is likewiſe found the famous *Cabriz* or *Blood-ſtone.* blood-ſtone, the virtue of which is ſo wonderful, that our author ſays, it was reported, that when the *Portugueſes* kill'd a man, who had one of thoſe ſtones about him, he did not bleed at the ſeveral wounds they gave him, 'till they took away the *Cabriz*. The beaſt out of which it is taken, is call'd a *Cabal*.

Pegou. Upon the north weſt part of *Siam* lies *Pegou*, once a flouriſhing kingdom, but our author ſays, the *Siam* monarch had taken many provinces from it within 50 years of the time he was there. He ſays, it is bounded by *Siam*, *Ganges*, and the *Ocean*: But then the kingdom of *Arakan* muſt be reckon'd in that of *Pegou*. The city of *Pegou*, the metropolis of the *Bramans*, is in 16 deg. 40 min. It is wall'd with ſtone, beautified with turrets, has four fair gates, and 12 poſterns, and compaſs'd round with a deep ditch. The ſtreets are broad, a thing not ordinary in hot countries, and at moſt of the doors of their houſes, they have fruit trees, which yield them both food and ſhelter.

This country abounds with all the bleſſings of nature, having great abundance of the fruits of the earth proper for food, as alſo ſtore of precious ſtones, and gold, ſilver, and lead.

They had odd notions of religion, and a ſtrange ſyſtem of the world. That it was four times deſtroy'd, and as often created anew; that it was govern'd by a guardian God, but that he was mortal; that the laſt God died 30,000 years ago, and that this world ſhall be deſtroyed. That the ſupreme GOD is in heaven, and is omnipotent and omniſcient, but as he does them no harm, they only worſhip the devil, to prevent his hurting them. They believe the reſurrection, and have a notion of *Heaven*, *Hell*, and *Purgatory*.

About 100 years before the time Sir *Thomas* ſpeaks of, the king of *Pegou* was ſovereign of *Siam*, *Ava*, *Cavilan*, *Brama*, *Jangomer*, *Tangram*, *Coblan*, *Lauran*, *Meliſtac*, *Aracan*, *Tangu*, and *Racan*. And he could raiſe a million of men; but not being content with the ſovereignty, he treated his tributary princes with the utmoſt contempt; ſo that the vice-roy of *Siam* firſt, and then thoſe of *Brama*, *Tangu*, and *Racan*, rebell'd againſt him; 'till, by conſent, and a marriage, the kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Siam* were divided, and both were great monarchies.

In this country they drive a great trade of quilts and carpets, raw ſilk, gold and ſilver thread, moga, calico, rice, pepper, ſugar, honey, butter, lac, and wax, brought from *Bengal*, and other places by ſea. They have likewiſe ſtore of elephants, and the king keeps a white one which is ador'd by him, for its colour and uncommon ſize.

From the continent, our author paſſes to the iſlands. His deſcription of *Sumatra* we paſs over, as having nothing but what has been before obſerv'd; only one obſervation of the *Crocodile* not taken notice of by us, before, *viz.* that the number 60 is very notable with regard to the female *Crocodile*. She lays 60 eggs, conceals them 60 days, ſits upon them 60 days, before they are hatch'd; ſhe has 60 teeth and as many joints, and, barring accidents, lives 60 years. This monſter, which is neither beaſt, fiſh, nor ſerpent, is the moſt noxious

The crocodile in Sumatra.

noxious animal known; from an egg, not much bigger than that of a turkey, it grows to be eight or ten yards long; and, which is peculiar to itſelf, continues growing to the laſt day it lives. Their tails are as long as their bodies, and they uſe them as the elephants do their trunks; their mouth is ſo wide, that they can ſwallow a man, or even a horſe whole; they have no tongue, nor can they move the upper jaw, their teeth are engrail'd, their belly is to be penetrated, but their back very hardly. They eat nothing all the autumnal quarter, but they make it up the reſt of the year, by devouring what comes in their way, except the *Trochilus*, a ſmall bird, which they let quietly enter their mouth, to pick their teeth, which is all the food that creature has. But the *Icneuphon* is the *Crocodile*'s mortal enemy, for it ſteals into his belly, and eats his guts. It is a large rat, which leaps into the monſter's mouth when open, and ſo kills him.

From *Sumatra* Sir *Thomas* paſs'd to *Java*, already mention'd in our *Traveller*. And from thence by *Celebes* to the *Molucca* iſlands, whence he courſed along by *Mindano*, the *Manilla*'s and *Formoſa*, and ſo by *Japan*, of all which is given but a very ſuperficial account, as alſo of *China*, whither he return'd from *Japan*. But ſince we have ſpoken of ſome of thoſe iſlands elſewhere, and deſign (GOD willing) to treat more at large of others, we ſhall not here take notice of what is ſaid of them by this author, 'till we come to them in order. And therefore we ſhall give him the convoy home, and ſo conclude this ſection, which has been much longer than I deſign'd it.

Sir Thomas Herbert ſets ſail for England.

Sir *Thomas* having now ſpent ſome time in the *Eaſt Indies*, began to think of returning home, and, having embark'd, he paſs'd through the *Indian* ocean, and by the ſeveral iſlands in his courſe, where they met with more than one ſtorm, he arriv'd at the iſland of *Diego di Roiz*, to the eaſtward of the middle of *Madagaſcar*, in 20 degrees ſ. latitude, but being a deſolate iſland, altho' 50 miles in circuit, and well ſtor'd with wood and fowl, they would not anchor there, but ſailing due weſt, came up with *Mauritius*'s iſland, in the ſame latitude, about 90 leagues diſtance from *Di Roiz*, and about 100 from *Madagaſcar*. This iſland is 100 miles in compaſs, and abounds with all the neceſſaries of life. Here is great plenty of ebony trees of four different colours, black, white, red, and yellow. But the *Dutch* made them much ſcarcer there than they had been before. There is great variety of other trees, ſtore of fiſh and fowl, but the iſland, for all that, uninhabited like the other.

Setting ſail from that iſland, they touch'd at *England's Forreſt*, ſo call'd by captain *Caſtleton* in 1613. It ſeems to be about half way between *Mauritius* iſland and *Madagaſcar*. But neither did they make any ſtay here, but ſteering their courſe by *Madagaſcar*, paſſing the cape of *Good Hope*, they arriv'd in 70 days at *St. Helena*, often mention'd before, in 16 deg. where having ſtaid to refreſh themſelves for a week, they proceeded on their voyage; but how they came to paſs by the iſland of the *Aſcenſion* to go to *Cape Verd* iſlands, unleſs the wind oblig'd them to it, I do not know. However, being upon a parallel with *Cape Verd*, *November* 11, they ſtruck over towards the coſt of *America*, and had ſight of the *Azores*, about the beginning of *December*, and from thence arriv'd ſafely at *Plymouth*.

CHAP. VII.

An account of the embaſſy from the duke of Holſtein *to* Aſia *in the year* 1633.

The crocodile in Sumatra.

BEING reſolv'd to confine ourſelves to *Aſia*, we ſhall ſay nothing of what paſs'd in *Moſcovy* in *Europe*, at this time, but juſt what is neceſſary to make a connection with what is to follow of their expedition in *Aſia*, reſerving the firſt part of their negotiation 'till we come to *Europe*.

In the year 1633, *Fredric* duke of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*, &c. having an intention to ſettle the ſilk trade at *Fredricſtadt*, and having no way to accompliſh it, but by bringing it from *Perſia* thro' *Muſcovy*, ſent *Philip Cruſius*, a civilian, and *Otho Bruyman*, a merchant of *Hamburgh*, as his ambaſſadors to the two courts of *Muſcovy* and *Perſia*. Accordingly, they ſet ſail *October* 22, and ſtop'd three weeks at *Riga*, and afterwards at *Narva* ſix months, waiting for ſome *Swediſh* ambaſſadors, who were to go with them to the *Czar*'s court. As ſoon as they

they were come, they all ſet forward together; but as we have nothing to do with the *Swediſh* ambaſſadors at preſent, nor with thoſe of *Holſtein* at *Moſcow*, we ſhall only ſay, that having adjuſted matters with the *Czar*, they return'd home in *April*, 1635.

The ambaſſadors ſet out for Perſia.

In *October* that ſame year, they ſet ſail with a handſome retinue from *Hamburgh*, in order to paſs thro' *Muſcovy* into *Perſia*, and after being ſhipwreck'd in the *Baltic*, they arriv'd by ſeveral uneaſy journeys at *Moſcow*, where they ſtaid 'till the latter end of *June*, 1636, and then ſet out by land upon their *Perſian* expedition, and partly by land, and partly by water upon the river *Moſca*, they went to *Columna*, a city upon the river *Occa*, from whence it is navigable to the *Caſpian* ſea. Going down this river, they arriv'd at *Niſenovogorod*, where the *Occa* and *Volga* rivers meet, being 100 *German* miles from *Moſcow* by land, and 150 by water. The *Volga* runs almoſt in a weſterly courſe, with ſome windings, as far as *Cozan*, and then takes a quick turn to the ſouth, the whole way to the *Caſpian* ſea.

In *September* they arriv'd at *Aſtracan*, which being, in ſome ſort, the diviſion of *Europe* from *Aſia*, we ſhall from henceforth purſue our ambaſſador's travels more minutely, as belonging properly to our preſent ſubject.

The ambaſſadors having a large ſhip, well man'd, and of good force, but built, on purpoſe, flat bottom'd, for the flats of the river, as ſoon as they came in ſight of *Aſtracan*, ſaluted it with their cannon, to the ſurprize of the inhabitants, who were not us'd to ſuch honours.

They arrive at Aſtracan.

Aſtracan is the capital city of that part of *Tartary*, call'd *Nagaia*, which lies on the north of the *Caſpian* ſea, between the *Volga* and the *Jaika*. The city itſelf is in the iſland of *Dolgoi*, between two branches of the *Volga*, its latitude being 46 deg. 22 min. and the climate very hot; but for two months in the winter exceſſive cold, and the *Volga* is frozen ſo as to be paſs'd on ſledges. The iſle of *Dolgoi* is a very barren ſoil, as is the country about it near the *Volga*; but towards *Jaika* it is very fruitful. The river from *Aſtracan* to the *Caſpian* ſea, which is about 12 leagues, produces ſuch plenty of fiſh, that they bought 12 large carps for twopence, and 200 young ſturgeon for half a crown; the lobſters may be had for the catching, for neither *Tartars* nor *Muſcovites* eat them. The great number of iſles, made by the branches of the *Volga*, yield vaſt quantities of fowl of different ſorts, and conſequently good diverſion by hawking, which the gentlemen are very dextrous at. The fruits in *Nagaia* are excellent, eſpecially the melons, by the *Tartars* call'd *Karpus*, very green on the outſide, and the meat carnation, they bought two or three for an half-penny. They had no vines before the year 1600, when ſome *Perſian* merchants, having brought ſome ſets to *Aſtracan*, an old monk ſet them in his garden, in the ſuburbs; the Czar having taſted of the grapes, in 1613, order'd the monk to propagate his ſtock, which was done with ſuch diligence, that when the ambaſſadors were there, there was ſcarce a houſe in town without walks or arbours of vines, by which ſome houſekeepers made 100 crowns a year; and there is one vineyard there which yielded 60 pipes of good wine in one year.

This province of *Nagaia* was formerly under its own prince, 'till it was conquer'd by the Czar *Juan Baſiliwitz* in 1554, who taking it by aſſault, carried away a great number of the inhabitants, and ſent *Muſcovites* in their ſtead. And there was always a garriſon of 9 regiments of 500 men each, quarter'd in the town to keep the neighbouring *Tartars* in awe: And this city is a frontier againſt the *Crim* and other *Tartars* towards the eaſt, and the *Perſians*, *Armenians*, and *Indians*, towards the ſouth.

The province of Nagaia *conquer'd by the* Czar.

The *Nagaian Tartars*, altho' ſubject to the Czar, are not allow'd to live in *Aſtracan*, nor to build towns, but live in tents all ſummer, which are remov'd at pleaſure; but in winter they draw near the city, and are furniſh'd with arms by the *Muſcovites* to defend them againſt the *Calmuch Tartars* near *Jaika*; but as ſoon as the ice is thaw'd in the rivers, they are oblig'd to reſtore the arms, 'till next winter. They are exempted from taxes, and are only oblig'd to aſſiſt the Czar in his wars. They have their own princes, commanders and judges, whoſe children remain in the caſtle of *Aſtracan* as hoſtages.

The people deſcrib'd.

They are generally low of ſtature, inclining to be fat, with large faces and little eyes. Their garments are a kind of caſſock of coarſe cloth, with a mantle of black ſheepskin, with the wool ſide out: The women are not diſagreeable, and wear white linnen cloth, with a coif on their heads. They live upon their cattle, and the game they take in hunting and fiſhing. They eat camel and horſe fleſh, with fiſh dry'd in the ſun for bread; but they likewiſe uſe rice and millet, in cakes, or fried in oyl. They are, for the moſt part, Mahometans of the Turkiſh ſect, but many of them are of the *Muſcovite* religion.

As ſoon as the ambaſſadors came to an anchor before *Aſtracan*, and the city found who they were, they ſent them preſents of all ſorts of proviſions, in return of which, they ſent them diſtill'd waters. The next day ſome *Perſian* merchants, came aboard their

their ſhip, and drank ſo heartily that ſome of them could not go aſhore that night.

The ambaſſadors entertain'd at Aſtracan.

Whilſt they ſtaid at *Aſtracan*, which was about three weeks they were frequently aſhore, ſome times at the governor's invitation, and ſometimes at the deſire of a *Perſian* prince, who was there at that time, and of the merchants of that country.

Upon the 10th of *October* they weigh'd anchor, and with much difficulty got into the *Caſpian* ſea, but the paſſage was long, becauſe ſome days they made no more than a league, by reaſon of the ſhoals, altho' the voyage was pleaſant, going thro' a fine country, abounding with trees, and great flocks of different kinds of fowl, eſpecially wild geeſe as big as ſwans, with forked bills of the length of a foot and a half, under which hangs a bag able to contain 3 gallons of liquor; in this they keep the fiſh they catch, 'till they can ſwallow them.

They enter'd the ſea the 15th, but were ſo plagued with ſhallow water and a muddy bottom, that in 7 days they ſcarce made 4 leagues. Here they found the variation of the compaſs 22 degrees to the weſt. Finding their *Muſcovite* pilot very ignorant, the maſter of a *Perſian* veſſel left his own ſhip to his mate, and came on board theirs and brought them by

Terki. *Nov.* 1, to *Terki*, on the weſtern coaſt of this ſea. The *Coſſaques*, a neſt of banditti upon the coaſt and neighbourhood of the *Caſpian* ſea, committed many robberies upon ſuch as ſail to and from *Perſia*, which oblig'd the ambaſſadors to keep ſtrict guard, in the night eſpecially.

This city is the laſt place ſubject to the Czar. It lies in 43 deg. 23 minutes, about half a league from the ſhore, upon the ſmall river *Timenski*. It is built of wood, but the Czar had made ſome works of earth, and planted ſome braſs cannon upon them: There was likewiſe a conſiderable garriſon in the town. Here they were treated by the governor, and a *Tartarian* prince call'd *Muſſul*, whoſe ſiſter was betrothed to the king of *Perſia*, and whoſe mother they alſo viſited, and had a ſight of the young princeſs, who was about 16, very handſome, of a good complexion, and very black hair. This honour was owing to the curioſity of the young lady and her companions to ſee the *European* dreſs.

Before they left *Terki*, prince *Muſſul* came aboard to wiſh them a good voyage, and brought with him a *Tartarian Myrza*, brother to the prince of *Tarku* in *Dagheſtan*, who, in the ordinary mean habit of the country, had a certain fierceneſs in his looks and behaviour, which, altho' the ambaſſadors did not like, I don't know how to blame. When every one got up to drink the Czar's health, he would not ſtir, nor drink the health; and when *Muſſul* deſir'd him to conſider what country he was in, he ſaid, he had better right to the country than the Czar had, telling *Muſſul*, that for all his fine cloathes he was a *Slave*, whereas he himſelf, with his old ſhabby coat, was a ſovereign prince, and own'd no ſuperior upon earth. If his title was good, I think he did right.

About break of day, *November* 10, they ſet ſail for *Derbent*; but a furious tempeſt overtaking them, forced them beyond that port, along the *Perſian* coaſt, ſo that their two boats being loſt, and the ſhip not able to live longer at ſea, they made all the ſignals they could of diſtreſs; and at laſt there came two boats from the village of *Niaſabeth*, in which the ambaſſadors, with the beſt of their effects, and as many of their retinue as the boats had room for, went aſhore, promiſing to ſend the boats back for Mr. *Mandelſloe*, who was chaplain, the ſecretary to the embaſſy, and ſome other gentlemen who ſtaid in the ſhip. But after the ambaſſadors were landed, the tempeſt encreaſing, made it impracticable for the boats to return, ſo that theſe gentlemen having conſulted the maſter and officers aboard, and they giving it as their opinion, that in a few hours the ſhip muſt be loſt, they agreed to run her aſhore, which they did, to the joy of the ambaſſadors, who had been in great pain about them.

Our authors ſay, that the *Caſpian* ſea has no communication with the *Euxine*, or any other ſea; but it is not an eaſy matter to account for its receiving above 80 large rivers into it, and no viſible way to evacuate itſelf, and yet that it ſhould never overflow. [But Dr. *Halley*'s calculation of the greater quantity of water being exhal'd by the ſun, than all the rivers ſend into the *Mediterranean*, will equally ſolve this difficulty of the *Caſpian* ſea. *]

* *See Varenius's geography, Vol. I. p. 217. Note k. or Phil. tranſact. num. 189*

The *Caſpian* ſea has no flux and reflux, but it is as ſalt as any other ſea known, againſt the aſſertion of ſome old authors. But there are many other vulgar errors, now confuted, which were long receiv'd for true; particularly, that there was no other fiſh in that ſea but a certain monſter without a head; whereas our author ſays that they heard of no ſuch fiſh there; but that ſalmon, ſturgeon, herrings, trout, and ſeveral other fiſh, were there in plenty. And one fiſh they ſaw, call'd *Naka*, with a ſhort noſe, and the head almoſt at the belly, which faſtening on a ſmall boat with its tail, would overſet it, if not prevented.

The province of Schirvan

The village *Niaſabeth*, where they were ſhipwreck, was in the province of *Schirvan*,

Schirvan, a fertile country for every conveniency of life; but the village itſelf was but poorly provided for ſuch a number of ſtrangers, there being but about 15 or 16 houſes in it. A day or two after their landing, the ſultan governor of *Derbent* ſent two perſons well accoutred to compliment the ambaſſadors, and, according to the eaſtern cuſtom, ſent a preſent of proviſions, and two horſes.

Bruyman diſobliges the ſultan of Derbent.

But *Bruyman* not thinking his horſe ſo good as that of his companion, and being a man of an uneaſy ſuſpicious temper, poſitively inſiſted upon ſending back the two meſſengers without any preſent: Nor would he harken to the juſt apology they made, for the difference between the horſes, *viz.* that the ſultan did not know that there were two ambaſſadors, and therefore had ſent but one horſe, as appear'd by his letter, and that the meſſengers, upon the information they had receiv'd by the way, that there were two, had purchas'd, without orders, the beſt horſe they could get, being perſuaded the ſultan would approve of it. This ſo reaſonable excuſe having no weight with this ſurly man, made the ſultan of *Derbent* their enemy, which they found upon ſeveral occaſions.

Some days after this, a *Nehemander*, or conductor, arriv'd from the *Chan*, or governor general of the province of *Schirvan*, whoſe reſidence was at *Schamachie*; this *Nehemander* welcom'd them in the *Chan*'s name, and promis'd his aſſiſtance to conduct them to *Schamachie*, and ſent them, the ſame night ſome ſheep and wine, intending to ſet out in a day or two from *Neaſabeth*. But here the firſt inconveniency of having affronted the ſultan of *Derbent* appear'd; for application having been made to him, to furniſh horſes and other cattle for their journey, he refus'd it, which oblig'd them to ſtay a full month at that poor village, 'till the *Nehemander* could get them horſes from *Schamachie*.

Whilſt they ſtaid here, they had a viſit from the *Mirza*, lately mention'd, who refus'd to drink the Czar's health. He came with his brother from *Tarku*, and about 20 in his retinue; and knowing that they had no dependance on the Czar, he ſent them proviſions, and was very civil.

Before the cattle for the carriages arriv'd, *Bruyman*, as if he had deſign'd to diſguſt all he had to do with, commanded his people to cut ſome pieces of timber (which the *Sophi* of *Perſia* had caus'd to be brought thither, in order to build ſhips) to make carriages for the guns they had brought out of the ſhip; and this he did againſt the remonſtrance of the *Perſians*, who were ſo diſpleas'd at it, that they took care that no cattle ſhould be found to draw them. And ſo much miſchief the imprudence of that one man did them, that there were but 60 horſes for 94 perſons, after the waggons and other carriages were ſupplied; ſo that ſeveral of their guards were forced to walk a-foot.

The ambaſſadors ſet out by land towards Iſpahan.

They took the route along the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, going four leagues the firſt day, which was the 22d of *December*, and lodg'd at a village call'd *Mordou*, where they got horſes for thoſe who had walk'd a-foot thither. The third day they enter'd the mountains of *Barmach*, where they were oblig'd to carry all their proviſions along with them, there being no towns nor villages, but *Caravanſeras*, or inns, at convenient diſtances, for the conveniency of travellers; but all of them uninhabited.

Upon this mountain they ſaw the ruins of ſeveral towers or forts, which the *Perſians* ſaid had been built by *Iſcander*, that is *Alexander* the Great, and demoliſh'd by *Tamerlane*. In the ſame mountain they ſaw ſome tombs, but nothing curious about them.

They make their entry into Schamachie.

Upon the 30th of *December* they made their entry into *Scamachie*, having been delay'd one day, becauſe it was not a lucky day, as the *Chan* had been told by the aſtrologers. Within two leagues of the city, they were welcom'd by a meſſenger ſent from the *Chan*, and a league from it were met by 30 gentlemen, who only look'd at them, and return'd, and ſoon after 100 more open'd to the right and left, to let the ambaſſadors with their cavalcade paſs between them. Having paſs'd them, they met another troop, 12 of whom had a particular turbant, call'd *Takia*, to ſhew that they were deſcendants of *Haly*. They made a low bow to the ambaſſadors, and bid them welcome. Without the city about half a league, they were met by the *Chan*, with about 500 gentlemen on horſeback. His guard conſiſted of 6 upon his right hand, with gilt bows and arrows, and as many on the left, with muſquets. The gentlemen who followed him were all dreſs'd in brocade, with mantles and capes embroider'd with gold and ſilver. The *Chan* took the ambaſſadors by the hand, contrary to the *Perſian* cuſtom, and drank to them out of a ſilver cup which had been brought along with him for that purpoſe, and they pledg'd him twice.

After this they began their march towards the city, the Chan's and the ambaſſador's muſick leading the way, and making a ſtrange ſort of diſcord. In a ſhort time the *Chan* order'd the cavalcade to halt, and the ſilver cup went round. About half a mile from the city were 2000 *Armenian* foot, which made 5 regiments, diſtinguiſh'd by their different colours;

lours; and here the cup was preſented once more. At the gate of the city, a new ſet of muſick met them, which joining with the reſt help'd to put them more out of tune; but what they wanted in harmony, they made up in noiſe.

And are handſomely entertain'd by the Chan.

They were conducted by the Chan to his own palace a horſeback; and, altho' the *Perſians* were oblig'd to take off their ſhoes before they enter'd the houſe, the ambaſſadors and their retinue were allow'd to tread their fine tapeſtry in their boots. They paſs'd through three large handſome rooms into a ſpacious hall, in the middle of which was a fountain, round which were ſilver flaggons and bottles of wine to cool, and ſeveral tables furniſh'd with conſerves in a very elegant manner. The *Chan* had order'd ſeats to be made for himſelf and the ambaſſadors after the *European* mode, and ſet them by him, on each hand, near the fountain; whereas the *Perſian* nobility, and the gentlemen of the ambaſſador's retinue, ſat on the ground after the *Perſian* manner. The guards clad in brocade, with their bows bent, and arrows nitch'd, ſtood round, all facing the *Chan*.

The feaſt began with ſeveral ſervices of fruits and conſerves, two pages going round with wine. And then the fruit tables being remov'd, others cover'd with painted calicoe were brought, and one came with a great wooden voider full of a thin bak'd paſte about a yard ſquare, one of which was given to every one about the table by way of napkin, and each had a baſon to ſpit in, and to hold bones and parings of fruit, or other things which might ſpoil the carpets. Then the meat came in great pewter diſhes, and being ſet down in the middle of the hall, the *Suffretzi*, or carver, kneeling down, cut it in pieces, and ſent a plate to every one of the company. After the great entertainment was over, the Chan took his gueſts into another room with a fire in it, where they had another collation, of conſerves, wine, and *Aqua Vitæ*, of which one of the *Perſians* drank ſo much, that he was found dead in his bed the next morning. The Chan, to ſhew his dexterity in ſhooting, extinguiſh'd a lamp, which was at the end of the room, twice ſucceſſively, with a ſingle ball out of a muſquet.

Having left the *Chan*'s palace about midnight, they were conducted to the quarters prepared for them, among the *Armenian* Chriſtians, and the next day the *Chan* ſettled a daily allowance of 17 ſheep, 20 pullets, 100 eggs, a proportionable quantity of ſalt and bread, 50 quarts of wine, and 20 load of wood, beſides frequent preſents from him and the *Calenter*, or lieutenant of the province under the Chan.

They ſtaid 3 months in *Scamachie*, waiting for orders from *Iſpahan*, which delay was another trick of the ſultan of *Derbent*, who to croſs them had ſent wrong information to court, and by his intereſt there procur'd delay of orders for their journey. During their ſtay there, the *Chan* and *Calenter* diverted them with hunting and hawking, and made frequent entertainments for them and the gentlemen of their retinue. The *Chan* deſir'd to know whether they would ſee a ceremony of the *Armenian* Chriſtians, upon the feaſt of *Epiphany*, of bleſſing the water, which they call'd *Catſcha Schuran*, the *Baptiſm of the Croſs*, which they agreeing to, rode to the river ſide that day, where they found the *Chan* with his people in tents pitch'd for the ambaſſadors, and a collation ready.

The Armenian *Chriſtians feaſt of* Epiphany.

After maſs, and a ſermon by the biſhop, at which the ambaſſadors were preſent, the *Armenians* came out of the city in great numbers (the Chriſtians being aſſembled from all parts to this feaſt) in proceſſion, with images, croſſes, and banners, attended by a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers to defend them from the inſults of the Mahometans. After the ambaſſadors were ſeated, the *Chan* ſent to the *Armenians* to begin, which they did by reading prayers and leſſons at the water ſide, whilſt four of them leap'd into it to break the ice. It happen'd that a ſpaniel, belonging to the ambaſſador's people, leap'd in after thoſe poor Chriſtians, to the great diverſion of the *Perſians*, who were pleas'd to ſee the Chriſtian ceremony polluted, as they thought, by ſo unclean a creature.

The ceremony of bleſſing the water.

After an hour ſpent in reading, the biſhop pour'd a little conſecrated oyl into the river, and dipping a croſs, beſet with precious ſtones, in it, gave his benediction to the water, holding his croſier over it; after which, the *Armenians* run to the river, ſome to drink, others to ſprinkle the water upon their heads and faces, and ſome plung'd into it, whilſt the *Chan*'s domeſticks mock'd and ridicul'd them, without any reprimand from their maſter, who only ſuffer'd the *Armenians* to perform this ceremony, for the ſake of 1000 crowns which they paid him.

The quarters of the ambaſſador being near that of the *Armenian* chapel, the biſhop made them a viſit, *January* 9, accompany'd by ſeveral prieſts, all in their pontificals, with wax candles in their hands. They had a converſation together for near three hours, and at going away the biſhop beg'd of them to intercede with the *Chan* to ſuffer them to proceed to build a monaſtery which they had be-

gun in the city. The ambaſſadors promiſing to do it, were as good as their word, and obtain'd their requeſt, to the great joy of the Chriſtians.

Scamachie *deſcrib'd.*

The city *Scamachie* is in 40 deg. 50 minutes, in what the ancients call'd *Media Atropatia*, or *Minor Media*; the *Perſians* ſay it was built by *Schirvan Scha*, and that it had 5000 houſes in it, before the *Turks* deſtroy'd it, in the reign of *Abbas:* But when the ambaſſadors were there, it had not above 15 or 1600, and was divided into the ſouth and north towns. It was inhabited for the moſt part with *Armenians* and *Georgians*, and their chief language is the *Turkiſh*, which prevails over moſt provinces of *Perſia* which lie neareſt to the *Turk*'s dominions. The chief traffick of this city conſiſts in ſilks, ſtuffs, and calicoes. But in the *Bezar*, or market place, there are two ſtore-houſes, one for *Muſcovite* merchants, who bring tin, leather, copper, furs, and other *Ruſſian* commodities: The other for the *Circaſſian* merchants, who bring horſes, women, boys and girls to ſell, whom they ſteal or rob out of the borders of *Muſcovy*.

The government both of the city and province was in the hands of the *Chan* and *Calenter*, who were both men well qualified for the poſts they had, and ſeem'd to have no fault but their love of ſtrong liquors.

In this city, near the *Bezar*, there was a college, where the youth were bred. Some of the ambaſſors retinue, particularly *Olearius* (who was the writer of this account) went to view this college, and having a cane in his hand with *Arabic* letters engraven upon it, ſignifying, *In the name of* GOD *who ſhews mercy*, one of the regents ask'd it of him, promiſing to give him a better the next day; but *Olearius* excuſing himſelf, that, for ſome particular reaſon, he could not part with it, the *Maderi* cut out the word ALLA, and put it in clean paper, telling him, *it was not fit to have the name of* GOD *on a walking ſtick.* [I wiſh Chriſtians would ſhew the ſame regard.]

The ſame gentleman going into one of their ſchools, found an old aſtrologer reading *Euclid* to his ſcholars, which our author knew by the figures, and demonſtrated ſome of the propoſitions as well as he could be underſtood, which pleas'd the old gentleman ſo much, that he pull'd a braſs *Aſtralobe* out of his pocket, and ask'd him if he knew what it was, *Olearius* ſhew'd him, by applying it, that he knew the uſe of it, and immediately went to his quarters, and brought his own, and likewiſe a celeſtial globe, along with him. The old man was ſo rejoyced to find that he had given himſelf to ſtudy of aſtronomy, and that he underſtood *Euclid*, that he contracted a great friendſhip with him, and gave him the longitude and latitude of the chief cities of *Aſia*, which, upon obſervation afterwards, in thoſe cities where he had occaſion to be, he found very exact. The *Mollah*, or maſter of the ſchool, for other ſtudies, was a young man, but a man of good parts and good nature; he went often to viſit our author, and brought him acquainted with *Imanculi*, a captain of horſe, and they two viſited him every day at different hours, to teach him *Arabic*, and to learn his language. But, by the villany of the ambaſſador's interpreter, who ſent a meſſage to the *Mollah*, as from the *Chan*, not to ſuffer the Chriſtians to come into his ſchool, they durſt not come to him ſo often.

This interpreter, whoſe name was *George Ruſtan*, was a *Perſian* by birth, but having been carried into *England* young, had been baptiz'd there, and went to *Muſcow* with the *Engliſh* reſident, who was his God-father; and having heard that the ambaſſadors were going to *Perſia*, had applied to them to ask him for their interpreter, pretending private buſineſs in his own country; which the reſident had agreed to, upon *Ruſtan*'s giving an obligation under his hand to return. But he gave them the ſlip at *Iſpahan*, and owning himſelf a Mahometan, he put himſelf under the *Sophi*'s protection.

The feaſt in memory of Haly.

Whilſt they ſtaid at *Scamachie*, the *Perſians* celebrated the *Feaſt* of *Auſchur*, altho' I think it ſhould be call'd the *Faſt*, in honour of their patron *Haly*, in memory of his death. It is ſolemniz'd through all *Perſia* the 7th of *February*, being the 21ſt of their *Rameſan*. At *Scamachie*, the *Chan* and *Calenter* appear'd in a gallery, in a houſe built for that purpoſe without the city, with a great train of attendants; oppoſite to this gallery was placed an open chair rais'd 8 foot, where the *Chatib*, or prelate, appear'd in a blue garment, the mourning colour in *Perſia*, and read for two hours together, out of a book of the acts of *Haly*, in a doleful ſinging tone, and at ſome remarkable paſſages, he only repeated the firſt word, and the choir took up the tone, and ſung it out: And at the end of each of thoſe remarkable ſentences, one of the prieſts chaunted out, GOD*'s curſe on him who kill'd* Haly, to which the whole aſſembly, by way of reſponſe, cry'd out, *Rather more than leſs.* As ſoon as theſe *charitable* ſuffrages were ended, the *Chan* ſent the *Chatib* a ſilk garment, which he putting on, the proceſſion began with 3 camels, carrying each a coffin cover'd with black cloth, for *Haly* and his two ſons, then 2 cheſts cover'd with blue cloth, with

with *Haly*'s ſpiritual treatiſes; then follow'd two horſes richly capariſon'd, with bows, arrows, turbants, and flags ty'd to their ſaddles; and after them, a man carrying a kind of tower upon a pole, to which were faſtened four cymitars, but almoſt hidden with ribbons and toys. In the rear came the *Alcoran*, carry'd open in boxes upon mens heads, cover'd with flowers and feathers: And all this accompanied with doleful muſick and frantick dances. Our author gives an account of ſome other feſtivals in *March*, but nothing remarkable.

The ambaſſadors leave Scamachie.

But the orders for the ambaſſador's journey to *Iſpahan* being arriv'd, they began to prepare for their departure, and having before made the preſent to the *Chan* of 10 ells of ſcarlet cloth, 5 of blue ſatin, a barrel of *European Aqua Vitæ*, 24 bottles of fine ſpirits, and two pair of knives with amber haſts, they took their leave, and ſending off their baggage *March* 27, they follow'd the next day themſelves. On the 31ſt they paſs'd along the river *Cyrus* near to where it joins with *Araxe*, in 39 deg. 52 min. and where they make one river of 400 paces in breadth. They paſs'd the *Cyrus*, which divides the province of *Schirvan* from that of *Mokan*, by a bridge of boats near *Tzawat*, and there they were met by a new *Nehemander*, ſent, to conduct them, by the governor of *Ardebil*. He brought with him 40 freſh camels and 300 horſes, becauſe their waggons could paſs no further for the mountains. He brought with him proviſions of ſheep, rice, butter, eggs, almonds, raiſins, and wine, which were given them in plenty.

They had but indifferent travelling for 8 or 9 days, having bad accommodation at nights, being ſometimes oblig'd to lie in huts, which the natives of thoſe parts carry like tents from one place to another. Upon the 7th of *April*, another *Nehemander*, well mounted, with two ſervants attending him, came to conduct them to *Iſpahan*. *April* 10, they made their entry into *Ardebil*, not much different in ſubſtance from the manner of their entry into *Scamachie*; they were conducted by the *Chan* to a large ſummer-houſe, built in the form of an octogon, 3 ſtories high, of ſtones of ſeveral colours, which glitter'd in the ſun. Several fountains played about this houſe, higher than the building. The inſide walls were cruſted with a ſort of marble of different colours, made into flowers, and other figures, and the floors cover'd with the beſt tapeſtry. A ſpacious gallery went quite round, neatly lin'd with paintings of flowers and leaf work; and in one of the ſides of it was a chair of ſtate 4 foot ſquare, cover'd with embroider'd tapeſtry, and a quilt wrought with gold and ſilk, for a cuſhion. This chair was ſurrounded with an iron rail; for, the Sophi having once ſat in it, when he came a progreſs to that city, no body muſt approach it afterward. It was in this ſummer-houſe that the *Chan* entertain'd them, and they had good quarters provided for them, and plentifully furniſhed with proviſions.

And come to Ardebil.

The next day the *Perſians* had a feaſt call'd *Tharberick*, in honour of *Sha-Sefi*, the founder of the *Perſian* religion, as it differs from the *Turkiſh*. That day they had ſent them 32 large diſhes, or bowls, full of rice of different colours, upon which the boil'd and roaſted meat, aumulets, and paſtry, were laid, after the *Perſian* manner, but no wine was allow'd at that feaſt; which laſt circumſtance altho' the ambaſſadors did not like, yet they order'd their guns to be fir'd, in honour of the late king, whoſe obſequies were ſolemniz'd with thoſe of *Sha Sefi*, both their ſepulchres being at *Ardebil*.

The *Chan* viſited the ambaſſadors *April* 12, and ſhew'd them all the civility they could deſire. He alſo ſent an expreſs to court to notify their arrival.

An Armenian *biſhop viſits the ambaſſadors.*

April 21, they were viſited by an *Armenian* biſhop, who had come from *Erivan*, a city of *Armenia*, almoſt equally diſtant from the *Caſpian* and *Black* ſeas; he told them that in one monaſtery, near *Erivan*, there were 400 monks; and that, in the country between the *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, there were above 1000 villages inhabited by Chriſtians, and 2000 families more about *Casbin* and *Tauris*, between the *Caſpian* ſea and *Iſpahan*. He commended the mildneſs of the *Perſian* government, and deſir'd the ambaſſadors to recommend the ſtate of thoſe Chriſtians to the king.

Iſaac *chang'd to* Iſhmael *in the* Alcoran.

In this month the *Perſians*, as well as the Turks, nndertake their pilgrimages to *Mecca* and *Medina*, and the *Perſians* ſolemnize the ſacrifice which *Abraham* intended to have made of his ſon (whom the *Alcoran* will have, to have been *Iſhmael*, contrary to *Moſes*'s account of it) but their ſtory of it is ſo mix'd with inventions of their own, or elſe of their pretended prophet, that they make it ridiculous. This feaſt they ſolemnize on the mountain of *Arafat*, in *Arabia Fœlix*, near *Medina*, where they ſay the ſacrifice of *Iſhmael* was attempted.

Upon the 14th of *May*, the people of *Ardebil* began a feaſt in memory of *Hoſſein* the youngeſt ſon of *Haly*, which laſted ten days, and ended with curious fire-works, after a great many ſenſeleſs, but cruel ceremonies. The ambaſſadors were preſent at the fire-works, and were well diverted.

The

Ardebil *deſcrib'd.*

The city of *Ardebil* lies in the province of *Adibeizan*, or *Media Major*; and is one of the moſt ancient cities in the *Perſian* dominions now ſtanding; and is thought by ſome to be the *Arbela* of *Q. Curtius*. It lies in 38 deg. 5 min. lat. in a plain little more than three leagues in circuit, and is ſurrounded with mountains, which make ſudden changes of the weather, from extreme heat to intenſe cold, rendering the city very ſubject to epidemical diſtempers. This city is not much bigger than *Scamachie*; the greateſt inconveniencies they labour under, are want of fuel, which they are forc'd to bring from the province of *Kilan* or *Gilan*, ſix days journey from thence; and the danger of having the city drown'd, by the overflowing of a ſmall river call'd *Balaclu*, one branch of which runs thro' the city, and the other goes round it: But when the ſnow melts in the mountains, there is no way to ſave the city, but by making dreins in the plain, to divert the flood, which would otherwiſe deſtroy them.

The *Maidan*, or market place, is very convenient, being 300 paces long and 150 broad, full of ſhops, diſtinguiſh'd by the ſeveral profeſſions, every one having its own quarters.

Near the *Maidan* is a moſch, where is the ſepulchre of *Iman Sade*, one of the children of one of their 12 ſaints, which makes that place a ſanctuary. But the chief *Aſylum*, where (like the churches in *Spain* and *Italy*) all malefactors were ſafe who fled to it, was the tomb of *Sha Sefi*, which the ambaſſadors having been invited by the *Chan* to ſee, our author deſcribes: The ſubſtance of which is as follows.

The tomb of Schach Sefi.

They went firſt into a ſpacious court pav'd with broad ſtones, with ſhops by way of vaults on each ſide, and fair gardens backwards. The gate leading to the court was large, and had a ſilver chain croſſing it, from which another of the ſame metal hung perpendicular in the middle, having been a preſent from the governor of *Merraque*. From thence, they paſs'd another gate with chains like the firſt, a preſent from the *Chan* of *Kentza*; but before they paſs'd this gate, they were oblig'd to lay aſide their arms, and were deſir'd not to touch the threſhold, (which was of white marble, and us'd to be kiſs'd by the *Perſians*) but carefully to ſtep over it, with the right foot firſt. Here alſo was a court with vaulted ſhops. On one ſide, was a braſs cock in the wall, running with clear water; and, at the upper end, was a large high vault hung with tapeſtry, and pav'd with green and blue ſtones. In the middle were two large braſs candleſticks, with lights in them, and about the walls, prieſts cloth'd in white, who ſung their devotions aloud, and at the ſame time had ſo uniform a motion, that one would have thought they had been bred in a galley at the oars. From hence they paſs'd a 3d ſilver chain, the gift of the *Chan* of *Koppan*, to a ſmall court pav'd with moſaic, which led to the gate of the ſepulchre, which was built like a tower; the clappers were cover'd with ſilver plates, and rings of the ſame. The pavement was cover'd with tapeſtry, which led to a large ſtructure, where the ambaſſadors and all their retinue were oblig'd, tho' unwillingly, to take off their ſhoes. Paſſing through a long gallery, they came to a gate cover'd with plates of gold, the gift of *Sha Abbas*, after his having beaten the *Usbec Tartars*. From thence they enter'd a vault of four fathoms ſquare, where a great number of gold and ſilver lamps were burning, ſome of which were three foot diameter. Here were 12 prieſts, ſix on each ſide, with desks before them, on which were chapters of the *Alcoran* in *Arabic* upon vellum, which they ſung like veſpers, with the ſame conſtant motion mention'd above. From this, they went into another vault rais'd higher by three ſteps of ſilver, and divided from it by a veil of the ſame metal. The *Chan* having kiſs'd theſe ſteps, took the ambaſſadors, and only four of their retinue along with him into this vault. It was richer than any of the others, and at the upper end of it had another entry, rais'd a foot from the floor, fenced with rails of maſſy gold; behind which was the tomb, of white marble cover'd with crimſon velvet, 9 foot long and 4 broad. From the roof hung ſeveral lamps of gold and ſilver, and on each ſide two large candleſticks of gold with wax candles. But the ambaſſadors could not have the privilege to paſs the rails, for they were told, that the king himſelf, being a laic, could not enter there.

There were, all about this laſt apartment, ſeveral other ſepulchres of their kings and queens, but there were curtains drawn before them, ſo that our author could only peep between them. All the way as they went, an old grave fellow follow'd them, purifying with incenſe all the places they had defil'd by treading upon them. Then they enter'd a large room arch'd and gilt, which was a library, conſiſting of manuſcripts upon vellum and paper, in the *Arabic*, *Perſian*, and *Turkiſh* languages, richly bound, and finely painted, and cover'd with plates of gold and ſilver, but ſhuffled together in drawers without any order. And near thoſe were 400 veſſels of porcelane, ſome of which could hold 10 gallons, us'd only for

for the entertainment of perſons of th greateſt quality. From thence they were led to the kitchens, the doors of which were plated with ſilver; there every thing was diſpos'd in the neateſt order, the water run thro' pipes to all parts, and the ſeveral cooks had their particular province, and all at work.

Out of theſe kitchens, above 1000 perſons are provided every day; for, beſides a great number of officers and ſervants belonging to the houſe, a great number of poor have 3 meals a day, for which *Sha Sefi* mortified 50 crowns a day; and the *Sophi*, for the time being, ſupplies the reſt, but is well aſſiſted by the alms given to the tomb, which is a conſiderable ſum, and the ſeveral revenues granted to it, by the ſeveral kings of *Perſia*, both in lands and houſes, in the city and province, and by the donations left by will, from all the provinces adjacent. So that they told the ambaſſadors, that, out of the riches of this one houſe, they could raiſe and pay an army upon occaſion, of a conſiderable number of troops. All this vaſt revenue was receiv'd by two commiſſioners, who, if oaths might be of any force to bind them, were tied down to be faithful in the management of their truſt.

Certificates of devotion paid at this tomb a protection to the Perſians.

One great branch of the revenues of this ſepulchre was the giving certificates to thoſe who went thither for devotion, which ſerv'd for protections, upon ſeveral occaſions, where their lives were concern'd. Some of which, *Ruſtan* (the interpreter formerly mention'd) procur'd, and thereby put himſelf in a condition to leave them afterwards at *Iſpahan*, as we hinted before.

Here our author ſays, there were other ſaints tombs, which had the ſame privilege, and gives an inſtance of it, which happen'd a little before their arrival in *Perſia*. One *Agaſi Beg*, a ſteward of the *Sophi*'s houſe, attending his maſter at table *Tzarra Chan*, a perſon of the firſt quality, happen'd to come late to court, and the *Sophi* asking him why he came ſo late, he impudently anſwer'd, that *he had been dallying with* Agaſi's *wife*. The king bluſh'd for anger, *Tzarra* having been lately married to one of the ladies of the *Seraglio*. The *Chan* perceiving his change of countenace, thought fit to withdraw; upon which the *Sophi* order'd *Agaſi* to go and bring him his head. *Agaſi* follow'd him, but not returning ſoon, the king ſent to know what was the matter, and was told by the meſſenger, that *Agaſi* was making merry with the *Chan*. *Agaſi* reflecting upon the danger of not having obey'd orders, retir'd, and kept himſelf cloſe. In the mean time the *Sophi*, in a rage, cry'd out, *Oh* Agaſi! *poor cuckold!* and ſent another *Chan*, to bring both their heads. The *Chan Tzarra*, being found at his own houſe, loſt his head according to orders, but *Agaſi* made his eſcape to the ſepulchre of *Iman Riſa*, one of their ſaints, and, having got his certificate, came back to *Iſpahan*, where, throwing himſelf at the king's feet, he preſented it to him; the king with a diſdainful ſmile told him, *I commend thee for thy wit, thou kind-hearted cuckold, and pardon thee for* Iman Riſa's *ſake*. Such ſort of certificates were likewiſe given blank, for money; one of which, the anthor ſays, is now in the duke of *Holſtein*'s library at *Gottorp*.

A remarkable ſtory.

Near *Ardebil*, there are ſeveral ſprings of hot waters, in different degrees; one near the foot of mount *Sabelan* is milk warm, and as clear as the fineſt ſpring; and out of other parts of the ſame mountain are three hot ſprings, which, mix'd with cold ſprings, brought from the ſame hills, make agreeable baths, temper'd at pleaſure. One of theſe ſprings, call'd *Daudau*, has this particularity in it, that it is of no conſideration 'till a certain ſeaſon, when ſerpents are found in it, and then it is reckon'd medicinal.

Hot waters.

Our ambaſſadors ſtaid at *Ardebil* from *April*, 1637, to *January* following, upon the firſt day of which, there arriv'd a *Nehemander* from *Iſpahan*, to conduct them to court. But the obſtinacy of *Bruyman*, which had plagued them, in the whole journey, with the troubleſome carriage of ſome of their cannon, which he would not leave behind, oblig'd them to ſtay 8 days longer than they needed to have done.

At laſt, *Jan.* 12, they ſet out of *Ardebil*, having preſented the governor with 3 pair of the fineſt ſables, a clock, a cellar of *Roſa Solis*, and 2 pictures; in return for which, he ſent them two fine horſes with their furniture, two pieces of ſatin, and one of gold and ſilver brocade. The Chan likewiſe prepar'd a collation for them at a league's diſtance from the city, where he took his leave of them.

The ambaſſadors leave Ardebil.

They march'd for ſome days, ſometimes over pleaſant vallies, and at other times over ſteep mountains, and at the foot of mount *Taurus*, they paſs'd the river *Kiſilöſein*, by a brick bridge of 9 arches. But having a mountain to aſcend after that, they loſt their way, by the *Nehemander*'s falling behind, the reaſon of which he declar'd to be the inſolent temper of *Bruyman*, which he could not bear.

The 20th of *January* they arriv'd at *Senkan*, within half a league of a part of *Taurus*, at the foot of a pleaſant valley. At their entry into this city, they were met, among many others, by one, who (having loſt his hands and feet by the *Scha*, or king's orders, for his debaucheries)

baucheries) manag'd his horſe with as much dexterity as any of the reſt.

They come to Sultanie. From this place they ſet out by moon light, and by break of day, *January* 22, arriv'd at *Sultanie*; but this night's march threw 15 of their company into a fever.

This city ſtands in 36 degrees 30 min. latitude, and was ſaid to have been built by ſultan *Mahomet Codebende*, out of the ruins of *Tigranocerta*. He gave it this name, becauſe the kings of *Perſia*, at that time, had the title of *Sultan*, but now that of *Sōphi*. Here are noble ruins of a royal palace; but the the moſt remarkable thing they ſaw was the moſch wherein the founder *Mahomet*'s tomb was. It had 3 gates bigger than thoſe of St. *Mark*'s at *Venice*, of the fineſt poliſh'd ſteel. The inhabitants would needs perſuade them, that 20 ſtrong men could not open the gate, leading to the market-place, without uſing theſe words, *Beaſch Aly Bukſcha*, that is, *Be open'd for* Haly's *ſake*, but by pronouncing thoſe words, they ſaid a child could open it. In the place where *Codabende*'s tomb was, they ſaw ſeveral books an ell ſquare, written in *Arabic* characters, of the length of one's finger, ſome leaves of which our author purchas'd, and gave at his return home to the library at *Gottorp*, being an expoſition of ſome parts of the *Alcoran*, call'd *Serat Elculab*, i. e. *the candle of the heart*.

The tomb of Sultan Mahomet Codabende.

The tomb itſelf was ſurrounded with a grate of poliſh'd ſteel, of the bigneſs of one's arm, but ſo neatly join'd, that the *Perſians* pretend, it is of one piece. The tower joining to the Moſch is an octogon encompaſs'd with a gallery, containing 8 leſſer towers, furniſh'd with artilery, whoſe balls were marble. Before the Moſch was a large ſquare fountain, ſupplied with water from mount *Keidar*. There were, likewiſe, belonging to it, a pleaſant garden and large ſummer-houſe.

Near this is to be ſeen the ruins of a triumphal arch, ſupported by two pillars of 20 fathoms high, and ſeveral other monuments of antiquity.

After ſtaying 3 days at *Sultanie*, they proceeded on their journey, taking their ſick men along in a ſort of litters upon camels backs. The 27th of *January* they came in ſight of *Caſwin*, (call'd *Casbin* in our maps) and ſtaid two hours at a village near, till the *Daruga*, or judge, was ready to receive them; who, at laſt, met them with 500 horſe and foot, without the gate, as did likewiſe an *Indian* prince, who happen'd to be there, with his own countrymen on horſeback, himſelf being in a chariot with two wheels, drawn by two white oxen, who were as well manag'd as our horſes. But the fineſt part of the cavalcade were 15 ladies on horſeback, richly attir'd, and adorn'd with jewels, and had their faces diſcover'd, contrary to the ordinary cuſtom of the country. They accompanied the ambaſſadors to the quarters aſſign'd them, and diſcover'd themſelves by their behaviour to be a ſet of the moſt eminent ladies of pleaſure.

The ambaſſadors arrive at Casbin.

The city of *Casbin* (the ancient *Arſacia*) is one of the chief cities in the province of *Erak* (formerly *Parthia*) which includes all from *Sultanie* to *Iſpahan*. The latitude of this city is 36 deg. 15 min. in a plain near *Elwend*, a branch of mount *Taurus*. It is 6 miles in circuit, and was computed to contain 100,000 ſouls. It was once the reſidence of the *Perſian* kings; *Sha Tamas* built a royal palace near the great market place, with gardens, very beautiful. The great *Almaidan*, or market place, has many palaces in it for the nobility on the ſouth ſide of it, and ſhops on the other ſides. But both market places ſell merchandizes of different kinds, among which are precious ſtones of ſeveral ſorts, and cheap; our author ſays, he bought torquoiſes as large as horſe beans, or large peas, for 2 *s.* and 6 *d.* a piece. After ſhops are ſhut up, the ladies of pleaſure take up their ſtations, with a bawd to bargain for them.

There are in this city above 50 Moſchs, and many ſepulchres, among which one is very famous for a ridiculous ſtory believ'd of the perſon buried there.

It is *Lockman*, the ſon of an *Arabian* phyſician, whoſe father, when he was near his death, told his ſon, that thoſe three vials which were in ſuch a place in his cloſet, had the virtue to raiſe the dead, provided they were us'd before the body had time to be corrupted. That upon pouring the liquor of the firſt vial upon it, the ſoul would return into the body, the ſecond would make it raiſe itſelf, and the third would reſtore it to a perfect ſtate of health. The father dying, the ſon did not think fit to try the experiment upon him, but kept the vials againſt he ſhould die himſelf, which happening ſome time after, his ſervant, according to the inſtructions given him, by his maſter, before his death, brought the body to a bath, near the place where the ſepulchre is now, and having pour'd the firſt two vials upon it, the dead maſter ſate up, and call'd out (for it ſeems he had not forgot the inſtructions he had left behind him) *bris*, *bris*, i. e. *pour*, *pour*; but the fellow was ſo frighten'd at his maſter's getting up, and more at his ſpeaking, that the third vial drop'd out of his hand, and breaking ſpilt all the liquor; ſo that the charm being ſpoil'd, by this miſchance, poor *Lockman* was forc'd to lie

The fable of Lockman's *riſing after his death.*

lie down again, and had a tomb built for him, upon his man's telling the ſtory. And ſo ſuperſtitious are the *Perſians*, that they pretended the word *Bris* was often heard at the tomb.

Nor was *Iman Riſa* a more lucky contriver of an impoſture, not many years before the ambaſſadors went into *Perſia*. This man ſetting up for a prophet, got 30,000 followers; which giving umbrage, and very juſtly, to the *Sophi*, he ſent for him, under pretence that he was deſirous to be inform'd of his doctrine. Upon his going to court, the king bade him work a miracle to prove the truth of his doctrine, which the pretended prophet not being able to do, the Sophi ſpoil'd his prophecying by having his wind-pipe ſtop'd.

The ſtory of Pelagi, *the true Mogul.*

We ſaid before, that an *Indian* prince came out of town to receive the ambaſſadors. His name was *Pelagi*, and he was ſon and heir of the great *Mogul*, who had died ſome time before 1637; but being young at his father's death, his uncle *Choram* ſeiz'd the crown, but for ſome years allow'd *Pelagi* to live privately. But after ſome time, the uſurper having loſt the hearts of the *Indoſtans* by his cruelty, and *Pelagi* coming of age, they began to turn their eyes upon him; which raiſing the jealouſy of the uſurper, he projected his deſtruction; but *Pelagi*, being aware of it, fled to *Iſpahan*, where he ſtaid for ſome time, the *Sha* or *Sophi* allowing him 12,000 crowns a year penſion. But the Mogul ſending an ambaſſador to demand him, the *Sophi* ſent him to *Casbin* to be out of harm's way, without breaking with *Coram*.

Our author ſays, this was a great politick of the kings of *Perſia*, to encourage all the fugitives of the Mogul royal family, which often ſerv'd them to good purpoſe in their diſpute with the Moguls about *Candahar*. And he gives one comical inſtance of an evaſion us'd by *Sha Tamas*, who being ſolicited by another *de facto* Mogul, to deliver *Hamajun*, the true heir, who had fled to him for protection; when the ambaſſador was to have his audience, he order'd the *Indian* prince to be hung up in a cage to a tree, and then declar'd to the ambaſſador, that *he was not upon his ground*; and ſo diſmiſs'd the meſſenger. And as ſoon as he had made peace with the *Turks*, with whom he was at war when the ambaſſador came to him, he generouſly put *Hamajun* at the head of a noble army, with which he recover'd the inheritance of his fathers. *A glorious action! to aſſiſt an injur'd prince againſt an uſurper!*

The ambaſſadors would have return'd a viſit this *Indian* prince made them, but that it was againſt the ceremony to viſit any foreign prince before they had had an audience of the king; they therefore ſent ſome of the chief of their attendants to make their compliments, whom he receiv'd with great civility, and treated with wine and fruit.

The chief judge entertain'd them with wreſtling, vaulting, fights of rams, birds, and wolves, and was very civil to them for the five months they ſtaid at *Casbin*.

But the heats coming on in *June*, their people being now pretty well recover'd, for they had all been ſick, except Mr. *Mandelſloe* the chaplain, they prepar'd for their departure by night. Accordingly they ſet out *July* the 13th at night, and in four nights travelling came to *Saba*, in 35 degrees, where they got fine fruits, eſpecially pomgranates and almonds, and the inhabitants drove a great trade of cotton and rice.

The ambaſſadors proceed on their journey by night.

On the 19th they came to *Kom*, where the beſt ſword blades in *Perſia* are made, and ſold at 5*l.* a-piece; [But what pounds the author means I do not know] the mountain *Demawend* ſupplying them with materials from good iron mines, with which it abounds.

Holding on their journey, ſtill by night, they arriv'd the 24th at *Katſchan* in 34 degrees. This city is a place of great trade, and much frequented by foreign merchants, eſpecially *Indians*, who have their particular quarter aſſign'd them. It abounds in all fruits of the earth, but their water is not good. The city is much infeſted with ſcorpions; ſo that it is a proverbial curſe in *Perſia*, *may the ſcorpions of* Katſchan *ſting thee*. The natives cure their ſting by applying a piece of copper money to it for 24 hours, and then a plaiſter of honey and vinegar; but our author having been ſtung by a ſcorpion at *Scamachie*, thought it ſafeſt to apply ſcorpion oyl outwardly, and to take a doſe of *Venice* treacle, which cur'd him in two days; altho' he ſays he felt ſome pricking pains, eſpecially in *Autum*, for ſome years after; which he believ'd to be the relicks of that poiſon.

Scorpions at Katſchan.

There is another inſect in this country, which he ſays is the *Tarantula*, but the effects of its venome are not like what is commonly attributed to that creature, nor the ſame way cur'd. For the *Perſian* tarantula infects by dropping its poiſon upon the skin, which immediately cauſes exceſs of pain to the part affected, and communicates itſelf to the ſtomach and head in a very ſhort time; ſo that the perſon falls into a ſleep, from which they cannot be awakened, but by bruiſing one of the venemous creatures upon the part affected, or elſe by laying the perſon upon his back, and pouring as much milk

Tarantula.

milk down his throat as he can hold, and then tying him upon a bier, faſten'd at the four corners, with looſe cords to a beam, they turn the bier round 'till the cords are hard twiſted, and letting it go, the cords untwiſt themſelves by a quick motion of the bier the contrary way, which makes the ſtomach diſcharge the milk, becom e of a greeniſh colour by the poiſon: But bruiſing the tarantula upon the place is the ſureſt cure.

They arrive at Iſpahan.

Leaving *Katſchan July* 26th, they came in ſight of *Iſpahan*, upon the third of *Auguſt* early in the morning. Within a mile of the city, they were met by one of the chief officers of the court, call'd *Iſachan Beg*, at the head of 300 horſe; and ſoon after by two *Armenian* lords. Theſe accompanied the ambaſſadors thro' the city to their quarters, near the *Armenian* chriſtians. As ſoon as they alighted, their dinner was brought out of the king's kitchen, conſiſting of 30 ſilver diſhes of fruits of different kinds, ſome freſh from the tree; others dry or preſerved: And after theſe were taken away, a new cloth was laid, and 50 ſilver diſhes were ſerv'd with meat of ſeveral ſorts, boil'd and roaſted, with rice of different colours.

After dinner they were viſited by the director of the dutch company, who frankly own'd that he had inſtructions to oppoſe them in what they were to propoſe to the King; but that in every thing elſe he would ſhew them all civility and friendſhip.

A quarrel between the attendants of the Mogul's *ambaſſadors, and the* Holſteiners.

They had not ſtaid there 4 days, when an unlucky quarrel happening between ſome of their people and the attendants of the Mogul's ambaſſador, who had been ſent to demand the *Mirza Polagi*, formerly mentioned. The diſpute run ſo high, that an *Indian* was kill'd, in revenge of which, the next day they kill'd a ſervant belonging to the *Holſtein* ambaſſadors people, and cutting off his head, drag'd the body about the ſtreet, tied to a horſe's tail. This ſo exaſperated the *Europeans* that they attack'd the *Indians*, and ſo the whole *Poſſe* of both nations were engag'd, and 5 of our ambaſſadors people were kill'd and 24 *Indians*, beſides ſeveral wounded on both ſides, their numbers being much the ſame. And had not the King's guards been ſent to keep the peace, it had been worſe. Upon examination, the King, finding that the *Indoſtan* ambaſſador's people were the aggreſſors, ſent an order for his immediate departure, and he accordingly left the city, and march'd home, having receiv'd an abſolute refuſal of what he came for. But there being a vaſt number of *Indian* merchants there, the *Sha* iſſued out a proclamation, that no *Indian* ſhould appear in the ſtreets, upon pain of death, whilſt the *Holſteen* ambaſſadors remov'd to more convenient lodgings, where the *Sha* gave them leave to plant their cannon, and to fortify their quarters, as they thought fit.

The *Sha* allow'd them daily, 160 ſheep, 100 fowls of different kinds, 200 eggs, and 100 batmans of wine, with as much fruit and ſpice as they could conſume; notwithſtanding which, they were but ill ſerv'd, for *Bruyman* ſpent a great part of their allowance upon harlots, and other people who did not belong to the embaſſy.

The preſents made by the ambaſſadors to the Sha.

The 16th of *Auguſt* being appointed for their publick audience, they were conducted in great ſtate to the palace; the ambaſſadors and 38 of the principal gentlemen of their train, riding upon 40 horſes richly equip'd, ſent them by the King. Their preſents to the *Sha*, were, from *Cruſius*, a firelock ſtock'd with ebony, a veſſel of rock chriſtal edg'd with gold, and adorned with turqueioes and rubies, a cabinet of amber, and a ſmall ſtriking clock. That from *Bruyman* conſiſted of a braſs candleſtick of 30 branches gilt, with a ſtriking watch in the body of it; a caſe of very fine piſtols gilt, in rich holſters; a very curious hour glaſs, a watch in a tepaz caſe, a bracelet of diamonds and rubies; and a writing by which he beſtow'd upon the *Sha* two pieces of cannon left behind at *Ardebil*.

They were receiv'd by the maſter of ceremonies at the palace gate, and conducted to the hall of juſtice, from whence in half an hour, being advertis'd by ſome perſons of quality that the King was ready to receive them, they went thro' an oblong court lin'd on both ſides with guards, to a large room where the *Sha* was. The ſides of this room were fill'd with *European* paintings, and the floor cover'd with tapeſtry with a gold and ſilver ground. There was a large fountain in the middle of the room, behind which they ſaw the King ſitting upon the ground, upon a ſattin cuſhion. He was 27 years of age, of a graceful aſpect, and ſmooth faced, a little hook nos'd, as the *Perſians* generally are. His habit was of brocade, but not different from the nobility's apparel, except a plume of herons feathers on his head, faſten'd with a fine bracelet of diamonds. His ſcimitar was richly adorn'd with jewels, and his bow and arrows lay on the ground by him. Twenty pages, the ſons of *Chans*, attended on his right hand, being hoſtages for the behaviour of their fathers in the provinces they govern'd. At the head of theſe was the *Mehetar*, or groom of the bed-chamber. Before the King ſtood the lord chamberlain, with a ſtaff cover'd with gold, with a large gold head. And on his left hand, ſate the lord chancellor

chancellor, 4 paces diſtant from him, and the *Chans* and other lords next to him.

When the ambaſſadors entered this room, they were met by ſome lords who took them under the arms, ſo as they had no uſe of their hands; which, altho' it paſſes now for a piece of reſpect, was undoubtedly deſigned to prevent any attempt that might be made upon the perſon of the prince. As they came near the place where he ſate, they made a profound bow, which he returned with a ſmile, and a little inclination of his head; and then they ſate down upon ſeats plac'd for them, and at a little diſtance, 15 of the chief of their retinue ſate upon the ground, as the *Perſian* lords did, the pages and the reſt of their followers were entertain'd in the court below, 13 women dancers, the handſomeſt courtezans in *Iſpahan*, making a part of their company.

They are entertained by the king. After they had ſate a-while, the lord chamberlain ask'd them, in the King's name, *By whom they were ſent, and upon what buſineſs?* Upon this they roſe up, and advanced to deliver their credentials, and made a ſhort compliment, after the *Perſian* manner, who do not like long ſpeeches. The chancellor taking their credentials, deſir'd them to take their ſeats; and ſoon after the ſecretary of ſtate told them that the *Sha* had given orders to have their credentials tranſlated, and then would give them a ſecond audience. Then follow'd the entertainment, which was little different from thoſe already menti-on'd, except that this was all ſerv'd in gold, and that they had plenty of *Schyras* wine, which is the beſt that country affords. After dinner, the lord chamberlain ſaid grace, and every one retir'd, without ceremony, except the ambaſſadors, who made a reverence to the king.

After this audience they convers'd frequently with the *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch* factors, then reſiding at *Iſpahan*, and they commend Mr. *Honywood*, the *Engliſh* factor, for his civility. They likewiſe went to the convent of the *Auſtin* friars upon their patron day, *Aug.* 28th and had a collation of fruit and wine.

ened by the governor of Armenia. Upon the firſt of *September*, they were viſited by *Seferas Beg*, governor of *Armenia*, accompany'd with his two brothers, and were by him invited to his palace, where he entertain'd them and their whole retinue upon the 18th, after they had been at the *Armenian* church, and ſeen the ſervice pontifically perform'd by the patriarch. The *Beg*'s feaſt was very ſumptuous, after the manner before deſcrib'd; and when they thought he was conveying them out of his houſe, he brought them unexpectedly to another apartment, where was a freſh entertainment ready for them; but they had eaten and drunk ſo plentifully before, that altho' they ſate down out of complaiſance they could not do much harm to the victuals.

They were likewiſe entertain'd by the *Engliſh*, and other of the factors after their country manner, and made an entertainment for them again. The *Engliſh* had 6 *Indian* women to dance before them at their feaſt, who in activity and dextrous managing their feet and arms, out did the *Perſian* ladies.

An Armenian marriage. Our author deſcribes an *Armenian* marriage which he ſaw by chance. He ſays the muſick march'd firſt, and after them, a boy about 12 years old with a wax candle; then the bridegroom on horſe back, with two of his friends of each ſide, and four behind him, by two and two. After theſe were carried two diſhes of meat, two pitchers of wine, and two diſhes of apples. All theſe were ſet before the bridegroom and his company; but little was eaten, the bridegroom not touching it, but the wine was all drank out; the bridegroom, having ſpy'd our author, civilly invited him to partake of it. After which, the bride came in, with a young girl on her right hand, and a married woman on her left. The prieſt leading the couple, to be married, to the altar, gave them his benediction with a wooden croſs, whilſt they join'd hands, and the bride laid her head to the bridegroom's breaſt, in token of ſubjection. After mutual promiſes of love and fidelity, they receiv'd the communion; the prieſt having dipp'd the conſecrated bread (which is unleaven'd, and about the thickneſs and breadth of a crown) in the cup, and given to them both; and then ſprinkling them, and the reſt of the company with roſe water, he ty'd a ſcarfe about the bride's wriſt, by which the bridegroom drew her after him to the church door, where they mounted their horſes, and went to the wedding houſe; but, during the three days of the feaſting, the new married couple do not co-habit.

Whilſt the ambaſſadors ſtaid at *Iſpahan*, a poor clock-maker, a native of *Zurick* was put to death in ſpite of all the intereſt they could make for him. He had ſhot a thief who had broken into his houſe, of which the relations of the thief, complaining to the *Mufti*, *Stadler* the watch-maker was taken up for killing a *Muſſulman*; and by the intereſt of the *Mufti*, was refus'd all favour unleſs he turn'd *Mahometan*; which he ſtoutly refuſing, and likewiſe to turn *Roman Catholick*, after he was condemn'd, had his head cut off at the market place, and was ſolemnly buried, in the *Armenian* burying place,

at which the *Armenian* governor and the ambaſſadors aſſiſted.

They go a hunting with the king.

About this time, being the month of *October*, they went to a party of pleaſure with the king which held for ſeveral days, ſuch as hawking, hunting, and fowling, in which exerciſes, the *Sha* ſhew'd great dexterity, both with the bow and ſcimeter, ſhooting two arrows at a deer's head in one full cariere, and cutting off a wild aſſes's head at one blow. But the evenings were generally ſpent in drinking. Upon one of their revelling nights, *Mahomet Haly Beg*, the deputy ſteward, who fill'd the wine, had got drunk, and was very noiſy, ſo that the *Sha* ſent him orders to withdraw; but he refuſing to obey, the king ſent others to thruſt him out of the garden, and to ſet him on horſe back. When this meſſage was brought to him in the king's name, he ſtruck thoſe who carried it; which the king hearing, went to him at the end of the walk, and *Haly* being, by good luck for him, a great favourite, the king adviſ'd him to go home and ſleep; but the *Beg*, being at that time as great as a king, treated his majeſty no better with his tongue than he had done the meſſengers before; at which the king putting his hand to his ſcimeter, and threatning to cut off his head if he did not mount his horſe that moment; the ſteward forgot his cups, and having ſenſe enough left to be frighten'd at the menace, he got a horſe back as nimbly as if he had not drank a drop, which ſet the *Sha* into ſuch a fit of laughing, that he went back to the ambaſſadors in very good humour. In theſe revels, he was profuſe, and made preſents which he repented of the next day; and our author gives inſtances of his miniſter's being oblig'd to redeem ſome of his drunken preſents to bring him in temper.

The courtiers drink hard.

During their ſtay at *Iſpahan*, they had ſeveral private audiences of the *Sha*, and frequent conferences with the chancellor, at all which, they din'd at the palace, or at the chancellor's houſe, where one part of the entertainment was always the dancing ladies, who were ready to divert the gueſts after what manner they pleas'd, by retiring with them, without being taken notice of by the reſt of the company, altho' they ſaw them retire.

When the time of their departure came, the lord chamberlain conducted them to their audience of leave, when they receiv'd an anſwer to the duke their maſter's letters, and were told, that the *Sha* deſign'd to return the compliment, by ſending an ambaſſdor to *Holſtein*. The ambaſſadors gave his majeſty thanks for the honours and noble treatment they had received in his dominions, and particularly at *Iſpahan*.

The imprudence of Bruyman,

But as *Bruyman* ſeem'd to be deſtin'd to do them miſchief, he was guilty of two pieces of inſolence, a little before their departure, either of which, but eſpecially the laſt, was ſufficient to have got all their heads cut off, if the lord chancellor had not been a man of good temper, and their friend. The firſt was, *Bruyman*'s ordering the artillery to be fir'd at an entertainment, juſt under the *Sha*'s palace; and when he was deſir'd to forbear, becauſe it would be reſented, he order'd the guns to be charg'd again, and frequent rounds to be fir'd, as if it had been out of contempt of the king.

in firing his great guns,

But the other piece of inſolence was beyond all patience, being a violation of the ſanctuary in the *Sha*'s palace, which the *Sha* himſelf, abſolute as he was, would not have ventur'd to have done. The caſe was this, *Bruyman* having ſuſpected one of their own retinue, *Lion Bernaldi*, of keeping a correſpondence with the *Dutch* agent, but not thinking fit to tax him with it, for fear of an open rupture with the *Dutch*, he accus'd him of having robb'd him. *Bernaldi* being well acquainted with the violence of the ambaſſador's temper, took ſanctuary in the *Alla Capi*, being that part of the palace, from whence it was not lawful to force the greateſt malefactor. The ambaſſadors ſent to the king to demand him, but he told the meſſenger that it was not in his power, altho' he had rob'd himſelf; but if any of the goods were found, they ſhould be reſtor'd. This refuſal ſo incens'd *Bruyman*, that he ſwore he would fetch him out of the king's arms: And in that paſſion notwithſtanding all the arguments of *Cruſius* to the contrary, he ſent ſome *Armenians* to decoy *Bernaldi* out of the ſanctuary, and at the ſame time order'd 20 of his fire-locks to be ready to ſhoot as he came out. Thoſe ſoldiers could not come to *Alla Capi*, without going thro' the palace firſt; ſo that being ſtop'd by the guards, they fell upon them, endeavouring to force their way thro' the palace. The *Sha* being alarm'd at the noiſe, and having enquir'd into the cauſe of it, order'd the gate of the ſanctuary to be ſhut, contrary to cuſtom, and ſo *Bruyman* was diſappointed of his aim, but the king was ſo enrag'd at ſuch an inſolent affront offer'd to his perſon and authority, that he had ſacrificed *Bruyman*, and perhaps the whole retinue, to his juſt reſentment, if the lord chancellor had not repreſented to him, that it would be more glorious for him to ſhew a due regard to the law of nations in the perſon of an ambaſſador, and more diſgraceful

and in violating the Perſian Aſylum.

for

for *Bruyman* to be puniſhed by the prince his maſter, as he could not fail to be, upon a proper repreſentation. However this laſt piece of madneſs made the *Sha* declare in council, that either himſelf or the *Germans* muſt leave *Iſpahan*.

But before we give an account of their leaving this city, we ſhall, from our author, give a ſhort deſcription of it, together with the manners of the *Perſians*, and other remarkable things relating to the country.

Iſpahan deſcrib'd.

Iſpahan or *Isbahan* which is ſuppos'd to be the old *Hecatempolis*, is ſituated in the province of *Erak* or *Hierak*, the ancient *Perſia*, in a large plain, ſurrounded with mountains, about 4 leagues from the city. It lies 32 deg. 26 min. latitude. It is according to our author, 8 leagues in circuit, and contains 500,000 ſouls, reckoning the ſuburbs. [But *Salmon* will not allow this computation, becauſe he ſays it takes in *Zulpha*, which is a mile diſtant from *Iſpahan*, and on the other ſide of the river *Senderhout*. So that, according to him, it is, at moſt, but 12 miles in circumference.] It is not a place of ſtrength, the old mud walls being quite deſtroy'd. The river *Senderhout* runs on the ſouth-weſt ſide of it, to which *Sha Abas* endeavoured to have join'd the river *Abkuren*, and having employ'd 1000 men for 14 years in that work, brought the laſt river within 200 yards of the other; but he dying before the deſign was finiſh'd, it continued imperfect when the ambaſſadors were there.

This city had been twice ſpoil'd by *Tamerlane*, but began to recover in the reign of *Iſhmael* II, and came to its full glory under *Sha Abbas*, who brought the ſeat of his government thither from *Casbin*, built many fair ſtructures in it, and brought ſeveral colonies to it.

The Perſians curious in gardens.

The greateſt pride of the *Perſians* in their houſes, are their gardens, which they beautify at great expence; not in flowers (for the fields afford variety of thoſe) but in walks and trees. Amongſt theſe laſt, is the *Tzinner*, a kind of plane tree, which grows to the heighth of a pine, its leaves reſemble vine leaves, with an appearance of fruit, like a cheſnut, but without a kernel; the wood of it is almoſt like walnut tree, but ſo beautifully vein'd, that the work made of it looks better than the other. Their gardens are likewiſe adorn'd with fountains, and ſummer-houſes, upon which they lay out a great deal of money.

Their houſes.

The houſes are generally ſquare, and 4 ſtories high, with kitchens and cellers under ground: The windows as big as their doors, and reach to the cieling; they uſe ſtoves of charcoal inſtead of fires, in a hole made in the middle of the ground; over the ſtove they ſpread a carpet, round which they ſit with their feet under it, for the benefit of the heat.

Moſchs.

The moſchs are very numerous, but the moſt magnificent of them, is one near the market-place, begun by *Sha Abbas*, and finiſh'd by *Sefi* whilſt our author was there, [which I ſuppoſe was the reaſon of his coming to the knowledge of the inſide of it, for chriſtians are not allow'd to enter their moſchs when they are once dedicated to their ſervice.] This moſch was built in honour of *Mehadi* the twelfth of the poſterity of *Hali*. There is a ſpacious court, pav'd with free ſtone, leading from the market place to the moſch; at the upper end of this court is a ciſtern, under a tree, in which people waſh before they do their devotions. Behind this tree is a ſtair leading up to another ſmall court, where there is an inferior moſch, the porch of which is of white marble, and the door cover'd with ſilver plates, gilt in ſome places. From thence a door leads into a larger court, in the middle of which is a large ciſtern of an octogonal form, and, round the court, a vaulted gallery, thro' which you paſs at one end of the court, by a long vault, lin'd in the inſide with glaz'd tiles blue and gilt. At the end of this is the great moſch, which is a glorious building, with many chapels, and niches between them ſupported by marble pillars. The walls of the moſch are of the beſt poliſh'd marble, each piece being 5 or 6 foot ſquare, and ſo neatly join'd that they ſeem to be all one ſtone. Within the moſch they have the pulpit or *Cathib*, and the *Meherab* or altar, which laſt is one piece of marble, with a marble intire pillar on each ſide.

The market place.

The ſtreets of *Iſpahan* are narrow, ſince *Sha Abbas*'s time, but the market place is 700 foot long, and 250 broad, built round on 3 ſides with brick houſes, all uniform, and the ſhops vaulted. This place is appropriated for the people of different profeſſions; the ſide next to the palace contains the houſes and ſhops of the goldſmiths, lapidaries, and druggiſts; and oppoſite to them, are woollen-drapers, mercers, and the dealers in callicoes; and interſpers'd are taverns and eating houſes: [But *Salmon* ſays there are no taverns in *Iſpahan*, their religion forbidding wine. But ſurely ſtrangers muſt eat and drink ſome where.] and round the ſquare, near the houſes are trees planted, which grow like box, but higher, and being neatly cut, they look like entries to every houſe and ſhop; and being ever green, make a beautiful figure. But the greateſt ornament of this place, is an aqueduct which runs quite thro' the ſquare, in a canal of free ſtone rais'd about 2 foot from the ſtreet, and falls into two large baſons at

two

two corners of the market place, and from thence convey'd thro' the city in pipes. At one end of the vaulted galleries, where the ſhops are, there is a balcony on each ſide, cover'd over head, where the city muſick plays every night at ſun ſet, and likewiſe when the *Sha* paſſes thro' the ſquare.

The palace. Upon the fourth ſide of the ſquare, is the royal palace, the outward gate of which opens to the market place; over that gate is built a large ſquare ſtructure all full of windows, for ſeeing any ſhows exhibited in the market place. The chief apartments of the palace are, the *Tabchane*, which is a large hall, where the king entertains all his court upon their new years day; the *Divan-Chanes*, or place of juſtice, where the *Sha* preſides, and hears cauſes, receives complaints and petitions, and, ſometimes gives audience to ambaſſadors. This place joins to a ſpacious court, where the king ſhews his beſt horſes, and rich equipages to foreign miniſters. The *Haram-Chane*, where the *Sha*'s concubines entertain him with muſick and dancing. The *Deka*, or place for his wives, which conſiſts of many apartments; but theſe two laſt mentioned muſt be taken upon truſt, no ſtrangers being admitted to ſee them.

Paſſing thro' the firſt court, about 40 paces from the outward gate, towards the right hand, another gate leads into a garden, in the middle of which there is a chapel, which is the ſanctuary above mention'd, call'd ALLA *Capi*, or GOD's *Gate*. [*Tavernier*, who ſays he went as far into this palace, as any ſtranger ever did before him, gives but a mean account of the whole palace, and calls it a poor place.]

Their exerciſes. The people of *Iſpahan* divert themſelves often with ſhooting at a mark, and playing cricket; both which they do a horſeback in the *Meydan*, or market place. Their mark for ſhooting, either with the gun or bow, is an apple, or melon, and ſometimes a wooden trencher with money upon it ſet upon a pole, at which they ſhoot in full gallop; and great ſums are loſt and won at this exerciſe, the king being often a ſpectator, and ſometimes one of the party. What money falls from the trencher is the perquiſite of the king's footmen: He that wins the prize treats the whole company, and the king goes to the entertainment, if he was engag'd in the match.

Their cricket is likewiſe perform'd a horſeback, and they are dextrous at ſtriking the ball at the full ſpeed of their horſes, being the greateſt maſters of horſemanſhip of any nation in the world. They likewiſe have horſe races, running at the ring, and ſuch other diverſions and exerciſes as were perform'd in *Europe* in former times by horſemen.

Our author ſays they have tipling houſes, but they are places of bad reputation, being only frequented by the ſcum of the town; whereas the coffee houſes are full only of the better ſort of people. In theſe laſt they drink coffee, and tea, and play at tables, and cheſs, for which they have a very proper name, for they call it *Sedrentz*; i. e. *a hundred cares*.

The trade of Iſpahan. The greateſt want as *Iſpahan* is that of firing, being ſerv'd of wood and charcoal from diſtant provinces at a dear rate, ſo that the wood ſells at a half penny, and the charcoal at a penny a pound; every thing elſe is cheap. It is a city of great trade from all parts of the world, there being merchants from *Tartary*, *Turky*, *Paliſtine*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*; beſides 12,000 *Indians* who ſupply them with great quantities of pearls and diamonds, as well as with muſk, ambergreaſe and ſpices.

Their coin. Their money is either ſilver or braſs, gold coin being very little us'd there. The ſilver coins are 1. the *Abbas*, from *Sha Abas* which paſſes for 18 *s.* of our money, altho' its real value is not above 15. 2. the *Codabende*, or half *Abas*, ſo call'd from *Sha Codabende*. 3. the *Scachi* is the fourth part of an *Abas*. And 4 the *Biſti*, two and a half of which make a *Scachi*. The general name for the braſs money is *Pul*, but one ſort of it is call'd *Kasbechi*, is the fortieth part of an *Abas*. Great ſums are computed by *Tomans*, altho', like our *Engliſh* pound, there is no piece of that name; but 50 *Abas*'s make a *Toman*, which, according to the above value make a *Toman* worth 45 *l. ſterling*. [But this is a miſtake, for *Tavernier* reckons all the above coins, with a very little alteration of the names, only ſo many livres and ſols *French*.

For this is his computation,

Copper coin. { Single *Cabeskè* is worth 5 deniers and a half. / Double *Cabeskè* worth 11 deniers. } *French*.

2 Double *Cabeskè*'s make 1 *Biſti*.

Silver coin. { 2 *Biſtis* and a half make a *Shayet*. / 2 *Shayets* --- 1 *Mamoudi*. / 2 *Mamoudis* --- 1 *Abaſſi*. }

See Tavernier's Perſian travels,

The *French* crown, or 60 ſols is reckon'd at 3 *Abaſſi*'s and 1 *Shayet*, altho' this author ſays they make 3 half deniers more than the *French* crown. So that,

The *Abaſſi* is worth 18 ſols 6 den. }
Mamoudi ---- 9 ſols 3 den. /
Shayet --- 4 ſols 7 den. 1 half. / *French*.
Biſti ---- 1 ſol. 10 den. /
cop. *Cabeski* --- 5 den. 1 half. }

This

This reduces the *Toman* from 45 *l. Engliſh* to 45 livres *French*, which at preſent is ſcarce 9 *Engliſh* crowns.

The braſs money is of different coin in ſeveral towns thro' *Perſia*, and are, according to the places, differently mark'd, ſome with a deer, others with a goat, a ſatyr, a fiſh, &c.

In the north quarter of the city there are two convents not far from one another. One belongs to *Spaniſh* friars of the order of ſaint *Auſtin*, and the other to *Italian* carmelites. And the *French* capuchins were at work, when the ambaſſador's were there, in building a monaſtry near that of the *Auſtins*.

The king's gardens without Iſpahan.

Without the city, the king had fine gardens, about half a league exactly ſquare; thro' which the river *Senderhout* runs, on each bank of which, is a large walk curiouſly planted, and by canals from it the gardens are divided into four equal plats; towards the ſouth is a mount from which are ſeveral alleys deſcending in precipices, by which the river, artificially convey'd to the top of the mount, falls into baſons made in the garden to receive it, and ſo convey'd thro' all the gardens. In this ſpot of ground, there is great variety of all ſorts of trees, brought from the *Indies*, and from *Turky* in *Sha Abbas*'s time. A hundred gardiners take care of theſe gardens, ten of which are maſters, who ſhew the gardens to ſtrangers for two pence a piece.

The ſuburbs of *Iſpahan* are of great extent, and inhabited by people of different countries and religions. And near the city are a great many villages, where they make ſilk and woollen manufactures. The country about it is ſo low, that they can make the river overflow it in the heat of ſummer, which is very refreſhing.

Having given the reader a ſuccinct account of the moſt material remarks made by *Olearius* with regard to *Iſpahan*, we ſhall next give the ſubſtance of his deſcription of *Perſia*.

A deſcription of Perſia.

By *Perſia* we do not mean only what was call'd by that name, when *Parthia*, *Media*, *Aſſyria*, &c. were govern'd by monarchs of their own; but under *Perſia* is comprehended all that vaſt territory which lies between the *Caſpian Sea* and the *Perſian Gulf*, with reſpect to north and ſouth, and from the city of *Candahor* upon the frontiers of *Indoſtan* to the river *Euphrates* with reſpect to eaſt and weſt. Its latitude is between 25 deg. and 45 which makes the extent of it from ſouth to north 1200 miles, and it is reckon'd between 900 and 960 miles from eaſt to weſt. It is bounded on the north, by part of *Circaſſia*, the *Caſpian Sea*, and part of *Tartary*; on the eaſt, by part of *Tartary* and the *Mogul*'s country; on the ſouth, by the *Perſian* gulf, and the *Arabian* ſea, from *Ormus* bay eaſtward; and on the weſt by *Arabia* and *Turky* in *Aſia*.

The diviſion of Perſia into provinces.

According to our authors diviſion of *Perſia*, it contains 13 provinces, *viz.* *Erak*, *Fers*, *Schirvan*, *Adelbeitzan*, *Kilan*, *Thabriſtan*, or *Meſenderan*, *Iran*, or *Karabag*, *Cheraſan*, *Sabluſtan*, *Sitzeſtan*, *Kirman*, *Chuſiſtan*, and *Tzifire* or *Diarbec*.

As this diviſion was, probably, made whilſt the author was at *Iſpahan*, he begins from the province of which that city was the metropolis.

1. Erak.

Erac, or *Hierack*, is call'd, by way of diſtinction, *Erak-atzem*, becauſe the old *Aſſyria* is likewiſe call'd *Erak-ain*. This *Erak-atzem* lies in the heart of *Perſia*, and joins to the ancient *Parthia*, having beſides *Iſpahan* (now the capital of the kingdom) the cities of *Casbin*, *Sultanie*, *Senkan*, *Sawa*, *Kom*, *Kaſchan*, *Rey*, *Schaherriſer*, *Ebbeher*, *Hemidan*, *Dorkaſin*, *Theberan*, and *Kulpaſan*. [*Salmon* calls this province the ancient *Parthia*, and ſays it is bounded by *Aderbeitzan* and *Gilan*, the ancient *Hircania*, on the north; by the province of *Choraſan* on the eaſt; by *Chuſiſtan* and *Farſiſtan* on the ſouth; and by *Cardiſtan* on the weſt.]

2. Fars.

Fars is the old proper *Perſia*, whoſe capital *Alexander* burnt in his cups; out of the ruins of which *Schiraz* was built; beſides which it contains the cities of *Kaſirus*, *Bunizan*, *Firuſabath*, and *Aſtar*. [This province is bounded, according to *Salmon*, by *Kerman* towards the eaſt; the gulph of *Perſia* to the ſouth; *Chuſiſtan* towards the weſt; and *Erakagem*, or *atzem*, towards the north.]

3. Schirvan.

Schirvan, or *Servan*, is the ancient *Media Acropacia*, being the moſt northern part of *Media*. Its chief cities are *Scamachie*; *Bakuje*; *Derbent*, or the *Pilæ Caſpiæ*, built by *Alexander*, and, for that reaſon, call'd *Scacher Junan*, or the *city of the* Greeks; *Schabran*; and the ruins of *Eres*, or *Aras*. [*Salmon* bounds this province by *Circaſſia* and *Muſcovy*, on the north; the *Caſpian* ſea on the eaſt; *Arderbeitzan* on the ſouth; and the *Turkiſh Armenia* and *Georgia* on the weſt. And, beſides the cities mention'd by *Olearius*, he reckons *Teflis* in 44 deg. latitude, *Erivan*, upon the river *Sargi*, in 40 deg. *Gangea*, between *Erivan* and *Scamachie*; *Nakſivan*, 21 leagues ſouth of *Erivan*. *Nakſivan* was the capital of an *Armenian* province. *Tarku*, the capital of *Dagiſtan*; and old *Julpha*, now in ruins, the inhabitants having been tranſlated to *Iſpahan*.]

4. Iran.

Iran, call'd *Karabag* by the inhabitants, lies between the two famous rivers *Aras* and *Kur* (the *Araxes* and *Cyrus*,

rus of the ancients) and comprehends part of *Armenia* and *Georgia*, now call'd *Armenich* and *Gurtz* by the *Perſians*. This is one of the nobleſt provinces of *Perſia*, and produces the greateſt quantity of ſilk. Our author ſays, it is ſubdivided into 17 provinces, whoſe names he gives. The chief cities in it are *Berde*, *Bilagan*, *Schemkur*, *Kentze*, *Berkuſchar*, *Nachtſcuan*, *Ordebad*, *Bajesfied*, *Maku*, *Magasburt*, *Tiflis*, and *Tzilder*. [What reaſon induced Mr. *Salmon* to comprehend ſo large a province as this is, in that of *Schirwin*, I do not know.]

5. Adirbeitzan. *Adirbeitzan* is the moſt ſoutherly part of *Media Major*, and may not improperly be call'd the north part of *Aſſyria*, now known by the name of *Kurdeſtan*, with which this province is in a manner confounded. This is likewiſe ſubdivided into leſſer provinces; and the chief cities of it are *Ardebil* and *Tauris*, which laſt, call'd alſo *Tabris*, is ſaid by ſome to be the ancient *Ecbatana*; other cities are *Merraque*, *Salmas*, *Choi*, *Miane*, &c. [According to *Salmon*, this province is bounded by *Schirvan* on the north, by part of the *Caſpian* ſea and *Gilon* on the eaſt; by *Erac-agem* and *Curdiſtan* on the ſouth, and the river *Araxes* on the weſt. But I ſuppoſe this author's putting *Sultanie* in this province, which appears both by our maps, and *Olearius*'s account to be in *Erak*, is a miſtake.]

6. Gilan or Kilan. *Kilan* is like a creſcent, ſurrounded by a mountain cover'd with ſmall trees, and water'd by ſmall rivers. It is the ancient *Hircania*, and is ſubdivided into many leſſer provinces, and has 40 cities in it, the chief of which are *Aſtrabath* near the *Caſpian* ſea, *Firaſcu*, where are the fineſt torquois ſtones in *Perſia*. [It is bounded by the *Caſpian* ſea on the north, by *Tabriſtan* on the eaſt, by *Erak* on the ſouth, and *Aderbeitzan* on the weſt.]

7. Meſenderan. *Maſſenderen* lies eaſt of *Kilan*, and has many cities in it, as, *Amul*, *Funkabun*, *Nei*, *Sarou*, and likewiſe the pleaſant city of *Ferabath*, the country about which, near the ſea, is call'd the garden of *Perſia*. There are many other cities in this province, and a great number of villages, where they have a good manufacture of ſilk. [It is bounded by the *Caſpian* ſea on the north, the province of *Coraſan* or *Bactria* on the eaſt, by *Erak-agem* or *Parthia* on the ſouth; and by *Kilan* on the weſt.]

8. Coraſan. *Coraſan*, the ancient *Bactria*, lies eaſt of *Kilan*, and both for extent and fertilty is one of the beſt provinces in *Perſia*. This likewiſe is ſubdivided into ſmaller provinces, and has many good cities, as *Herat*; *Meſched*, or *Thus*; *Niſabur*, near to which is a mountain where ſuch excellent torquoiſes are found, that the *Sha* will ſuffer them to be ſold to none but himſelf; *Thun*, *Thabeskeleck*, and *Thabes-Meſſinan*, are fam'd for ſilk manufactures; and ſeveral other cities of good trade. This province produces the beſt manna in the world. [*Coraſen* is bounded by part of *India* towards the eaſt, by the river *Oxus*, which divides it from *Usbec Tartary*, on the north-eaſt, by *Sabluſtan* on the ſouth, and by the *Caſpian* ſea and *Tabriſtan* on the weſt.]

9. Sabluſtan. *Sabluſtan* lies ſouth-eaſt of *Coraſan*, and is the *Parapamiſa* of the writers of *Alexander*'s expedition, which name was taken from a branch of mount *Taurus*, where ſome pretend *Noah*'s ark reſted after the flood. The cities in this province are *Beckſabath*, *Meimine*, *Asbi*, *Buſt*, and *Sarentz*. [Mr. *Salmon* adds *Candahar*, becauſe it now belongs to *Perſia*, altho' anciently it belong'd to the *Mogul*, and is ſtill a bone of contention between the two monarchs. *Sabluſtan*, according to him, is bounded by *Coraſſan* towards the north, by *Cabul* in *India* towards the eaſt; by *Segiſtan* on the ſouth; and *Erak-agem* on the weſt.]

10. Sigiſtan. *Sitziſtan*, or *Sigiſtan*, lies ſouth of the laſt province, and is ſaid to be the old habitation of the *Drangæ*. [It is ſurrounded with mountains. Its cities are *Siſtan*, *Chalak*, *Kets*, &c. It is bounded by *Sabluſtan*, on the north; the province of *Multan* in *India*, on the eaſt; the country of *Mairan*, on the ſouth; and part of the province of *Kerman* on the weſt.]

11. Kerman. *Kerman* lies between *Sigiſtan* and *Fars*, and reaches to the bay of *Ormus*. It is a mountainous country, like *Sigiſtan*, yet abounds in ſweet flowers, of the water of which, eſpecially roſe water, the inhabitants drive a great trade. They have alſo good drugs, one particularly, call'd *Daru Kirman*, is good againſt worms. The chief cities in this large province are *Birſir*, *Bermeſir*, *Bem*, *Chabis*, *Tzireſt*, *Camron*, and *Ormus*. Our author includes *Mekeran* or *Macran* in this province; but it is a kingdom by itſelf, only tributary to the *Sha*. This province of *Kirman*, the ancient *Carmania*, is bounded by the province of *Sigiſtan* and *Macran* on the eaſt; the ocean on the ſouth; by *Fars* or *Farſiſtan* on the weſt; and by a deſart in the province of *Erak* on the north. And *Salmon* calls the chief towns, *Kerman*, *Darabegerd* (the old *Paſſagardi*) where was *Cyrus*'s ſepulchre. Having mention'd this ſepulchre, it will not be unacceptable to our readers to give ſome account of its having been rob'd in *Alexander* the great's time, and to vindicate that prince from the aſperſion left upon his memory by *Q. Curtius*, by his miſtake in that affair. For, altho' *Alexander*

ander was a robber and plunderer of kingdoms, yet he had a ſoul above diſturbing the aſhes of the dead; and as he was not covetous of wealth, but to enrich others, the ſpoils of the living in *Perſia* were ſufficient for that purpoſe, without troubling either temples or tombs. The ſtory, as *Curtius* tells it is thus. *

* Q. Curt. l. 10. c. 1. 30.

" *Alexander*, ſays he, had commanded " *Cyrus*'s tomb to be open'd, intending " to perform ſome ceremonies in honour " to his memory, as was pretended, but " in reality to ſearch for hid treaſures. " For, it was reported all over *Perſia*, " that a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver " was pil'd up there. But he found no- " thing but a rotten ſhield, two *Scythian* " bows, and a ruſty ſcimetar, &c. "

How Q. *Curtius* came to ſully his heroe after this manner I ſhall not enquire. But that *Alexander* had no hand in the robbery, is clear from ſeveral hiſtorians. The truth of the fact was this, as † *Arrian* has it.

† *Arrian*'s hiſt. of *Alexander*'s expedition, tranſlated by Mr. *Rooke*, *Lond.* 1729. *Vol.* II, *p.* 131. *note* 3.

Whilſt *Alexander* was in *India*, *Cyrus*'s tomb was broken open, and all the riches which could be convey'd away were carried off by the thieves; but the gold bed and coffin in which the body lay, were too heavy to be carried off, and too ſtrong to be broken, altho' they had attempted to cut them in pieces; ſo that they were fain to make off with the cover of the coffin, and ſuch other ornaments as were portable. He ſays, that *Alexander*, at his return from *India*, coming to *Paſſargadæ* or *Paſſagadi*, was much troubled at the indignity done to the memory of *Cyrus*, that he made a ſtrict enquiry into the matter, and when he could diſcover none of the delinquents, he gave orders to *Ariſtobulus* to ſee the monument reſtor'd after the ſame manner it had been before, which *Arrian* thus deſcribes.

Cyrus's tomb.

" This tomb was placed in the royal " gardens at *Paſargadæ*, and round it " was planted a grove of all kinds of " trees; the place alſo was well water'd, " and the ſurface of the earth all round " cloth'd with a beautiful verdure. The " baſis of the tomb conſiſted of one large " ſtone of a quadrangular form. Above " was a ſmall edifice with an arch'd " roof of ſtone, and a door or entrance " ſo very narrow, that the ſlendereſt " man could ſcarce paſs thro'. Within " this edifice was the golden coffin, where- " in the body of *Cyrus* was preſerv'd; " as alſo the bed, whoſe ſupporters were " of maſſy gold, curiouſly wrought; the " covering whereof was of *Babylonian* " tapeſtry, the carpets underneath of " the fineſt wrought purple. The cloak, " and other royal robes, were of *Baby-* " *lonian*, but his drawers of *Median* " workmanſhip. Their colour was " chiefly purple, but ſome of them " were of various dies. The chain round " his neck, his bracelets, his ear-rings, " and his ſword, were all of gold, adorn'd " with precious ſtones. A coſtly table " was alſo placed there, whereon lay the " coffin which contain'd the king's body. " There was alſo, within the encloſure, " nigh the aſcent to the tomb, a ſmall " houſe built for the *Magi*, who had the " keeping of the tomb. That charge " was confer'd on them by *Cambyſes*, " the ſon of *Cyrus*, and deſcended from " the fathers to the children. They had " a ſheep allow'd them every day for " their maintenance, with a certain quan- " tity of wine and flower. And a horſe " was ſent them once every month, to " ſacrifice to *Cyrus*. The inſcription, " which was wrote in the *Perſian* lan- " guage, was to this purpoſe; *O mortal,* " *I am* Cyrus, *the ſon of* Cambyſes, " *founder of the* Perſian *monarchy, and* " *ſovereign of* Aſia, *grudge me not there-* " *fore this monument.* This inſcription, " with ſome ſmall addition, *Alexander* " made to be carv'd in *Greek*, below the " former: And had the body (which " the robbers had thrown out of the " coffin) decently put into it again, and a " new cover to be made; and that what- " ever was broke ſhould be made whole. " That the bed ſhould be adorn'd with " crowns, and other ornaments, like " thoſe which had been taken away, the " ſame as to number, form, and value: " And that the entrance into the " little edifice ſhould be wall'd up with " ſtone, and his royal ſignet apply'd to " it. " But to return to our deſcription of *Perſia*.

12. Chuſiſtan.

Chuſiſtan, the *Suſiana* of the ancients, and *Elam* of the *Jews*, lies between *Fars* and the river *Dilſel*. Its capital was *Suſa*, now call'd *Deſu*. The city of *Suſa* ſtood upon the river *Ulai*, and was famous for *Ahaſhuerus*'s feaſt. The chief cities of this province are, *Ahawas*, *Ramchormus*, *Schabar*, *Askar*, and *Arhan*. [*Chuſiſtan* is bounded by *Fars* and *Erak* on the eaſt; by the gulph of *Perſia* on the ſouth; by the territory of *Baſſora* on the weſt; and by *Carduſtan* on the north. Mr. *Salmon* makes the chief towns to be *Suſter*, (the old *Suſan*) *Elamis*, and *Banderic*.]

13. Diarbeck.

The laſt province mention'd by our author is *Tziſir* or *Diarbek*, (the ancient *Meſopotamia*) between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; and, being a frontier, is ſometimes ſubject to *Perſia*, and ſometimes to the *Turks*, according as the one or the other is maſter of *Bagdad*. [But this having been long in the *Turks* poſſeſſion, we ſhall ſay no more of it here.]

Our

The air of Perſia. Our author obſerves, that *Perſia* is divided by mount *Taurus*, (as *Italy* is by the *Appennines*) which changes its name according to the different branches of it. The provinces ſouthward of this ridge of hills are very hot, but the north provinces are very temperate. This is the reaſon why the kings change their reſidence according to the ſeaſons. Yet he ſays that *Iſpahan* is a comfortable place to live in at all times, becauſe being at a convenient diſtance from the mountains, there are always cool breezes felt there in the hotteſt weather. The provinces farther ſouth, eſpecially about *Cambroon*, are fatal to ſome *Europeans*.

The ſoil. The ſoil of *Perſia* is, for the moſt part ſandy and dry, full of red ſtones, thiſtles and reeds, which they uſe for wood. But moſt of their towns and villages being in vallies between hills, the inhabitants are very careful to collect the ſmall rivulets in trenches, and to convey them by ſmall canals, into their fields, after which the ſun, with that moiſture makes them very fruitful.

Their common grains are rice, wheat and barley, alſo lentiles, peaſe, and beans; and they are fond of *Ricinus* or *Palma* CHRISTI, a ſort of herb, whoſe ſeed is ſhap'd like a tick, which they ſqueeze the oyl from, and ſo eat it. Our author calls it a grain, but my dictionary calls it an herb, and I own, I do not know whether of them is in the right.

The trade of Perſia. One of the ſtaple commodities of *Perſia* is cotton; which having deſcrib'd elſewhere, we ſhall nor repeat it here, but ſhall only ſay, that, beſides what is conſum'd in the manufactures of the country, there is a vaſt quantity of cotton exported unwrought.

Cotton.

Silk. But their ſilk trade brings them in the moſt conſiderable advantage. They export vaſt quantities of raw ſilk to foreign parts; and this is done for the moſt part by *Armenian* Chriſtians, (of whom there are great numbers in all the trading towns of *Perſia*) becauſe the Mahometans cannot converſe ſo freely with Chriſtians in foreign parts, as being tied to ſeveral ceremonies in eating and drinking, as alſo in their converſation, that they do not care to travel into other countries, and content themſelves, with trading at home, and allow the Chriſtians to carry ſilk, cotton, and other commodities of the country to other places; which is done either by ſea from *Gambroon* in the *Perſian* gulph, or by land thro' *Turky*: The Mahometans being wiſer, in matter of trade, than any Chriſtians in *Europe*, except the *Dutch*; for, notwithſtanding the many quarrels and frequent wars between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, they allow the caravans to paſs through their countries, in time of war, without any oppoſition.

It is computed that *Perſia* produces yearly 20,000 bales of ſilk; 8000 from *Kilan*, *Schirvan* 3000, *Coraſſan* 3000, *Meſſanderan* 2000, *Karabeth* 2000 (beſides the produce of *Georgia*.) And as it is thought that 1000 is ſufficient for the conſumption of the country, the reſt is exported. The price of raw ſilk in that country was 2 *s.* 6 *d.* or 2 *s.* 8 *d.* the pound.

But, as we intend to finiſh, in this chapter, all that is material with relation to *Perſia*, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a little more of their trade and manufactures, and particularly of the *Engliſh* trade to that country, which we deſign to do ſo ſuccinctly, that it is not worth while to put it in a diſtinct chapter by itſelf. And this we ſhall do from *Mr.* Salmon's *preſent ſtate of* Perſia. *

* Ch. V.

Their artiſts. This author ſays, that the artiſts of different kinds, do not take apprentices, nor are they reſtrain'd from working at any trade they can, but having regiſter'd their names before the warden, appointed by the ſtate, they employ whom they pleaſe to carry on their work. And this perhaps is the reaſon why many of their tradeſmen are bunglers, having paſt no apprenticeſhip to the buſineſs, but taken it up at their own head. They have good joiners and turners, but indifferent carpenters. * Their armourers are good both for guns and ſwords; but the former neither neatly nor conveniently ſtock'd; nor do they underſtand ſpring work, which is the reaſon that their guns have no other than match locks, or if they uſe others, they purchaſe them, as they do watches and clocks, from *Europeans*. They make window glaſs and bottles, but no other kind, ſerving themſelves of ſteel mirrors, or buying looking-in glaſſes as before. The manufacture of bows and all things belonging to archery they are dextrous in, making the ſtrings of twiſted ſilk. They are likewiſe expert at embroidery in gold or ſilver, either upon ſilk, cloth, or leather; and both their cloaths and riding equipage are very rich that way. What we call *Turky* leather (becauſe it comes here thro' *Turky*) is the produce of *Perſia*. They excell in earthen ware, and are little inferior to the *Chineſes*; as alſo in wire-drawing gold and ſilver; ſo that a drachm is drawn to 300 *Perſian* ells, which meaſure is about an inch ſhort of our yard. Their dying far exceeds ours, which is ſuppos'd to be owing to the air, which being dry and clear, fixes the colours, and adds a luſtre to them. It is needleſs to talk of their carpets, where the flowers are ſo lively that they look like fine painting.

But

But their goldſmiths know little of their buſineſs.

The ſilk ſtuffs in *Perſia* and brocades are of very different kinds, and one great advantage they have above any other of the ſame kind, that they are very durable, the gold and ſilver never tarniſhing whilſt the work laſts. The fineſt looms for thoſe ſtuffs are at *Iſpahan*, *Caſhan*, and *Yeſd*. Thoſe for carpets in the province of *Kerman*. The camels hair ſtuffs near the ſame place. But altho' they underſtand the painting and ſtaining of calico, it is not comparable to the *Indian* calicoes.

A merchant an honourable profeſſion in Perſia.

The profeſſion of a merchant is very honourable in *Perſia*, partly becauſe they have no hereditary nobility, and partly becauſe their firſt miniſters of ſtate, and even their kings are traders, and have their factors and agents in ſeveral courts, for traffick chiefly. The trade here is manag'd, for the moſt part, by brokers and ſtock-jobbers, who are very ſubtle cunning people, who reckon upon their fingers: The end of which ſtands for 1; the finger bent is 5; when ſtrait it ſignifies 10; the hand open is 100; when ſhut, 1000.

There was once a great trade in the *Perſian* gulph for pearls; but as the *Arabians* got poſſeſſion of all the iſlands in that ſea, except *Ormus*, and even that was vigorouſly attack'd by them, the trade of pearl-fiſhing is gone to decay.

The Engliſh trade in Perſia.

As to the trade of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* company in *Perſia*, Mr. *Salmon* ſays, that 'till the preſent civil war, they had two conſiderable factories there. One at *Iſpahan*, and another at *Gombroon*. The agent at *Iſpahan*, Mr. *Philips*, had, before the war broke out, three or four factors under him, and 30 or 40 *Perſian* ſervants. Their houſe being built, like the *Perſian* palaces, in the middle of a fine garden. And when he rode abroad, his equipage was as rich, and his attendants as numerous, as the *Perſian Omrahs*, or greateſt lords.

The *Gombroon* agent did not keep up ſo great ſtate, but he had equal advantages. But at preſent our trade in that country, this author ſays, is under an eclipſe. For,

The company ſend ſcarce any thing to *Perſia* but *Engliſh* cloth, which is of leſs account there than formerly, becauſe they are ſupplied by the *Turky* company at a cheaper rate. For what cloth they ſell, they take the value in goats wooll, which is the ſoft down that grows under the hair, next the skin, and is us'd by hatters. Of this the company's ſhips carry away 1000 bags a year, every bag of 100 weight; or, for want of a ſufficient quantity of goat's wooll, they take the ballance in money or gold bars. So that, not having ſufficient freight of their own, they agree with *Armenians*, *Banians* or *Moors*, or other private merchants, who freight them for *Surat*; in which voyages, both the *Engliſh* captains, and *Dutch* (from whom perhaps the *Engliſh* learn'd it) took exorbitant præmiums for their cabins, and even for a a place on the deck to ſleep upon; but complaint being made of this extortion, the company took care to regulate that affair, pinning down the maſters to ſtated fees for ſuch and ſuch conveniencies aboard.

This practice, of carrying *Armenians*, &c. with their effects, to *Surat*, is one great branch of the company's profit; and therefore, that no tricks might be play'd, the company ſent orders in 1704, that the council at *Gombroon* or *Surat* ſhould have the agreement, between the *Indian* merchants and the *Engliſh* captains of ſhips, made before them, of which they were judges; That a reaſonable acknowledgment being allow'd the captain for the conveniencies he ſhould provide for his paſſengers, the council ſhould ſend a proper perſon on board, to ſee that the conveniencies ſtipulated were to be had; That if, upon their arrival at *Surat*, or the return of the paſſengers to *Gombroon*, they ſhall make it appear that the captain did not perform articles, the council ſhall oblige him to do them juſtice, or make a repreſentation of his refuſing ſo to do to the company. And, upon juſt occaſion given, the council had power to diſcard any commanders of ſhips, or other officers aboard. This author here gives a liſt of the rates, then to be paid for freight of all ſorts of goods from *Gombroon* to *Surat*, which we ſhall not trouble the reader with.

Good orders of the company.

The *Engliſh* company, as we obſerv'd in another place, were to have an equal ſhare of the profits of the trade of the *Perſian* gulph, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance their ſhips gave the *Perſians*, againſt the *Portugueſes* in *Ormus*; but they found a pretence to defraud them of that; altho' they ſtill continued to allow them 3333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a year in lieu of it, and an exemption from cuſtom.

The company do not meddle with the trade between *Perſia* and *India*, but leave it to their ſervants; but they are very ſtrict in forbidding their officers, or any aboard their ſhips, to be concern'd in running goods, to defraud the king of *Perſia* of his cuſtoms, due by ſtrangers, or his own ſubjects, threatening to ſend all ſuch, as ſhould carry any goods aſhore, (except to the king's cuſtom-houſe, or to the company's ware-houſe) to *Bombay*, to be tried by the general, and council, and to be

not only caſhier'd the ſervice, but otherwiſe puniſh'd with the utmoſt ſeverity. They likewiſe forbid, under ſevere penalties, the ſhipping of any goods on board *Engliſh* ſhips, without the agent's knowledge, or, in his abſence, without conſulting the factory.

Having given this ſhort account of the trade, we ſhall return to *Olearius*, who from ſpeaking of the ſoil and manufactures, proceeds to the animals in *Perſia*.

Animals domeſtick. It abounds with horſes, mules, camels, aſſes, oxen, cows, buffalo's, ſheep, and goats. The common food for horſes is barley, mix'd with chaff, or rice mix'd with cut ſtraw, and the people of faſhion feed theirs with an herb call'd *Genſcheht*, which they ſow once every ſeven years like clover. It grows about three foot high, with a blue flower; this they cut twice a year for the horſes. But in ſome places they have plenty of graſs all the year round; ſo that they are at very little pains to make hay.

Horſes. As the *Perſians* generally fight a-horſeback, they are very careful to procure a good breed of them: And altho' they have very handſome horſes of their own, yet the *Arabian*, and, next to them, the *Turkiſh* breed, are in greateſt eſteem. They uſe to colour the manes, tails, and legs of the grey horſes with red and orange, for greater beauty. Their chief ſtudy, in managing them, is to make them ſtart nimbly at a race, and turn quick, as the rider pleaſes. In keeping of them, their litter is of horſe dung dried in the ſun, of which they make beds for them a foot deep, where they lie as ſoft as upon a quilt; and when there is occaſion, they dry the old bed again, and it is as good as before. They likewiſe cover their horſes with coarſe cloth. Their greateſt pride is in their rich riding equipage, making uſe of gold and ſilver where we uſe braſs, and adorning their houſings with rich embroideries.

Mules. They are likewiſe fond of mules, and the king and his court ſometimes ride upon them, which raiſes their price to 100 crowns for an ordinary mule, and conſequently a fine one muſt riſe in proportion.

Camels. Of camels there is great variety, and they are diſtinguiſhed by their different names. Some have two bunches upon their backs, and thoſe they call *Bughur*, others have only one, and are call'd *Schuttur*. The moſt valuable, or the one bunch'd camel, is bred from a dromedary or camel of two bunches, and a female of one; theſe are call'd *Ner*: They carry 900 or 1000 weight, and are ſcarce ever tir'd. But as they are very apt to bite, they keep them for the moſt part muzzled. Another inferior ſort there is in *Perſia*, call'd *Lohk*, which are of a lazy kind, ſo that from the different diſpoſitions of thoſe animals, it is uſual to call a man of courage and ſpirit *Ner*, and a poltroon *Lohk*. A fourth ſort of camels they have very fit for ſervice, being ſwifter than the others, and therefore call'd *Schutturi haad* or *Wind Camels*. All theſe different ſorts they make uſe of on different occaſions. Some to carry their women, others to carry baggage, and the laſt for expedition in their marches or caravans. And all of them have theſe excellent qualities, that they are kept with little or no charges, for they live upon thiſtles and weeds, which they pick up by the ſides of the highways, and they can be three days without water, which is very neceſſary in many places of *Perſia*, where water is ſcarce. The manner of loading them is by tickling the knees of their fore legs, which makes them clap down on their bellies, and lie ſo till they receive their burthen. They are eaſily manag'd, except at coupling time, and then they are troubleſome and wild 'till they are ſatisfied: And the female goes 11 or 12 months with young.

Aſſes. Their aſſes are here moſt us'd near *Iſpahan*, but nothing remarkable is ſaid of them, only that they are more numerous there, and duller than in other parts of *Aſia*.

Sheep. There is a great plenty of ſheep in that country, which are bigger than thoſe of *Europe*, and their ears hang like a ſpaniel's, and their tails weigh from 10 to 30 pound weight; but they are not ſo good meat as ours; as indeed the ſmalleſt mutton is generally ſweeteſt every where.

Goats. There are vaſt flocks of goats in *Perſia*, which afford meat, candles, and ſhoes to the *Perſians*; what we call *Spaniſh* leather being goats skins dreſs'd in that country, and brought into *Europe* by way of *Tartary* and *Muſcovy*.

Oxen, Buffalo's. Their oxen and buffalo's are employed in carriages, and in plowing the land; and the ploughs there are ſo large and heavy, that they generally take 20 oxen or buffalo's to draw one of them.

They have few or no ſwine, the Mahometans having an averſion to them. But about *Armenia* and *Georgia*, moſtly inhabited by Chriſtians, there are abundance of hogs.

Wild beaſts. Our author ſays nothing of wild beaſts; [but others tell us, that in *Hircania* and *Carduſtan* there is ſtore of lions, tygers, leopards, boars, jackals, &c. altho' in the middle and ſouth parts, there are few or none, for want of woods. Nor does he mention the locuſts, which ſometimes, but rarely, come in ſwarms, and darken all about them, and deſtroy the fruits of the earth, as by a new plague, 'till they are eaten up by a certain bird, ſent by providence,

providence, about the ſame time, to ſave the country from famine. * As for fowls, both tame and wild, there is a great plenty of them. The moſt remarkable is the *Pelican*, which is famous for building her neſt in deſarts, and bringing water in a large bag under her bill, for her young ones, two days journey from her neſt. *And this, perhaps, is the reaſon of the fable of her ſtriking her bill into her breaſt, to feed her young with her blood.*]

* See *Salmon ubi ſup.*

Fowls.

The pelican.

The goodneſs of the climate produces fine fruit of all ſorts in *Perſia*; and gardening ſtuff, for the kitchen, grows to admiration; melons are in perfection almoſt all the year round, one ſort of them being ripe in *June*, and the other in harveſt and keep the whole winter.

Fruit.

They have vines almoſt in every Province; but the beſt wine is made at *Schyras* and *Tabris*. But the *Alcoran* having forbidden the uſe of wine, the ſtrict *Mahometans* are leſs careful in cultivating their vines: But they make a ſyrrup out of the grapes, which they call *Duſchab*, which they mix with water and vinegar, (the *Duſchab* being ſweet) and makes a pleaſant drink. This ſyrrup they ſometimes boil to a paſte for carriage, and ſo diſſolve it in water.

Vines.

They have vaſt quantity of mulberry trees, as may be imagined by the great produce of ſilk. Here our author gives an account of the progreſs of the ſilk worms, which being ſo well known in *England*, and more exactly perform'd here, at this time of day, than he has deſcrib'd it, I paſs it over as needleſs to an *Engliſh* reader.

Mulberry-trees.

The *Perſians* have ſomething of the *French* manner, in their converſation, making the moſt extravagant compliments when they mean nothing by them, ſuch as their begging a ſtranger, *to make their houſe* NOBLE *by his preſence*; their telling him, *they would ſacrifice themſelves to do him a pleaſure*; their wiſhing, *the apple of their eye might pave his way*; and ſuch extravagant *Hyperbole*'s, which are no more than a *French* cobler's telling a chimney ſweeper, whom he never ſaw in his life before, that, *he ſhould be* CHARM'D *and* RAVISH'D, *to have the* HONOUR *to do him a pleaſure*. But this is only a way of ſpeaking in both nations, as a *Perſian* told the ambaſſadors of *Holſteen*'s phyſician, who ask'd him, *what advantage his curing him*, of a diſtemper he had, *would be to him, if he gave his head*, as the *Perſian* had told him in his ſpeech

French compliments us'd in Perſia.

But notwithſtanding that ſuch high flown compliments paſs for nothing in *Perſia*, our author ſays, they are ſtrict obſervers of friendſhip: And he tells of a ſolemn ceremony of confirming it in that country. If two perſons agree in mutual affection, they go to a third, and, taking him by the border of his upper garment, they tell him, they have choſen him for their *Babba*, or GOD-*Father*, (which he cannot decline) and ſo they go all three to the *Calif* or chief prieſt; where lying down upon their bellies, before him, he gives the GOD-*Father* firſt, and then the intended brothers a ſtroke upon the back with a wand, ſaying, at the firſt ſtroke, ALLA, at the ſecond, *Mahomet*, and, at the third, *Haly*. After this, they kiſs the wand, and the *Calif*'s hand, and thus the friendſhip is confirm'd, and they believe any ſin more pardonable than a breach of that friendſhip.

Yet ſtrict obſervers of friendſhip.

Their manner of living is very temperate; the greateſt part of their food being rice, and their clothing moſtly calico, the great men, and thoſe who attend the courts of the king, and the governors of provinces being excepted from this rule. Their drink is only water from the next rivulet. The better ſort, tho' they deal much in rice, yet they have plenty of meat too, both butcher's meat and fowl both wild and tame, which are as cheap as neck beef, except turkies, which are dear.

Their frugality.

They drink wine at feaſts very plentifully, except ſuch as are very ſcrupulous, who drink only *Duſchab* and water. But the whole world deals in *Opium*; ſome taking an ounce at a time, and that every day. But the more moderate take it only once in two or three days. It is made of the juice of green poppy, by cutting the head of it, and letting the white liquor that comes out of it congeal into a black ſubſtance. The effects of it are different according to the quantity. The Turks take a doſe of it to give them courage; but a greater quantity makes them ſtupid, and the women, when weary of life by the tyranny of their husband, take ſo much of it, and drink cold water after it, that they ſleep todeath.

Opium.

The *Perſians* ſmoke tobacco much, but are fonder of what is brought from *Europe* than of their own growth, becauſe they do not know the management of it ſo well.

Tobacco.

Their common drink when they ſmoke is coffee, which they call *Cahwa*, which our author deſcribes; but being now ſo well known in *England*, we ſhall not ſpend time to ſo little purpoſe. But the *Perſians* believe that the frequent uſe of it emaſculates men, and they tell a merry ſtory to that purpoſe, which is as follows.

Coffee.

Sultan *Mahomet Caſtein*, one of their kings, had made himſelf impotent by the exceſſive uſe of coffee. His queen looking out of the window one day, ſaw them gelding a horſe, and asking the reaſon of it, ſhe was told it was *to bring down his mettle,*

A pleaſant ſt[ory]

mettle, to which ſhe anſwer'd, that it was barbarous to put the poor creature to ſuch pain for that, ſince *coffee might have done as well.* However, her ſon ſucceeded her husband, who having deſir'd a poet to make ſome verſes for him, gave him ſo ſneaking a preſent for them, that the poet, in revenge, made a lampoon, in which he tax'd the king with meanneſs of ſpirit, and ſaid, he could not be of royal extraction, but rather the ſon of a baker. The queen mother having ſeen this libel, went to her ſon, and advis'd him to ſtop the poet's mouth with a magnificent reward, becauſe ſhe found he had diſcover'd an intrigue which ſhe thought had been a ſecret: And ſo confeſs'd to him, that the king her husband having made himſelf impotent by drinking coffee, ſhe had employed a good clever baker to give the kingdom an heir, and that his majeſty was indeed the ſon of the baker. The young king, perhaps having no more brains than his mother, took her advice, and it is to be ſuppos'd, the poet finding him ſo liberal, changing his right father, which he had given him by meer chance, or, it may be, for the ſake of his verſe, made him the ſon of a king, if not of a god. Another queen would have had the poet's throat cut, for ſuch a diſcovery, as her guilt made her believe he had made; but the good lady ſeems to have been merciful, by her compaſſion to the poor horſe. But whether coffee has this effect or not I leave to the phyſicians; tho' I can ſcarce believe that the eaſtern nations would be ſo fond of it, if it were ſo great an enemy to luſt, which they rather love to promote than ſuppreſs.

Tea. Tea is likewiſe much us'd in *Perſia*, and drank after the ſame manner as with us.

After giving this account of their temper and manner of living, our author proceeds to diſcourſe of their marriages, and ſhews, in one or two inſtances, the inconveniencies of polygamy. He tells of two *Perſians* (one of which was of ſuch *Polygamy* quality as to be married to the ſiſter of the king) who were betray'd to death by the jealouſy of their wives, for having married others. But cuſtom has made that practice ſo familiar to them, and the women are kept in ſuch ſubjection in thoſe countries, that they are forced to ſubmit to it. [And it would be well if in countries where polygamy is not allow'd, *every man might have his own wife, and every woman her own husband.*]

Marriage The women are kept ſo cloſe both before and after marriage, that the marriages were made by friends of the parties without their ſeeing one another; and when all matters are agreed, the couple are join'd together privately, for fear of charms and enchantments made at the marriage, of which, he ſays, the *Perſians* are ſo apprehenſive, that all who are preſent at a marriage ceremony are oblig'd to ſtretch out their hands the whole time, leſt they ſhould be tying knots, or uſing ſome incantation to hurt the bridegroom. [It ſeems they have heard of *Virgil's Nectę tribus nodis*, &c.] After they are married in the names of ALLA, of *Mahomet*, and of *Haly*, they are brought, ſeparately, to the bridegroom's houſe, where the bride with her friends are entertain'd apart, and the bridegroom with his in another room. After ſupper, ſhe is brought to the bed chamber, whither the bridegroom comes ſoon after, which is the firſt time that he ſees her. If he finds her a maid, he returns in a ſhort time to his company, and the marriage feaſt continues for three days, and the men and women dance in ſeparate rooms, the muſick playing in a place between both. If the husband's father lives in the ſame houſe with him, the new married woman appears always veil'd before him, nor does ſhe ſpeak to him till he has purchas'd that favour by a preſent.

But beſides this marriage, which cannot be diſſolv'd but by death or divorce, *Marriage for a time.* they have temporary marriages, for the conveniency of travellers, and perſons who ſojourn with them for a certain time. Theſe may have a wife for ſuch a limited term as they agree upon, at the expiration of which, like the temporary wives at *Venice*, they are both at liberty, either to part, or to make a new contract for another term. And the children of this marriage enjoy a ſhare in the man's eſtate, as do alſo the children any man has by his ſlaves, over whom the *Alcoran* gives every muſſulman a full power.

But tho' the men take all freedom to indulge their luſt, they allow no liberties of that kind to their wives, but may, and indeed are oblig'd to kill them if they are falſe to them. Divorces are allow'd to the men almoſt for every cauſe, but to the women for frigidity, which muſt be tried before the judge.

Before the *Perſians* embraced the ſect of *Hali*, they had the ſame cuſtom which obtains ſtill among the Turks, *viz.* that if the husband pronounces thrice, to his *Divorce.* wife, the word *Utzkatala*, i. e. *I renounce thee*; he cannot have her again, without applying to the *Mollah*, who muſt appoint a certain perſon, who is to marry her, lie with her, in preſence of the husband, and then being divorc'd the firſt may marry her again. And they tell a ſtory of one of their ſultans, who, having

having repented of having pronounc'd the *Utzkatala* to his wife, deſir'd her again without the ſhameful cuſtom mention'd; but the prieſts of *Oſman*'s ſect telling him it could not be done, he conſulted one of *Hali*'s followers, who told him, in preſence of the prieſts, that the *Alcoran* contain'd no ſuch precept, but that it was a tradition foiſted in by the Turks, and therefore he gave it, as law, and ſound divinity, that his majeſty might take back his wife. Upon this the ſultan embrac'd *Hali*'s doctrine, and baniſh'd the Turkiſh prieſts.

Soliman comically bit by a derviſe.

But our author tells a pleaſant ſtory of the Turkiſh emperor *Soliman*, who was bit by obſerving this cuſtom. *Soliman* having in ſome freakiſh humour pronounced the *Utzkatala* to his conſort, who was the fineſt woman in the *Seraglio*, ſoon repented it, and to comply with the cuſtom, got a *Dervis* to marry and go to bed to her, as thinking his ſanctity would ſecure him from horns; but the *Dervis* and the lady were ſo well pleas'd with one another, that they both refus'd to be divorced, nor could the ſultan, by law, force them: But to ſecure themſelves againſt his reſentment, they fled to *Perſia*.

The *Perſians* put out their ſons very young, either to trades or to ſchool. Their learning at ſchool conſiſts, for the moſt part, in reading and writing; which laſt they perform upon their knees, having no tables nor desks. Their paper is of ſhreds of ſilk or cotton, ſmooth'd with an oyſter-ſhell to take off the hairs. Their ink is made of the rind of pomgranates, or of galls and vitriol, which they thicken with burnt rice, or barley made into powder, and this paſte they diſſolve in gum-water. Their pens are made of reeds.

Their writing.

The language.

The *Perſian* language has a good deal of *Arabic* in it, but has no affinity with the Turkiſh. Our author ſays, it is not hard to learn, altho' the guttural pronunciation is troubleſome to ſtrangers. But the *Perſian* provinces which lie near *Turky* ſpeak the *Turkiſh* language, which is commonly us'd in *Iſpahan* likewiſe, as the *Perſian* is at the *Mogul*'s court. But they are entire ſtrangers to *Hebrew*, *Greek*, or *Latin*, all their books of *Religion* or *Philoſophy* being written in *Arabic*, which was as current among the learned *Perſians* as *Greek* or *Latin* is in *Europe*; and even the *Perſian* language makes uſe of *Arabian* characters.

Divorces

Colleges.

They have, as we hinted before, ſchools and colleges, where they ſtudy arithmetick, geometry, rhetorick, poetry, natural and moral philoſophy, aſtronomy, aſtrology, law, and phyſick. Their poets are in ſuch eſteem among them, that they are generally invited to entertainments to divert the company. They are ſo very careful of their rhime, that they will repeat the ſame word at the end of the ſecond line, rather than one that has a different ſound; but they are not ſo careful of the meaſure, or number of ſyllables in their verſe.

They have ſeveral books of morality, beſides the *Alcoran* and the commentaries of *Hali* and *Hoſſein*, as likewiſe hiſtories and annals of their country; but they are ſtuffed with romance and legend; but ſome of them in a good ſtile.

Strange medicine

Their phyſicians know nothing of anatomy, and their practice is very groſs and abſurd, endeavouring to cure all diſtempers by contraries; ſo that for a fever, occaſion'd by drinking, they apply'd ice to the ſtomach.

Aſtrology

In former times, the *Perſians* were good aſtronomers, but the ſuperſtition of the court had made that noble ſcience dwindle down to the uncertain ridiculous ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, that they might tell the *Sha* which was the luckieſt day to go a hunting, or to cut his corns. Nor will they bath, or do the commoneſt action, 'till they have conſulted the aſtrologer, which makes that a beneficial trade there. And beſides thoſe, they have abundance of women who pretend to be fortune-tellers, who make uſe of a ſort of dice, and flat boards full of characters, ſignifying demons, angels, ſatyrs, &c. which they apply as they ſee cauſe, as our learned fortune-tellers ſpy events in coffee-grounds, and with equal truth.

Their year.

We have already obſerv'd that the *Perſians* make uſe both of the ſolar and lunar year, the laſt of which is us'd in their feſtivals. About the vernal equinox, their aſtrologers are buſied in making obſervations with the *Aſtralobe*, of the preciſe minute when the ſun enters *Aries*, that is, when it comes preciſely to the equinox; which is their new year's day. Their week begins on ſaturday; ſo that friday is their ſeventh day, or ſabbath, which they call *Adine*, or *Tzumeh*, which ſignifies *the day of the aſſembly*.

Government.

The government of *Perſia*, as may have appear'd from ſeveral inſtances already given, is *abſolute monarchy*, where the *Sha* can order his greateſt miniſter's head to be brought to him, as eaſily as his turbant, without aſſigning any reaſon. They were call'd *Sha*, or *Schach*, which ſignifies *Great Lord*; but the *Grand Signor* calls them *Schich Ogli*, that is, *the ſon or kinſman of the prophet*. Our author ſays, it is a miſtake to think they had the pride to call themſelves *Gods*, for altho' CHODA is the word for GOD, *Chodabende* was as much a proper name, among them as *Theophilus* (which has as much

much of GOD from the *Greek*) is among us.

Their kings call'd Sophi.

The family upon the throne when the ambaſſadors were there, affected to be call'd *Sophi*, from *Sha Sefi*, or *Sofi*, which after him was only an addition to their name, and not a name itſelf. And therefore they are call'd to this day the *Sophi* of *Perſia*.

As the kingdom is hereditary, the ſons of their concubines inherit, if they have no male iſſue by their wives; but the daughters do not ſucceed. [But Mr. *Salmon* ſays, the ſon of a daughter, when there is no nearer heir male, has the preference of thoſe of more remote blood. And this they ground upon the right of *Hali*, who, by marrying *Fatima*, the daughter of *Mahomet*, deriv'd the right to his poſterity.]

The reigning *Sophi*, when the ambaſſadors were in *Perſia*, was *Sha Sefi* II. He was deſcended from *Eider* [whom Sir *Thomas Herbert* calls *Sayet*, and ſays he ſet up for a very holy man, and being of the royal family, but living a private life at *Ardebil*, ſet up for the government of *Perſia* after *Tamerlane* had beaten the Turks out of it.]

Iſhmael Sha.

This *Eider* had one ſon call'd *Iſhmael* who being very young, when his father died, was privately brought up by a near relation of his own, *Pyr-Chalim*, a noble *Perſian*. But as he grew up, he gave ſuch proofs of his underſtanding and courage, that, upon his ſending meſſages to the moſt powerful men of the kingdom, deſiring their aſſiſtance to aſſert his right, and to throw off the Turkiſh yoke, he was, in a ſhort time, join'd by 20,000 men of the province of *Kilan*, which were ſufficient to ſecure him againſt any ſudden attack of the Turks; and his army daily encreaſing, by the addition of ſuch faithful *Perſians*, as were willing to riſque every thing, to deliver their country from a *foreign yoke*, he found himſelf at the head of 300,000 men, with whom he march'd directly to *Ardebil*, from which he beat out the Turks; and then making a progreſs to *Tabris*, *Scamachie*, and other cities poſſeſs'd by the Turks, he chas'd them, in a ſhort time, out of *Perſia*. And to ſecure his country from their farther attempts, he purſued them to their own territories, defeated them in a bloody battle, and having poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Bagdad*, *Baſte*, *Curdiſtan*, and other conſiderable places upon the frontiers, he left good garriſons in them, to ſecure his country from the enemy on that ſide.

Beats the Turks out of Perſia.

Takes Candahar *from the Mogul.*

Having thus ſettled the weſtern dominions, his prudence and courage led him to ſecure the eaſtern part of his empire from the encroachment of the Great Mogul, which he did with the ſame ſucceſs, joining the province of *Candahar* to the dominions of *Perſia*. Being thus ſecure from his two moſt powerful enemies, he ſoon reduc'd *Georgia* to be tributary to him.

This ſucceſs made his name famous in *Europe*; ſo that moſt of the Chriſtian kings congratulated him upon his victories, which was the introduction to their commerce in *Perſia*. This prince dy'd at *Casbin* in the 45th year of his age, juſtly lamented of his ſubjects, who had been freed from ſlavery by his bravery and prudence. To him ſucceeded

Sha Tamas.

Sha Tamas, his ſon, but of a ſoul ſo different from his father, that he ſuffer'd the Grand Signor *Soliman* to recover moſt of what the Turks had loſt by the arms of *Iſhmael*. But whilſt the Turks were beſieging *Sultanie*, which *Tamas* had not the courage to prevent, a great and ſudden fall of rain, about the time of their new year, melted the ſnow on the neighbouring mountains, which occaſion'd ſuch an inundation in the plain, where *Soliman*'s camp was, that he was not only oblig'd to raiſe the ſiege, but withdrew towards his own territories, in which march he receiv'd a defeat by one of the *Perſian* generals near *Britlis*.

This weak prince reign'd 42 years, and dy'd in 1576, at the age of 68. He left eleven ſons; the eldeſt of whom turn'd recluſe, as our author ſays, from the weakneſs of his eyes. [But Sir *Thomas Herbert* tells us he was forced to retire to *Georgia* by the prevailing faction of his ſecond brother *Iſhmael*, fomented by his Amazonian ſiſter *Peria-Concona*] However it was, *Iſhmael* mounted the throne; but his cruelty ruin'd him; for, having murder'd all his brothers, except *Mahomet*, who was out of his reach, beſides a great number of the moſt conſiderable men of the kingdom, whom he put to death; the ſiſter above-mention'd, not thinking herſelf ſafe, contriv'd to put him out of the way, before he had reign'd a year, but after what manner is not told.

Iſhmael II.

Upon the death of *Iſhmael*, the *Perſians* ſent meſſengers to *Mahomet*, whom, from his recluſe life, they call'd *Codabendi, the ſervant of* GOD. He undertook the government, but, upon condition, that they ſhould firſt put *Peria Concona* to death, as the murdereſs of two of his brothers; which being executed, he mounted the throne, but govern'd with ſo much weakneſs, that both *Turks* and *Tartars* made a prey of the *Perſian* provinces which lay contiguous to them.

Mahomet Chodabendi.

Mahomet dying in 1585, left three ſons, *Emer Hemſe*, *Iſhmael*, and *Abas*. The eldeſt coming to the crown, held it but eight months, being murder'd by his brother

brother *Iſhmael*, who was paid in his own coin, being put to death after a ſhorter reign, at the inſtigation of *Abas*, who ſucceeded him with a general applauſe.

Abas. *Sha Abas* being but young, at his firſt acceſſion to the throne, ſhew'd a ſpirit above his years. The firſt inſtance of it was in putting *Murſchid-Culi-Chan* to death, for having reproach'd him, in open council, for his ignorance and want of experience.

His chief care was to recover the provinces taken by the *Tartars* and *Turks*, during the two laſt inglorious reigns. In order to this, he firſt march'd againſt the *Tartars*, and in three years time, not only beat them out of *Perſia*, but, purſuing his victory, he defeated *Abdallah*, prince of the *Usbec Tartars*, taking himſelf, with his three ſons and his brother, priſoners, and put them all to death in cool blood; and ſo order'd his frontiers, that he ſecur'd himſelf againſt any attempts from that quarter.

Beats the Tartars.

In the mean time the Turks, being ſecure, by his diſtance from them, and his being otherwiſe employ'd, liv'd very careleſly at *Tabris*, and the provinces adjacent. *Abas* having intelligence of this, march'd with a body of the choiceſt troops he had, and made ſuch expedition, that, in ſix days, he perform'd a march which uſually coſt eighteen, and ſurprizing a party of *Turks* at a paſs within four miles of *Tabris*, which ought to have been better defended, he ſate down before the city, before they knew that he had left *Iſpahan*, which he had made the ſeat of the empire. The Turks, being aſtoniſh'd at his diligence, made but a weak defence; ſo that having taken priſoner the governor of the place, in a ſally he had made, he ſoon carried the town, and, in a month after, the citadel, which he demoliſh'd. Then he proceeded to other cities of which the *Turks* were poſſeſs'd, taking ſome, and having others evacuated upon the news of his approach. Having ſettled his garriſons in ſuch cities as he thought proper, he march'd to the provinces about *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, and, with wonderful diligence, attended with proportionable ſucceſs, he recover'd *Scamachie*, *Skirvan*, and *Kilan*. The city of *Derbent* put the Turkiſh garriſon to the ſword, and gave themſelves up to *Abas*. And thus he became maſter of all that had been taken from *Perſia* in his father's or grandfather's reigns, and return'd triumphant to *Iſpahan*.

And then the Turks out of Perſia.

But the Grand Signor being unwilling to loſe his intereſt in *Perſia*, ſent a numerous army, ſaid to conſiſt of no leſs than 500,000 men to the frontiers of *Perſia*; but *Abas* took ſuch care to preſerve his dominions, that this great multitude perform'd very little. The *Perſians* daily cutting them off in skirmiſhes, and at laſt coming to a battle, which was fought obſtinately, for a whole day, on both ſides, but being parted by the night, the Turks retreated, and, being purſu'd by *Abas*, ſuffer'd conſiderably.

Several other armies were ſent into *Perſia* afterwards, during *Abas*'s reign, with various ſucceſs; but, in the mean, *Abas* kept his ground, and ſometimes by treaties, and ſometimes by arms, kept his dominions entire.

In many of the expeditions againſt the Turks, his eldeſt ſon *Sefi Mirzah* had ſignalized himſelf, ſo as to be the darling both of his father and the kingdom. But *Abas* being naturally of a cruel diſpoſition, 20 years peace with his enemies abroad had led him to do many ungracious things at home, which exaſperated the Chans ſo much againſt him, that they were ready for a rebellion. To this end, a paper was ſecretly convey'd into *Sefi*'s chamber, telling him, that if he would conſent to his own happineſs, a way towards his being ſet upon the throne was eaſy. The *Mirza* being ſhock'd at the thought of any attempt againſt his father, carried the paper immediately to him, with all the proteſtations of his own loyalty; but the old jealous king, altho' he applauded his ſon's conduct, became ſo diſtruſtful of him, that he was in continual fear of him, and this temper being improv'd by a ſet of ſycophants, who are commonly about kings, he reſolv'd to put him to death.

He grows jealous of his ſon.

This was no ſooner determin'd, but he charg'd *Cartſchuki Chan* with the execution of it; but the old gentleman, throwing himſelf at the king's feet, beg'd to be excus'd, telling him he might take his own head, which he would offer him rather than embrue his hands in the blood of the royal family. But all that were about him were not ſo honeſt, for *Bebut-Beg* undertook it, and meeting *Sephi* coming from the bagnio, with only one page, he told him, it was the king's pleaſure he ſhould die. The poor prince, lifting up his eyes to heaven, cry'd out, *Good* GOD! *what have I done to deſerve this diſgrace? Curſe on the traitor who is the occaſion of it. But ſince it is* GOD's *will, his and the king's will be done.* As he ended theſe words, the obſequious butcher ſtab'd the brave youth twice with his dagger, ſo that he drop'd down dead. *Bebut* order'd the body to be caſt into a fen at ſome diſtance from the place, leſt the ſight of it ſhould occaſion an inſurrection.

And cauſes him to be mur-der'd.

But his precaution was to no purpoſe; for the populace were no ſooner inform'd of his death, but they aſſembled in a tumultuous

multuous manner before the palace gate, threatening to force it, unless the advisers and executer of the murder were given up to their revenge: And the prince's mother ran, like a mad woman, to the *Sha*'s apartment, and not only reproach'd him with having depriv'd the kingdom of so worthy an heir, but flew at his face with her nails; all which the *Sophi* (who already repented his rash order) suffer'd without resentment, only excusing himself, with tears in his eyes, by saying, that he had been inform'd *that his son was engag'd in a conspiracy against his life.* And to shew the sincerity of his repentance, he not only kept a whole month's fast, eating nothing but what was absolutely necessary to sustain his life; but having call'd those lords, who had fomented his jealousy, to a supper, he made them all be poison'd, and staid with them till the last of them expir'd before his face. And as to *Bebut*, he commanded him to bring him the head of his own son, which he was to cut off with his own hand; as was done accordingly; the king told him, as he was entring the room with the head in his hand, *Now thou mayst judge of a father's grief for the murther of his son by thy hand; go and comfort thyself, that, in this, thou art equal with the king thy master.* But *Bebut* was afterwards murder'd by his own slaves.

Of which he repents too late.

Sha Abas had two sons yet alive; but they were incapable of succeeding, because he had, from his jealousy of power, caus'd their eyes to be burnt out, before the death of *Sefi*. So that there now remain'd, of his issue, only *Sain Mirzah*, the son of *Sefi*, who shewing all the marks of an heroick spirit, gave such umbrage to *Abas*, that he order'd him a dose of opium, every day, about the bigness of a pea, to make him less lively; but his mother (who, probably, at that time, was in great esteem among the *Persians*, as having been the wife of their darling prince, and likely to be the queen mother) gave the child treacle instead of opium.

In the mean time, the *Georgians* rebell'd, and several Chans, who had been employ'd against them, having been unsuccessful, for which some of their heads had been chop'd off, *Sha Abas* went in person, against them, and, as he enter'd the country, swore, that he would sell the *Georgians* at an *Abas* a head. After he had subdued that country, one of his soldiers came boldly to him with two *Abas*'s, or half a crown in his hand, and putting him in mind of his oath, demanded two handsome girls he had pick'd out to be given him for his money, which the king granted; and it was at this time, that so many *Georgian* Christians were transplanted to *Ispahan*.

Sha Abas *reduces* Georgia.

Not long after this, having had an offer of the surrender of *Babylon* by the Turkish governor, he march'd thither with an army; but the governor not keeping his word, *Abas* took it by storm, and put the governor to death. But two years after, the Grand Signor sending a great army to recover that city, *Abas* threw himself into it, with a considerable re-inforcement, leaving the charge of his army with *Chartscuki Chan*, who, with a small body of good troops, so haras'd the Turks, for six months, that they were forced to raise the siege, and retire to their own territories; and, in their retreat, *Cartscuki* fell upon them, and, after a great slaughter, put them to flight, and return'd triumphant to *Babylon*. *Abas* was so well pleas'd with this general's conduct, that he went out of the city to meet him, and as soon as he saw him, he alighted from his horse, and oblig'd the general to mount his, he himself following him a-foot into the city.

And beats the Turks near Babylon.

This prince, in the year 1622, took the city of *Ormus* from the *Portugueses*, by the assistance of the *English*, as has been observ'd already, and demolish'd their fortification upon that island. *Abas* liv'd seven years after the taking of *Ormus*; and, had it not been for some cruelties in his reign, and especially towards his own children, he might have been said to have been one of the best, as well as most glorious, *Persian* monarchs.

Takes Ormus by the assistance of the English.

In the year 1629, finding himself attack'd by a distemper which he foresaw would carry him off, he sent for four of his chief officers of state, and made them promise to set *Sain Mirzah*, his grandson, upon the throne, and, having given directions about his funeral, he order'd that his death should be conceal'd, 'till his grandson was crown'd, and, to that end, he made them promise to set his dead body in a chair of state, at the end of the hall of justice, to be seen at a distance by such as were desirous. This order was so well executed, that his death was conceal'd for six weeks. He died in the 65th year of his age, after he had reign'd 45 years. He was a man of wisdom and courage, successful in his wars, and only blameable for having suffer'd his jealousy of power to fully his life by cruelties, which did not seem to be natural to him. And had the government of *Persia* been so happy, that no person could have suffered for any pretended crime, without a fair trial, *Sefi Mirzah* had not lost his life, nor, perhaps, his brothers their eyes, and *Sha Abas* had been freed from that remorse which the murther of his beloved son occasion'd to him. But with all his faults his

The death of Abas.

his memory was had in great veneration among the *Perſians* when the ambaſſadors were at *Iſpahan*.

As ſoon as he was dead at *Ferabath*, his body was expos'd in the hall of juſtice as he had order'd, and in the mean time *Sejul Chan*, one of the lords to whom he had given his inſtructions, haſted to *Iſpahan*, where he communicated his buſineſs to the governor of the palace, and took him along with him to the apartment of the young prince, to whom they found it difficult to have acceſs, his mother having denied him entrance for fear of her ſon's life. But they threatening to force their paſſage, ſhe at laſt brought him out, with theſe words, *Go, child, follow thy father, thy murderers are at hand.* But how agreeably was ſhe ſurpriz'd when ſhe ſaw them kiſs his feet, and carry him in great ſtate to be crown'd. He took the name of *Sefi*, as his grandfather had deſir'd, in memory of the ſon whom he had raſhly put to death.

Sefi's coronation.

This new king, altho' very young at his coronation, ſoon gave proofs of a cruel temper, for he made a brother of his, by the father, to loſe his eyes, and order'd his two blind uncles to be thrown over a rock, becauſe they were uſeleſs to the world. *Iſa Chan*, who had married his aunt, had three ſons by her; that lady having very imprudently ſaid, that one of her ſons might be king of *Perſia*, *Sha Sefi* ſent for the heads of all the three, and preſented them to their mother at table, and ſoon after made her husband loſe his head.

His cruelty,

But his killing *Sejul Chan*, who had been very faithful to *Abas*, and inſtrumental in raiſing him to the throne, was a piece of baſe ingratitude, as well as barbarous cruelty. He was a perſon much eſteem'd, having perform'd ſeveral ſervices to the crown with much honour. When he was ſent ambaſſador to the *Mogul*'s court by *Sha Abas*, he refus'd to perform the *Size Da*, which was requir'd of him; and when neither rewards nor threatenings could prevail with him to ſhew that ſervile homage to the *Mogul*, they made uſe of a contrivance which they thought would oblige him to bow low, at leaſt, as he approach'd the Mogul. To that intent, they erected a paliſade with a door over againſt the throne. This door was deſignedly made ſo low, that he could not paſs it without bowing his head half way to the ground. But the *Chan*, being aware of the deſign, enter'd the door backwards, and did not turn to the throne 'till he could ſtand upright; which irreverence ſo exaſperated the *Mogul*, that probably the terror of *Sha Abas*'s name was the only thing that ſav'd him.

This *Sejul Chan*, who, as we have ſaid, was the perſon who ſet *Sefi* upon the throne, diſcover'd a conſpiracy forming againſt him in 1632, whilſt he was encamp'd near *Bagdad*, to which the *Turks* had laid ſiege. The *Chan* warn'd the *Sha* of it, adviſing him to cut off the chiefs of the conſpirators, whom he nam'd to him. The king ſaid he lik'd his counſel, and to ſhew him his approving it, he would begin with him, becauſe he knew he had great authority among them. But *Sejul* appeas'd him by his prudence for that time, altho' it was a ſhort reprieve; for the next morning finding the *Chan* in diſcourſe with his mother, who had follow'd him in this expedition, he was ſo incens'd at it, that he killed him with his own hand.

in killing many lords.

This barbarous Prince treated many of the *Chans* and other officers of ſtate in the ſame manner, ſo that, to get rid of him, a doſe of poiſon was given him, but he eſcaped dying that time, at the expence of a two months ſickneſs. Upon his recovery, a woman of the *Serraglio*, who had fallen out with her miſtreſs, informed him that the ladies had prepar'd the poiſon, and that his aunt *Iſa Chan*'s widow had adminiſter'd it. Upon this information, he ordered a pit to be dug in the garden, near the *Serraglio*, wherein forty ladies with their attendants were buried alive; and among them, it was thought his own mother was one; for it was given out at the ſame time, that ſhe was dead of the plague.

and ladies;

and, as was ſaid, his own mother.

Tho' his arms were ſucceſsful in the beginning of his reign, by the good conduct of his grandfather's generals, yet having killed ſome of them, and diſgraced others, his fortune deſerted him, and the *Turks* took the city of *Babylon*, after the *Perſians* had been poſſeſt of it 26 years. The only good thing he ever did, was his releaſing 7000 *Georgians*, whom *Sha Abas* had made ſlaves at *Ferabat*. His chief pleaſures were drinking, hunting, and women; the adminiſtration of publick affairs being no part of his care, but left intirely to his miniſters.

He had but three wives, but, to ballance the ſmalneſs of the number, he had 300 concubines: It being the cuſtom of the *Chans* or governors, to make preſents to the king, of all the handſome maids they can pick up, in order to gain or recover his favour. Some of thoſe ladies he graciouſly beſtows upon the *Chans*, or other favourites, after he has had them two or three nights.

Sha Sefi, having render'd himſelf inſupportable, by his tyranny, was taken off, in the year, 1642; as was ſaid, by poiſon, which they had taken care to make ſtronger than the firſt. [He came to the

His death

crown at the age of 15, and died at 28, having reign'd 13 years.] He was ſucceeded by his ſon, who was then but 13 years of age. But this did not happen till after the ambaſſadors were gone.

The government of Perſia.

Our author having given this account of the royal family, proceeds to ſpeak of the manner of governing the provinces, which, he tells us, are govern'd by *Chans*, *Sultans*, *Calenters*, *Darugas*, *Viſiers*, and *Caucha's*. But it is obſervable that none of theſe poſts, nor indeed any preferments in *Perſia* go by blood, or inheritance, but any man in the whole empire has a chance to raiſe himſelf to the firſt preferments, by virtue and merit; and if any ſon ſucceeds to his father in any imployment or office, it muſt be becauſe he has made himſelf remarkable by ſerving his king or country to good purpoſe, in his father's life time.

Chans *and* Sultans.

The *Chans*, which is the ſame with *Cham* or *Chaun*, and ſignifies, *a powerful lord*, have the government of the provinces, many of which are of ſo great extent, that their dominions are as large as ſeveral kingdoms, and indeed were diſtinct kingdoms in former times. Some provinces call their governors *Sultans*, but I do not find that there is any difference between a *Chan* and a *Sultan* as to power and juriſdiction, neither the one nor the other being ſubject to any but the *Sha* or king of *Perſia*.

Their government is for life, unleſs ſuch complaints are made againſt them at court, that the king thinks fit to recall them; but, even in that caſe, their poſts laſt as long as they live, generally ſpeaking, for ſuch complaints as deſerve their being recalled, are, for the moſt part, puniſhed by cutting off their heads.

The proper buſineſs of ſuch governors is the adminiſtration of juſtice in the province, and keeping ſuch a number of troops a foot, and ready upon the leaſt warning. And this is abſolutely neceſſary in all the provinces, but eſpecially in thoſe that are neareſt to the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, or the great *Mogul*, from any of which they are always liable to invaſions, and are generally at war with either one or other of them. So that the *Chans* make frequent reviews of their quota of ſoldiers, and take care that their horſes and arms are in good order. By this method, they can raiſe an army of 40,000 or 50,900 horſe in a very ſhort time, in caſe of a ſudden invaſion; and if the king has advice of any deſign upon his frontiers, he can, by ſummoning 3 or 4 *Chans* which lye moſt convenient, bring an army of 200,000 horſe into the field in as long time as they can march to the Rendevouz; and they are paid out of the ordinary revenue of the province.

Calenter *and* Fiſier.

The next officer in the provinces, is the *Calenter*, who is alſo called *Viſier*, whoſe buſineſs is to inſpect the king's demeſns and to gather the revenues of the crown. This officer is not ſubject, as to his poſt, to the *Chan*, but only to the prime miniſter, who is likewiſe lord treaſurer.

Daruga *and*

But as the *Perſian* provinces contain many cities and towns, in every one of which they have governors, thoſe inferior officers have different names, and are ſubject to the *Chan* or governor of the province. He who has the inſpection of a city, is called the *Daruga* of ſuch a city, and the governors of ſmall towns or villages are called *Cauchas*. But there are ſeveral cities in *Perſia*, whoſe *Darugas* are not ſubject to the *Chan* or governor of the provinces to which they belong, ſuch as *Casbin*, *Iſpahan*, *Kirman*, *Ormus*, and ſome others. Theſe by a particular priviledge, are not oblig'd to maintain troops, but, in lieu of that, they pay a conſtant tax.

Cauchas.

Their forces.

The *Perſians* have no infantry, but their horſe are divided into two kinds, which are like our horſe and dragoons. The firſt, who are properly horſe, have no other weapons but darts and javelines; the others, who are armed with muskets, do the ſame ſervice as the foot with us. The forces of each *Chan*, if they are not commanded by himſelf, are led by a *Sedar*, or general, *Kurtſibaſchi*, or one who commands 10,000; a *Minbaſchi*, or colonel, who has the commiſſion of 1000; a *Jusbaſchi*, or captain of 100; and the *Ohnbaſchi*, or corporal, whoſe command is 10 horſe. The pay of a horſe-man is 300 crowns a year, and a dragoon 200. But all the expence is paid by the *Chan* out of the revenue of the province; and the ſoldiers live at home in time of peace, except at certain times for muſters or reviews.

The great officers of the crown are theſe following, moſt of whom conſtantly attend the court.

Eatemad Dowlet, *or firſt miniſter.*

The *Eatemad Doulet* or lord chancellor, is always firſt miniſter, and lord treaſurer. All orders for the provinces, thro' the whole dominions of *Perſia*, are counterſign'd by him; and, in moſt reigns, the prime miniſter exerciſes the ſupreme authority, whilſt the king drinks his bottle, lies with his women, goes a hunting or hawking, and now and then orders the heads of his beſt friends to be brought to him without any fault.

Kurtſi-baſchi, *or general of horſe.*

The *Kurtſibaſchi*, or commander in chief of 10,000 horſe, which are always in pay, where the court is, is reckon'd, by our author, the next officer to the firſt miniſter, becauſe he muſt always be at hand to perform orders. But I do not find

find that the beheading orders are given to this officer more than to any other about court; but the firſt that comes in his majeſty's way is executioner.

Meheter *or lord chamberlain.*

The *Meheter*, or lord chamberlain, is always near the king's perſon, and conſequently has frequent opportunities of inſinuating himſelf unto his favour.

Wakenhuis *or ſecretary of ſtate.*

The *Wakenhuis*, or ſecretary of ſtate, keeps forty clerks under him; for, beſides the buſineſs proper to his office as ſecretary, he keeps an account of the king's revenue.

Divan-Beg *or lord chief juſtice.*

The *Divanbeki* or *Divan-Beg*, is the chief judge of the kingdom, and eſpecially in criminal cauſes. He keeps his courts at the hall in the outer court of the palace, call'd the *Divan Chane*. He is aſſiſted by other judges, ſome ſecular and ſome eccleſiaſtical.

Kularagaſi, *or general of ſlaves.*

The *Kularagaſi*, or commander of the ſlaves, of whom there are 8000 kept in conſtant pay, *Kulam* in their language ſignifying *Slaves*. Theſe have the ſame pay with the *Kurtzi*, but not the ſame priviledges.

Eiſchikagaſi, *or lord ſteward.*

The *Eiſchikagaſi-baſchi*, is lord high ſteward, who has forty *Eiſchikagaſi*'s under him, who wait, in their turns, five at a time. Their poſt is at the door of the *Sha*'s apartment. The *Baſchi* himſelf carries a ſtaff which is call'd *Dekenek*. He always ſtands before the king at table to watch his motions, and receive his orders. He is likewiſe concerned in introducing ambaſſadors.

Jeſaul Scebet *or maſter of ceremonies.*

The *Jeſaul Scebet*, or maſter of ceremonies, is employed in placing the gueſts at the king's tables, or at publick audiences, and eſpecially ſtrangers, becauſe the *Perſians* know their own places.

Naſir, *or controller.*

The *Naſir* or controller of the houſhold, has likewiſe the poſt of *Kerek Jerac* or *Purveyor General*.

Dawatter, *or ſecretary of the cloſet.*

The *Dawatter*, or ſecretary of the cloſet, is ſo called from *Dawat*, i. e. *Inkhorn*, his chief badge being the ink-horn, which he preſents to the king for ſigning or ſealing any orders or commiſſions: For, they do not ſeal in wax, but by dipping the ſeal in ink, and preſſing it upon the paper. The king carries his ſeal about his neck in a ſtring.

Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral other officers of great account in the king's houſe, ſuch as the *maſter of the ſtables*; the *chief falconer*; the *chief huntſman*; the *grand marſhal*, whoſe buſineſs it is to march before the king, and clear the way, with a ſtaff in his hand, and ſeveral under-marſhals like harbingers before him. And thoſe likewiſe ſerve, upon other occaſions, to arreſt ſtate-priſoners.

There were alſo officers of leſs conſideration belonging to the court; ſuch as the *Carver*, called the *Suffretzi*; the *Abdar*, or he who preſented water to the king, which he kept ſealed up in a jar for his drinking; one who kept his ſhoes which he puts off in the antichamber; the overſeers of his granaries; the *Nehemanders*, who conduct ambaſſadors, from one province to another, as they go and return; beſides the officers of the kitchen, cellars, ſtables, bake-houſe, &c. all which have their ſeveral poſts with ſalaries belonging to them.

The crown revenues.

To diſcharge all theſe ſalaries, there muſt be a conſiderable revenue. Our author ſays it is computed to be eight millions of gold. And indeed it cannot be leſs, conſidering the vaſt extent of territory in *Perſia*, in every province of which the crown has demeſnes, all the profits of which come into the exchequer, except what the collectors ſlip aſide for their own uſe; beſides all the taxes, upon bridges, cattle, merchandize of all kinds, rivers, ſtoves, publick houſes, eſpecially the *Caravanſeras*, of which there are 25 at *Iſpahan*, which pay 5000 crowns a-year each. The *Armenian* Chriſtians pay two crowns a-head, and all people who are not natives of *Perſia*, and Mahometans, pay almoſt as much. And if we add to this, the vaſt preſents made every year for audience, and eſpecially upon their *Naurus*, or new year, we may conclude the king's ordinary revenue to be a vaſt ſum, not reckoning the frequent confiſcations of ſuch as are in diſgrace, which amount to a good deal of money.

The puniſhments.

The puniſhments inflicted for capital crimes are generally cutting off the head; but when they are ſhort of death, and yet corporal, they cut off the noſe, ears, hands, and feet: And for this they have no fix'd executioner, but it is done by any inferior officer; and if it be the king's order, the greateſt miniſter of ſtate muſt perform the hangman's office, and ſometimes his majeſty himſelf does them the honour to cut off noſes and ears, and they are much oblig'd to him for ſparing the wind-pipe. But ſometimes they order torturing pains, which ſavour of more inhumanity; ſuch as, tying them between boards, and ſawing them through; taking pieces out of their fleſh, and obliging them to eat them, &c.

The difference between the Turks *and* Perſians *in religion.*

Our author here gives an account of the difference between the *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* religion, which did not break out before the year 1363, when the ſaint of *Ardebil* ſet up *Hali* in oppoſition to *Oſman*. And to their common creed, *there is but one* GOD, *and* Mahomet *the prophet of* GOD, he added theſe words, *and* Hali, *the co-adjutor, and lieutenant, of* GOD. And he farther pretended, that the *Alcoran* was deſigned to have been ſent

ſent to *Hali*, but by the angel *Gabriel*'s miſtake, it was deliver'd to *Mahomet*. This ſetting *Hali* up above *Mahomet*, as ſome of the *Perſians* do, and above *Oſman*, as they all do, created an irreconcileable difference and ſchiſm between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, which continues to this day, and has occaſion'd difference of ceremonies too, as it generally happens in all ſchiſms in religion, where the ſectaries endeavour to go as far as they can, rather than be thought like thoſe they have left. One great difference between the two religions is about their ſaints; the *Perſians* holding 12 of the poſterity of *Hali*, as ſuch, and the *Turks* only allowing *Hali* himſelf among the canoniz'd. And the *Abdallahs* among the *Perſians*, who are a ſort of religious beggars, go about the country, relating ridiculous ſtories of the *Turkiſh* ſaints, and extolling the ſucceſſors of *Hali*. But this ſet of vagrants are ſo debauch'd, that they will not let them lodge in their houſes, but have places near the moſchs for them to lie in, whither they ſend them proviſions. Our author tells a ſtory of one of thoſe itinerant preachers, which happen'd whilſt the ambaſſadors were at *Ardebil*. One of them got into a peaſant's houſe, whilſt the husband was gone to milk the cows, and finding the wife very handſome, he ſolicited her to go to bed with him; which ſhe, being afraid of him, promis'd to yield to; but pretending to go into another room to provide ſomething for ſupper, ſhe ſhut herſelf in, and barricado'd the door. The hypocrite endeavour'd to break open the door, but finding it too ſtrong for him, he threatened to kill her child unleſs ſhe would open it: But ſhe ſtill refuſing to give him acceſs, the ſanctified villain cut the child in four pieces, and after he had done, ſtrove to get in, at a hole he had made by the ſide of the door; but his body being too bulky to get through, the woman, finding a ploughſhare in the room where ſhe was, being not only animated by her own vertue, but enrag'd by the murder of her child, ſhe couragiouſly ſtruck him on the neck with the weapon ſhe had got, and repeating her blows upon his head and neck, kill'd him. Her husband, coming home ſoon after, call'd in ſome of his neighbours, to ſee the tragick ſcene; to whom the poor woman told the ſtory, adding that after ſhe had given him the firſt ſtroke, he beg'd her to ſpare his life, and promis'd her a ſum of money; and when the husband had ſearch'd his clouted coat, he found about him 800 *Chequins* in gold quilted in it, which amounted to near 400 *l. Engliſh*. So that there being no remedy for what was paſt, they burn'd his body, and kept the thing quiet, for fear of revenge from ſome of the ſame holy crew.

The Abdallahs.

A tragical ſtory of one of the Abdallas.

Nothing material farther remains of our author's obſervations upon *Perſia*, but the burying of their dead, which we ſhall give in a few words. As ſoon as any one dies, they waſh the body; if it be a perſon of condition, there is a place in his houſe appointed for that purpoſe, but if an ordinary perſon, the body is carried, before it is quite cold, to a common bath appropriated for dead bodies, where they waſh it all over; after which they ſtop all the cavities of it with cotton, leſt the two angels, who are to examine his life, after he is laid in the grave, ſhould be defil'd by any effluvia from the body. Then they put upon it a clean ſhirt, and wrapping it in a calico ſheet, carry it to the grave, which is a vault kept for the dead, the prieſt reading ſome part of the *Alchoran*, and after the corps is depoſited, all preſent retire ſeven ſteps from the grave, to give time for the angels, *Nekir* and *Munkir*, to enquire into the behaviour of the deceas'd in his life-time. They fancy that thoſe angels bring the ſoul of the perſon to the grave, and then ask ſuch queſtions as they think fit; and if the dead make ſuch anſwers as a good man would do, they take the ſoul along with them to a place of happineſs. After the prieſt has given ſufficient time for this imaginary ſcrutiny, he returns to the vault, and reading another portion of the *Alcoran*, they all depart. The people of condition are buried with great pomp, having their bow and quiver, with other arms, carried in ſtate before them, as alſo their turbants, with banners diſplay'd upon long poles, and plumes of different ſorts of feathers, the perſons who carry them dancing to muſick as they go along. The corps, having been waſh'd at home, is carried in a coffin, upon people's ſhoulders, and ſo put in a vault, as before deſcrib'd.

Burial of the dead in Perſia.

Thus I have given a ſhort abſtract of *Olearius*'s obſervations of the kingdom of *Perſia*. I have chang'd the order in which I found them in ſome particulars, and have skip'd over others, which had been taken notice of in other places. We ſhall now return to the ambaſſadors, who had taken their audience of leave of the king of *Perſia*, as has been already obſerv'd.

They left *Iſpahan*, *Dec.* 21, 1637, but four of their retinue ſtaid behind, having taken ſhelter in ALLA *Capi*, whether diſguſted at *Bruyman*'s ill uſage, or afraid of the *Sha*'s revenging himſelf of them all, for the inſolence of that brute. Some *French* merchants accompanied them out of town three leagues, and there took their leave of them, as did

The ambaſſadors leave Iſpahan.

likewiſe Mr. *Mandelſloe*, who had got leave from the duke of *Holſtein* to make a farther progreſs thro' the *Indies*.

They go to Kaſchan.

Upon the 27th they arriv'd at *Kaſchan*, where they were forced to ſtay four days to adjuſt a quarrel between *Bruyman* and the *Nehemander*, which laſt threatened to leave them upon the inſults he met with from the former, but that *Cruſius* got them reconcil'd. They ſet out from thence *Jan.* 1, and the 3d arriv'd at *Kom*, where they were entertain'd ſome days by their *Nehemander*, and a *Muſcovite* envoy, who was there at that time. Leaving this place, they paſs'd by the mountains of *Kiliſſim*, which ſerve all *Perſia* with ſalt, and ſalt petre, which are dug out of them.

Kom.

After having been refus'd entrance in ſome villages, for the inſults which *Bruyman* had offer'd, as they came that way before, they came to *Casbin* on the 10th of *January*, where they ſtaid nine days to be provided of freſh horſes, and other beaſts for carriage. In this city, near their lodgings, there was a tree full of nails and pebbles ſtuck into it, which, they ſaid, cured the tooth-ach, by rubbing the tooth againſt them, and giving alms to a religious man who takes care of it.

Casbin.

Departing from *Casbin*, upon the 20th, and leaving *Sultanie* and *Ardebil* on their left hand, they march'd towards the province of *Kilan*, the *Vice Daruga* of *Casbin* going along with them to *Tritzelli*, about eight leagues from *Casbin*, through a fruitful country. And the 22d they paſs'd through a country of different colour'd ground, of red, yellow, green, and blue, very agreeable to the ſight, through which there runs a ſmall river, with ſuch windings, that they croſs'd it 30 times that day; and, in the evening paſs'd the *Senderout*, at a bridge between two mountains, and arriv'd at *Kurtſibaſchi*, a village, which takes its name from a colonel of horſe, who was owner of it.

Tritzelli.

Kurtzibaſchi.

The 23d they paſs'd by the *Fauces Hyrcaniæ*, or *Pylas*. This is the entry to the province of *Kilan*, and is a narrow paſs, where two rivers meet, and under the name of *Iſparuth*, runs through that province to the *Caſpian* ſea. There is a bridge over this united river, conſiſting of ſix arches, in all which there are rooms built for a *Caravanſera*. As ſoon as they had paſs'd the bridge, the road divided, one going to *Ardebil*, which they held upon the left hand, and took the other, which in a ſhort time brought them to a paſs not unlike that of the *Alps*, where they had a prodigious rock on one ſide, and a frightful precipice on the other, the road being ſo narrow, that they were glad to lead their horſes and loaded camels along.

A narrow road.

For ſome days before they had travell'd through ſnow; but as ſoon as they had paſs'd this narrow way, and come to the top of the hill, they ſaw, before them, the pleaſanteſt country in the world, full of olive, cypreſs, box, and orange trees; and whereas they had found it very cold in the morning, it was hot before night, and they pelted one another with oranges for diverſion. They came that night to *Pile-rubar*, at the north foot of the hill, which made an eaſy deſcent. This village was ſituated on the river *Iſparuth*, and altho' the houſes were ſmall, the gardens made amends by their number and beauty. This was the firſt village in the province of *Kilan*, which may not only be call'd the paradiſe of *Perſia*, but of the world; and abounds with ſilk, oyl, wine, rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, and many other ſorts of fruit. The vines there are as big as a man's waiſt. They have great plenty of cattle, veniſon, wild fowl and tame; and ſeveral rivers not very large, and the *Caſpian* ſea furniſhes them with variety of fiſh. The extraordinary fruitfulneſs and agreeable look of this province, occaſion'd *Abas* to build the city of *Ferabat*, or *Fer-Abas*, in it, where he died, as we have ſaid. And the only inconvenience is, that there are ſo many rivulets, come from the mountains, which ſurround *Kilan*, like an amphitheatre, that that part of it near the *Caſpian* ſea, is marſhy ground, but *Sha Abas* took care to have excellent roads made quite croſs the province, even in the moſt fenny parts of it.

Pile-rubar.

The province of Kilan.

This province was, in former times, under its own kings, nor dares the *Sha* exerciſe his abſolute authority over it, for fear of a revolt, for they are a brave, obſtinate people, and having all things neceſſary for life, within themſelves, and being inacceſſible, except in four places, they could defend their country from all the force of *Perſia*, if they ſhould rebel. *Sha Abas* had re-united it to his crown, but not without great difficulty; for *Karib*, of the race of their old kings, with 14000 men, kept the city of *Reſcht*, againſt 40,000, and might ſtill have done ſo, if his having beaten the *Sha*'s forces in one attack, had not made him ſo ſecure, that he neglected diſcipline, allowing his army to diſperſe themſelves thro' the adjacent villages, which *Abas* having intelligence of, ſent the ſeveral Chans with a more powerful force than before, who having ſurpriz'd the *Kilans*, defeated them, and *Karib* flying was diſcover'd by a ſoldier of the *Sha*'s, to whom he gave a ſum of money to change clothes with him;

Reduc'd by Abas.

him; but the fellow, after having receiv'd the bribe betrayed him, and carried him priſoner to the *Sha* to *Casbin*, who very ungenerouſly and barbarouſly made his hands and feet be ſhod like a horſe, and then had him tied to a pole, in the market place, and ſhot to death with arrows, he himſelf ſhooting the firſt.

As it was only one part of the province, call'd the *Kileks*, which had adher'd to *Karib*, the *Sha* diſarm'd them only, allowing them no other weapon but a ſhort bill-hook. The others, call'd the *Thaliſch*, not having taken arms, but owning *Abas* for their ſovereign, had the privileges they formerly enjoyed. The women of this province are reckoned the handſomeſt in *Perſia*. They go with their faces uncover'd, and their hair in treſſes. Their upper garments are ſo ſhort before, that their ſmocks are ſeen, and they are bare-footed for the moſt part, or wear ſandals.

Reſcht. Upon the 25th of *January* the ambaſſadors arriv'd at *Reſcht*, having travell'd through a moſt pleaſant country, where the water of the river was convey'd through canals cut to water their ground. This city is the capital of the province, and is of a large circuit, but of no ſtrength, being open on all ſides, but ſo full of trees, that our *Europeans* were in the ſtreets before they perceiv'd it was a town. It lies in 38 degrees, about two leagues from the ſea. Proviſions are very cheap there, as they found from the plentiful proviſions their *Nehemander* gave them. The governor was a *Daruga*, call'd *Alyculi Beg*. Here they ſtaid five days, and ſaw the monument which *Sha Abas* had built upon the ſpot of ground where *Bebul* had ſlain *Sefi Mirzah*, before related.

They left this city on the 30th of *January*, and paſſed ſeveral ſmall rivers, over which there were high bridges, by reaſon of the overflowing of the rivers at certain ſeaſons.

Towards evening *Jan.* 31, they were met by the *Calenter* of *Kesker*, at the head of 30 horſe, who having a mule laden with proviſions, gave them a collation in the fields; and ſoon after by the *Chan* of the province, who receiv'd the ambaſſadors with great civility, and carKureb. ried them to his palace at *Kurab*, and after having entertain'd them handſomely, ſent ſome gentlemen with them to their lodgings. He declar'd good inclinations towards the Chriſtians, having been the ſon of a *Georgian*, but circumcis'd in his youth. This ſmall city was only conſiderable for the birth of *Sha Sefi* then reigning.

Feb. 1, the *Chan* convey'd them a league out of town, and ſent the *Calenter* along with them to ſee them out of the province; they paſs'd a great many rivers that day and the next, and for the greateſt part of both days along the ſea-ſhore, 'till coming to the river of *Dinalſar*, which divides *Kesker* from *Aſtara*, the *Calenter* took leave of them, having deliver'd them to the conduct of the *Calenter* of *Aſtara*, who receiv'd them upon the river ſide.

Upon the 4th they were met by the *Chan*, who brought them to a village in his government, and from thence the next day to *Aſtara*, where he entertain'd Aſtara. them nobly, and gave them an account of *Abas*'s war with *Karib*, in which he had aſſiſted, and as a trophy, made them ſup upon *Karib*'s table-cloth, of green ſatin flower'd with gold. He adviſ'd them to be upon their guard, with the *Coſſacques*, who us'd to make incurſions into that country.

Leaving this place the 7th, they travell'd along the *Caſpian* ſea, having mountains on the left hand; they paſs'd many rivers in this route, but I do not trouble the reader with hard names without having ſomething remarkable to ſay of them. Only we may obſerve, once for all, that in all the dominions of *Perſia* there is no navigable river but the *Araxes*, eſpecially when it is join'd with the *Cyrus*. In this laſt march they paſs'd near by the village of *Dubil*, which Dubil *infamous for lewdneſs.* was ſo remarkably infamous for the debauchery of its inhabitants, that *Sha Abas* extirpated them, and ſent a new colony to the place. It is ſaid of them, that they had night entertainments, where having eaten and drank plentifully, the candles were put out, and then every one join'd himſelf to the firſt woman that he could lay his hands on, perhaps his mother, ſiſter, or daughter, nor did the women ſhun the encounter, *not asking queſtions for conſcience ſake.* [We have heard of ſome call'd Chriſtians who have been ſo loſt to grace and ſhame, as to have ſuch night meetings, and, which made it worſe of their ſide, ſanctified their beaſtlineſs with the name of devotion and religion.]

But as *Bruyman* ſeems to have been ſent on this embaſſy to be the plague and curſe of all the reſt, he brought them into a very imminent danger of their lives in march, by his barbarity.

At a village call'd *Ellieſda*, near the Ellieſda. entry into *Mokan*, one of this ambaſſador's grooms would force his horſe into *Here Bruyman commits a piece of barbarity* one of the houſes near their quarters. There being a good number of ſoldiers in the village, this houſe happen'd to belong to one of the troopers, who refus'd to receive the groom or his horſe, telling him, they were exempted from quartering any man or horſe. But the groom, it ſeems, being of his maſter's temper, would force his

his horſe into his houſe; upon which, the ſoldier ſtruck the horſe, with his rod, on the head, to keep him out; which *Bruyman* ſeeing, he run at the ſoldier in great fury, who, not being us'd to be aſſaulted in his own houſe, and not imagining he was one of the ambaſſadors, gave him a hearty rap with his cudgel, which made him call for aſſiſtance. Some of his people, falling upon the poor ſoldier, beat him ſo unmerciſully, that all that he was able to do was to crawl into the next houſe. One would have thought that this was ſatisfaction enough for the injury; but this mad-man would not put up the affront, as he term'd it, but the next morning ordering the whole retinue to mount, he call'd the *Nehemander*, and demanded *the villain who had ſtruck him.* The *Nehemander* told him, the officer was not in the way, and the man who had been guilty of the abuſe, had been ſo chaſtis'd the night before, that it was thought he could not recover. But *Bruyman* inſiſting upon having him deliver'd to him, the poor ſoldier was brought out of the houſe, carried by ſome of his comerades, for he was not able to ſtand or walk; the mercileſs ambaſſador order'd an *Arabian* ſervant of his own to cudgel him anew, which he did 'till he left him for dead; and he did die that day, as they had information at their next ſtage. And our author ſays, that conſidering the number of ſoldiers who were in the town, he did not know whether it was owing to the authority of the *Nehemander*, or to ſome particular providence, that the ſoldiers did not cut all their throats.

From this place, which they left *Feb.* 13, they travell'd over the heath of *Mocan*, which is ſaid to be 60 leagues long, and 20 broad. The firſt night they lay in ſhepherds huts, that whole track of ground being only inhabited by ſuch ſort of people, who live in tents in winter, and remove from place to place with their cattle and flocks in ſummer.

The ambaſſadors come to the Araxes.

Upon the 15th they arriv'd at the river *Araxes*, now call'd *Aras*, where they ſtaid, hearing that *Areb*, governor of *Scamachie*, was at *Tzauat*, where they propoſed to have quarter'd; and not having any confidence in him, by reaſon of ſome miſunderſtanding between them, as they travell'd that way before, they would not paſs the river till the 17th. But *Areb* behav'd very handſomely towards them, ſending a perſon of quality to compliment them, as ſoon as he heard of their coming near his precinct, and ſupplied them with wine very ſeaſonably. This river *Araxes* riſes out of the mountains of *Armenia*, and fall into the *Caſpian* ſea in the latitude of 39 degrees. Our author takes notice of *Q. Curtius*'s confounding this river with another of the ſame name which paſſes thro' *Perſida*. [But that was not the only blunder in geography to be found in *Curtius*.*]

Upon the 17th of *Feb.* they paſs'd the *Araxes*, and arriv'd at *Tzauat*, where a new *Nehemander* ſent by *Chan Areb*, reliev'd him who had brought them from *Iſpahan*, and entertain'd the ambaſſadors ſplendidly, for two days at that place. And upon the 20th they went over the mountain of *Scamachie*, which lies near the ſide of *Kur* or *Cyrus*, before it joins with *Araxes*.

When they arriv'd at *Scamachie*, our author was viſited by his old acquaintances, who were pleas'd to ſee that he had made good progreſs in the *Perſian* language; and by the *Chan*'s orders the ambaſſadors took up their old quarters among the *Armenian* Chriſtians, and were treated by him with great civility. Here they ſtaid five weeks, during which time they were often feaſted by the *Chan* and *Calenter*.

And from thence to Scamachie.

Upon the 14th of *March*, the *Chan* invited the ambaſſadors to accompany him out of town to ſee him receive the *Calaat*, or garment ſent him by the king. Upon this occaſion he takes his leave of his friends, as not being ſure of ever ſeeing them again, becauſe the meſſengers ſent upon theſe occaſions, ſometimes have orders to cut off their heads, inſtead of preſenting the *Calaat*. And *Areb*, altho' he had ſecret information, that the garment was really ſent to him, was a little ſurpriz'd, when the meſſenger (who, according to cuſtom, ſtop'd as ſoon as he ſaw him appear) did not ſpeak one word for ſome minutes. He had laid aſide his ſword, turbant, and upper garment, and alighted from his horſe, to go in that ſubmiſſive manner to the envoy, who waited for him, with a box by him, cover'd with rich tapeſtry, the ſight of which makes many of the *Chans* heavy hearted before it be open'd.

The ceremony of the Calaat.

The envoy at laſt put him out of his fright, by ſpeaking theſe words, Sha Sefi *ſends thee a garment, and a letter of favour; thou art certainly beloved by the king.* To which he anſwer'd, with a chearful countenance, *I wiſh the king's wealth to encreaſe for ever; and that every day of his life may encreaſe to a thouſand. I am one of the king's old ſervants.* Then taking the garment from the meſſenger, which was of ſea-green ſatin, and a rotchet of cloth of gold, a girdle and turbant, by the aſſiſtance of the envoy he put them on. After which the *Chan*'s ſteward cried out aloud, *We pray for the king's proſperity, the happy ſucceſs of his arms, and the* Chan's *health*; to which the people anſwer'd by repeating thrice ALLA.

* See *Le Clerk*'s criticiſm upon Q. *Curtius*, prefix'd to Mr. *Rock*'s tranſlation of *Arrian. London.* 1729.

ALLA. And ſo having made his preſent to the envoy, he return'd in triumph to the city, and gave a magnificent dinner to the ambaſſadors; but having drank heartily before dinner, he grew ſo drunk, that he withdrew before it was half done.

The Armenian Chriſtians *ſolemnize* Holy Thurſday

The 22d of *March*, being *Holy Thurſday*, they ſaw the ceremony of the *Armenian* prieſt's waſhing the right foot of ſome men, and the left foot of the women, in the church, and then made the ſign of the croſs upon them with conſecrated butter, and then was himſelf taken up in a chair by 12 men, upon their ſhoulders, with loud acclamations, and afterwards invited them to dine with him.

and Eaſter *day.*

Upon *Eaſter* day there was a great proceſſion of the *Armenians* with their croſſes, images, and banners; and the *Chan* having pitch'd his tent, without doors, to ſee the proceſſion, they ſtop'd and fronted to his tent, and the women danced before him in three ſeparate bodies.

Upon the 26th *Iman-culi Chan* arriv'd upon his embaſſy to *Holſtein*, and the next day din'd with the ambaſſadors, at the *Chan*'s palace.

The ambaſſadors leave Scamachie.

The 30th our ambaſſadors leaving *Scamachie*, accompanied by the *Chan* and *Calenter* half a league, where they had a great entertainment, parted with great civility on all hands; *Hoſſein Culi Beg*, going with the ambaſſadors, as *Nehemander*, to conduct them to the frontiers. In this march, they went over mountains for ſix leagues, without ſeeing any village, and *April* 1, over hills and vallies better inhabited; and the next day came into a plain, near the ſea; in one part of which, they ſaw no leſs than 30 ſprings of *Nefte* in the ſpace of 500 yards. This *Nefte* is a ſort of medicinal oyl, ſome white, but moſt of it black, and of a moſt agreeable ſmell; the pits where it is are about 15 foot deep.

April 3, they march'd only two leagues, and their *Nehemander* warn'd them to be upon their guard, and to keep by their baggage, becauſe the mountains near them were inhabited by a ſet of people call'd *Padar*, who liv'd by pillaging and robbing of ſtrangers, by which good council, and by overtaking a *Caravan* of *Muſcovite* and *Circaſſian* merchants, they were not troubled with them. The next day they paſs'd within two leagues of *Niaſabeth*, where they had ſuffer'd ſhipwreck almoſt two years before; and arriv'd *April* 7, at *Derbent*, where they

And arrive at Derbent.

were met only by ſome officers, the governor not daring to leave the city, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould have ſhut the gates againſt him, there being, at that time, a miſunderſtanding between them.

Derbent is fitly call'd the gate of *Perſia*, for it reaches from the mountains to the ſea, the waters of which waſh the walls of it. It is about a league in length, the walls (which they ſay were built by *Alexander* the great) are five foot thick, and very high; they are made of muſſel-ſhells, and free-ſtone beaten to powder, and molded like brick, which by length of time are become as hard as marble. There was an inſcription upon one of the gates in *Syriac* characters, but ſo defac'd that it could not be read. The caſtle, where the governor had his reſidence, is in the aſcent of the hill, and has a conſtant garriſon of 500 men. Upon the ſea coaſt, within the walls, are fair gardens, and all between thoſe and the caſtle is the body of the city.

Near this city are many tombs, of which they tell fabulous ſtories not worth repeating; but, upon the day of commemorating the ſacrifice of *Abraham*, formerly mention'd, which is *April* 13, the *Tartars* of both ſexes, as alſo the *Perſians*, paid their devotions to 40 of thoſe tombs, which were enclos'd within a wall, and were believ'd by them to have been the ſepulchre of ſome Mahometan ſaints in *Kaſſan*'s army, who were ſlain in a battle againſt the *Dagheſtan Tartars*, ſome ages ago.

Altho' *Derbent* is near *Georgia*, and not far from *Armenia*, both which abounded with Chriſtians, yet there were none in this city but Mahometans, except a ſmall number of Jews, who pretended to be of the tribe of *Benjamin*. Nor was there any traffick there, ſave that of the *Tartars* ſelling children whom they had kidnap'd from the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*, their neighbours. But, the inhabitants here are a rude unpoliſh'd people, and therefore, by the advice of the *Nehemander*, ſtrict orders were given by the ambaſſadors, that no offence ſhould be given either to the ſoldiers or citizens, which was exactly obſerv'd.

Between *Derbent* and *Terku*, lies the province of *Dagheſtan*, which is inhabited by *Tartars*, a wild ſort of people, who, altho' they own the king of *Perſia* for their ſovereign, trouble themſelves very little about obeying him; and, having the mountains to retire to, have very little regard for the *Chans* of *Derbent*, or any other of his officers.

After the ambaſſadors had ſtaid ſeven days at *Derbent*, in expectation of the *Perſian* ambaſſador, whom they had left at *Scamachie*, they were preparing for their departure, having refus'd the offer of the *Chan* of *Tarku* to eſcorte them thro' *Dagheſtan*, becauſe, altho' he had come aboard them as they came paſt his city in 1636, they conſider'd him as a *Tartar* of the ſame province, and therefore would not truſt him. But the *Chan* of *Derbent*

ſent

ſent them word that *Oſmin*, a *Tartar* prince in the neighbourhood, was preparing to attack them, and therefore he could not let them go without a convoy. But the ambaſſadors deſir'd leave to lodge without the city that night, and told him they would go but a mile off, and wait till next day for the party he had promis'd them. This being granted, they march'd out, and ſtaid the reſt of that day within a mile, as they had promiſed, which time they employ'd in putting their people in order to defend themſelves, in caſe of being attack'd. All the arms they had were 52 muſquets and fuſees, 19 caſes of piſtols, two braſs cannons, and four field pieces. The place where they pitch'd their tents was near a ſmall river, which was the boundary between the *Perſians* and *Dagheſtan Tartars*.

They ſtaid there *April* 14, till three hours after ſun-riſing, and ſeeing no appearance of the convoy, they began their march. Three officers march'd with the firemen in the van; after them one of the braſs guns, with the four others; next follow'd the baggage, and, after it, *Cruſius*, attended by ſome gentlemen of the retinue; then came the other braſs cannon, and after it, *Bruyman*, with the reſt of the retinue; and in this order they enter'd the province of *Dagheſtan*.

The ambaſſadors leave Derbent.

Ptolomy, ſays our author, makes this province, to be part of that *Albania*, from whence (as *Curtius*, and ſome other writers of *Alexander*'s life, dream'd it) the *Amazonian Thaleſtris* came to *Alexander* upon a moſt *honourable* affair. [But the famous *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, has given an unanſwerable argument againſt the truth of this fiction, where he tells us, that many years after the death of *Alexander*, when *Oneſicritus* read this ſtory to *Liſimachus*, one of *Alexander*'s moſt famous captains and ſucceſſors; he fell a laughing, and ask'd him, *How ſuch a thing could happen, and benever to have heard of it, altho' he was in* Hircania *with* Alexander, *when that lady was ſaid to have come to him.**]

* See *Arrian*'s hiſt. vol. II. p. 163, note 1.

The people who inhabit this province are call'd *Dagheſtan Tartars*, which ſignifies *Highland*, or *Mountain Tartars*, for *Dag*, or *Tag*, is, in their tongue, a *high mountain*. This province reaches from *Derbent* to *Terki*, about 40 leagues between the mountains and the *Caſpian* ſea; being, in ſome places, 20 or 30 leagues in breadth, and in others not above three; but the whole plain is very fruitful.

The Dagheſtan Tartars.

The complexion of the inhabitants is a dark yellow, inclining to black, with ugly faces, and black greazy hair hanging round their ſhoulders. They are ſtrong limb'd, and are generally arm'd in a coat of mail, and make uſe of head pieces and bucklers, which add a good deal to their natural ſterneſs. Their offenſive weapons are ſcimitars, bows and arrows, and javelins. They live of the produce of their cattle, the management of which they leave to their women, they themſelves being employed in the more honourable trade of robbing and ſtealing either goods or perſons, which they take from all without diſtinction.

This country is not govern'd, as moſt of the other nations in *Aſia* are, by one hereditary monarch, but every diſtrict has its own lord, of which there are ſeveral in the province. Theſe lords, upon ſome occaſions, meet together, and ſitting down in a circle, the prieſt of the place where they are aſſembled throws an apple at random into the circle, and the firſt perſon whom the apple touches is the chief governor, whom they call *Schemkal*.

Through this country they were oblig'd to travel, having had enough of the *Caſpian* ſea in their firſt voyage, altho' they were then provided in a good ſhip, which they could not be at this time if they would. They ſet out therefore, as we have ſaid, *April* 14, and march'd five leagues, through a fine country, to the village of *Ruſtain*, belonging to *Oſmin*. Here they found a *Muſcovite* ambaſſador, who had gone before them. *Oſmin*'s ſon came, in the evening, to viſit the *Muſcovite*, and ſent two of his officers to compliment the *Holſtein* ambaſſadors.

The next day they march'd all together through the lord of *Bainac*'s country, about ſix leagues, and had *Bruyman* been able to have his orders executed, they had been cut to pieces. For, he order'd ſome of his people to fire powder at thoſe of the natives who came to ſtare at them, but they had more ſenſe than to obey him; however, they of the country, perceiving his ſurlineſs, told his men, that the country through which they travel'd was theirs, and they ought to ſhew all civility to them, for ſuffering them to paſs unmoleſted, and that their characters as ambaſſadors was nothing to them, for they did not value either the king of *Perſia* or the czar of *Muſcovy*. Here they had a meſſage from the *Schemkal*, that he would ſend people to ſearch their baggage, but all the ambaſſadors ſent him for anſwer, that they were not merchants, and were reſolv'd to ſtand upon their privilege, which they were reſolv'd to maintain at the price of their lives. So they heard no more of ſearching.

The 16th they arriv'd within the precincts of the *Chan* of *Tarku*, where they were met by his brother and three other perſons of quality, the *Chan* himſelf being ſick: In return to which compliment,

the ambaſſadors ſent their phyſician to *Tarku*, who having had good ſucceſs in curing the *Chan*, they had his thanks at their arrival.

Tarku. *Tarku* is about the middle of *Dagheſtan*, being half way between *Derbent* and *Terki*, upon the *Caſpian* ſea, the city is open, having no walls, and conſiſts of about 1000 houſes; The men are ſo many ſavages, but the women very civil, and more polite than could be expected in ſuch bad company, they do not live in ſuch reſtraint in this country, as the women do in *Perſia*; for they appear every where with their faces bare.

Surchou Chan, was the chief lord of this place, and ſome ſmall part of the country about it; but altho' his authority was great, the other lords, whom they call *Mirzah*'s, had a ſhare in the government. *Surchou* being of the race of the *Perſian* kings, kept a good correſpondence with that court.

The *Perſian Nehemander* came with the ambaſſadors to this place; but refus'd to accompany them to *Terki*, pretending that he had poſitive inſtructions to the contrary: And when they preſs'd him to continue with him, he left the town in the night, and, which was worſe, took the camels and other beaſts of carriage with him. To the ſurprize of this ſudden departure of the *Nehemander*, was added a piece of intelligence they had from two *Muſcovite* women, who were chriſtians, altho' they were married to *Tartars*. They told the ambaſſadors, that *Oſmin* and *Boinac* had ſent meſſengers to the *Chan*, complaining that the chriſtians had not only paſt thro' their country, without paying cuſtom, but that they had inſulted them, and therefore they intended to be reveng'd of them. This information made them call a council of the chief perſons of both embaſſes; where ſome talk'd freely of the imprudence and ill conduct of *Bruyman*; and others ſaying, truly, that there was no remedy for what was paſt, their buſineſs now was to conſult what was to be done, in caſe they ſhould be attacked; and it was agreed to fight to the laſt man, rather than to put themſelves in the power of the barbarians.

Deſigns againſt the ambaſſadors.

Nor was this intelligence of the women a ſham; for, they diſcover'd that there were frequent meſſages between *Sourchou* and theſe lords; and probably they had executed their deſign, if the *Schemkal* had not ſav'd them, not out of any good will to them, but out of covetouſneſs, to get the vaſt treaſure he believ'd they were poſſeſt of, into his own hands; and therefore he broke the concert which the other lords were forming.

To proſecute his own plan, he ſent a meſſage to the ambaſſadors, deſiring them to march by a bridge of boats above the city where he reſided; telling them, that if they took any other routs *he ſhould look upon them as his enemies.* The meſſenger, having made this ſpeech, was going to retire, without expecting an anſwer; when the *Muſcovite* envoy, taking him by the arm, ſaid, with a becoming reſolution. *Friend, tell thy* Schemkal, *it is not his buſineſs to direct us what road to take, we ſhall chuſe at our pleaſure. And altho', perhaps, it may be no hard matter to cut off a handful of men; yet let him know, that the* Czar, *my maſter, whoſe honour is at ſtake, will take a moſt dreadful vengeance of him.* This reſolute ſpeech having been reported to the *Schemkal* produced a good effect, and made the *Tartar* lords give over their deſigns.

Upon the 20th of *April*, four *Mirzah*'s came and din'd with the ambaſſadors, and ſoon after *Oſmin*'s brother paid them a viſit, accompanied by the *Daruga* of *Tarku*; which laſt adviſ'd them to make the *Chan* a preſent, in order to facilitate their departure, which they did of a pair of gold bracelets, a pound of tobaccco, a fuſee, a piſtol, a barrel of powder, two pieces of *Perſian* ſatin, and ſome ſpices; with which he was ſo well pleas'd, that he ſent to invite them to dinner, and promis'd them all the aſſiſtance they could deſire. After this they were invited by ſeveral *Tartarian* lords, with a deſign, as our author believ'd, to ſqueeze ſome preſents out of them.

The waggons being loaded *April* 23d, in order to their departure the next day, the *Chan* came himſelf to their quarters that evening, and told them, that having received advice that the *Schemkal, Sultan Mahmud*, had laid an ambuſcade for them near the river *Koiſu*, he could not let them go; and that evening 20 *Tartars* a horſeback, well arm'd, came to their quarters, telling them, that they had been ſent by *Oſmin* to the *Schemkal* to let him know, that he had ſuffer'd the ambaſſadors to paſs thro' his country without paying cuſtom, becauſe they were friends to the king of *Perſia* and the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, and he deſir'd he would do the ſame, *which he had readily promis'd.*

This meſſage, with the *Chan*'s intelligence put the ambaſſadors in great perplexity. But having receiv'd letters from the *Perſian* ambaſſador at *Derbent*, that his diſpatches from *Iſpahan* would detain him a month, they preſt the *Chan* to diſmiſs them; which he agreed to, upon condition that they would ſign a writing, declaring, that it was at their earneſt deſire,

againſt

againſt his own inclination, that he had ſuffer'd them to depart.

In the mean time, *Sultan Mahmud* had ſent a meſſenger to know why they did not march, telling them, that he had provided for their entertainment. To this they return'd an anſwer by a meſſenger of their own, whom they ſent off *May* 1ſt, giving him inſtructions to tell the *Schemkal* what they had been inform'd of by the *Chan*. The next day, their meſſenger return'd, accompanied by 4 *Tartars*, who told them, the *Sultan* was ſurpriz'd at the character, the *Chan* had given him, for which he ſhould take his own time to demand ſatisfaction: But in the mean time, he invited them to paſs thro' his dominions, offering to ſend three of the beſt quality to be kept as hoſtages by them, or left in the *Chan*'s hands for their ſecurity.

They leave Tarku. Altho' the ambaſſadors were in great doubt whether of theſe two barbarians was to be truſted; yet the earneſt deſire they had to purſue their journey, made them try the *Schemkal*'s honour; and therefore, having given the *Chan* a freſh preſent, and the letter he had demanded for his own juſtification, they ſet out from *Tarku May* 12th, having been there 24 days.

Upon the 14th they arriv'd at the river *Koiſu*, which ſprings out of mount *Caucaſus*, and, as our author thinks, is the *Albanus* of *Ptolomy*. It was, at the place they came to, about the breadth of the *Elba*, and 20 foot deep. Upon the north ſide of this river was the town of *Andre*, which was the place where the *Sultan* reſided. It was built on the top of a hill, and had a wood near it, at the entry of which they ſaw *Mahmud* himſelf with ſome of his lords.

They come to Andre. As ſoon as the ambaſſadors came to the river ſide, there came a number of boats over, tied two and two together, with hurdles over them, to carry over the luggage. And after ſome ſquabble about the price, from two crowns a piece for ſeventy wagons, the *Muſcovite* envoy agreed with them for 40 crowns for the whole retinue and baggage. And ſo having paſt the river, they ſet up their tents on the north ſide.

The *Schemkal* came, with a train of 50 horſe, to viſit them, and ſeemed to be about 36 years of age, of a good preſence and hale conſtitution. Above his coat of mail, he had an upper garment of green ſatin, and over that, a cloak of coarſe cloth. He brought with him ſome ſheep, and lambs, and a large cauldron full of boil'd ſturgeon cut in pieces, which our author found very delicious food, with the ſauce of the country, *viz.* freſh butter and ſorrel; and, perhaps, a better ſauce than any other, a ſharp appetite.

Sultan Makmud *entertains them.* The *Sultan* was very civil, and got himſelf almoſt drunk with *aqua vitæ*; and was ſo fond of a ſcarlet cloak given him, among other things, for a preſent, that he put it on, and ſate with it whilſt he ſtaid. The ambaſſadors made their muſick play, and fir'd their artillery for two hours; and the ſurly *Bruyman* prevailed with his own inſolent temper to flatter the *Schemkal*, by telling him, that their being ſo far from home, and ſo unacquainted with thoſe parts, was the reaſon that they had not a preſent worthy of his greatneſs; but that now having ſettled a correſpondence with *Perſia*, they would ſoon return that way, and make amends for the meanneſs of the preſent they now gave him, and ſettle ſuch a commerce between him and their maſter as he hop'd would be to the advantage of both. This complaiſance ſo tickled his vanity, that he was ready to do them all the good offices in his power.

They purſue their journey. Having entertain'd them two days, he got horſes ready for them, and upon the 17th of *May*, he carried them, at the head of 50 horſe, thro' a thick wood near the town, and then took leave of them with mutual civilities. After they had march'd three leagues from *Andre*, they croſſed the *Akſai*, upon boats brought by the *Sultan*'s order, upon waggons, for their paſſage.

The 18th they came to the river *Buſtro*, which ſeparates into two channels near the ſea; one of which is now called *Timenki*, but formerly *Terke*, and gave name to the city ſo called; and the other has the name of *Kiſilor*, to the northward of which there is no river till you come to *Volgi*, which is 65 leagues: From which our author concludes, that *Akſai*, is the *Cæſius* of *Ptolomy*; *Buſtro*, the *Gerrus*; *Timenchi*, the *Alenta*; and *Keſilar*, the *Adonta*; all thoſe rivers having been reckon'd, in ancient times, between the *Albanus* (or *Koiſu*) and the *Rha* (or *Wolga*.) The river *Buſtro* being the boundary between the *Dagheſtan* and *Circaſſian Tartars*, they could not perſuade their waggoners to croſs it; and therefore were forced to let them depart, and paſt the river by themſelves. And thus they got ſafe from all the dangers they had been threatned with by the *Dagheſtan Tartars*; and the *Muſcovite* envoy, found himſelf with joy in his maſter's dominions, and the ambaſſadors of *Holſtein* in that of a friend and ally.

and get into Circaſſia *under the* Czar's *dominions.*

Having provided themſelves of horſes and other neceſſaries, they ſet out towards *Terki*, the firſt city in the *Muſcovite* dominions, which was 9 leagues from the place

place where they had croſſed *Buſtro*. In this march, which took them two days, they ſaw a great number of ſerpents of ſix foot long; and a ſort of field-mice as big as a ſquirrel, about whom, the moſt remarkable thing is, their inclination to hoard up money, as our author ſays, one man having miſſed ſeveral pieces of money, followed one of theſe mice to its hole, and found his own with intereſt.

They arrive at Terki. As they drew near *Terki*, they were met by prince *Muſſal*'s brother, and a colonel ſent by the *Muſcovite Weywode* to congratulate their ſafe return; and were entertained in tents, till their lodgings were got ready in the city, whither they went the next day; and having paid their compliments to the *Weywode* by meſſages, they ſent to compliment prince *Muſſal*'s mother, whom they had viſited when they were there before. And in ſome days afterwards, they dined with her.

The *Circaſſian Tartars* are thoſe who dwell in the ancient *Albania*, and are deſcended from the *Scythians*, or *Caſpian Sarmatians*; having the *Caſpian* ſea on the eaſt; the river *Buſtro* on the ſouth; mount *Caucaſus* on the weſt; and the deſarts of *Tartary* and *Aſtracan* on the north.

Terki is the capital city of *Circaſſia*, which, ſince it came into the *Muſcovites* power, has a garriſon of *Muſcovites*, the native *Tartars* being only allowed to live in open places and villages. But the courts of juſtice are held by the *Tartarian* lords, in the *Czar*'s name, to whom they ſwear allegiance; and muſt tranſact all matters of importance in preſence of the *Weywode*.

The Circaſſian men. The *Circaſſian Tartars* are ſtrong well-made men, of a tawny complexion, with long black hair, only that for the breadth of an inch they ſhave from the forehead, and as much from the nape of the neck to the crown, excepting one lock on the crown which hangs behind. They are much more civiliz'd than the *Dagheſtan Tartars*, which may be owing to their converſation with the *Muſcovites*, who, altho' they be not the moſt polite, eſpecially ſo far ſouth, yet muſt be allowed, by far to exceed thoſe barbarians we have lately mentioned. The *Circaſſians* are clothed much like the *Dagheſtans*.

Their women The women are handſome and well ſhap'd, of a clear complection and good skin. They never cover their faces; they wear a black coif upon their heads, over which they put a piece of calico or linnen, tied under their chin; their black hair hanging down in treſſes on each ſide. In the ſummer they wear only ſmocks, which are green, yellow or blue, and cut ſo deep before, that one may ſee their navel.

very free, They were very familiar with the ambaſſadors people, inviting them to their huts or little houſes, even in the abſence of their husbands, and gave them to underſtand, that their husbands were ſo far from being jealous, that they would leave their houſes to give them an opportunity to entertain ſtrangers. Upon thoſe occaſions they allowed them all the liberties they could take, without attacking their virtue, which our author ſays ſome of their officers aſſaulted to no purpoſe. Tho' the men are reſtrain'd by no law from poligamy, yet generally ſpeaking they have but one wife. And if a man dies without iſſue, the brother is oblig'd to marry the widow, which was prince *Muſſal*'s caſe.

but ſtrictly virtuous.

Their religion is a mixture of mahometiſm and paganiſm, but more of the latter. For altho' they uſe circumciſion, and ſome other ceremonies of the *Muſſulmen*, they have neither *Alcoran*, *Prieſts*, nor *Moſchs*, but every one offers his own ſacrifice.

Sacrifices at burying. When any perſon of diſtinction dies, the relations of both ſexes appoint a meeting in the fields to ſacrifice a he-goat, which they flea, and ſtretch the skin upon a long pole, before which they offer the goat, roaſting ſome part, and boiling the reſt, and eating it; after which they pay a ſort of devotion to the skin, and then the women going home, the men get themſelves drunk with *aqua vitæ*, and often come off with bloody noſes. The skin remains upon the pole, 'till the next perſon of quality dies, and is ſet in a quick-ſet hedge to keep it from being polluted by dogs. And they build houſes over the tombs of the great men, as was done over that of prince *Muſſul*'s brother.

The ambaſſadors leave Terki Having ſtaid 13 days at *Terki*, they ſet out *June* 4, but indifferently provided of food, and no drink, becauſe their laſting plague *Bruyman* would not be at the charge of a waggon to carry it, altho' it was but 5 *s.* But they had reaſon to repent it heartily; for they travell'd 11 days in a dreadful deſart, without ſeeing town, village, tree, or bird, nor had they any water, except pools of ſtinking water, which they were forced to drink for want of better; only the ſecond day's march brought them to the river *Kiſilar*; and after being almoſt ſtarv'd for want of drink, moſt of the time, they came at laſt to the banks of the *Volga* over againſt *Aſtracan*; whither they no ſooner came, but moſt of them run into the river up to the knees to drink. But as ſoon as an account went to their friends at *Aſtracan*, of their arrival, they came over the water to welcome them, bringing proviſions of all kinds with them: And having refreſh'd themſelves, they croſs'd the water to their quarters in the city upon the 15th of *June*.

and arrive at Aſtracan.

But

But now *Bruyman* conſidering that he was upon his road home, and reflecting upon the heavy complaints which would certainly be made againſt him to the duke, began to be very thoughtful, and never open'd his lips at table, unleſs his paſſion made him ſcold, as it often did: One time particularly he had us'd ſome ſcurvy language to the ſecretary, at dinner, who being a gentleman, and not us'd to bear affronts of that kind, made ſome reply, which provok'd *Bruyman* to ſhake his knife at him; upon which the ſecretary left the table; but altho' his regard to his maſter hinder'd him from reſenting the affront as long as *Bruyman* kept his character, he was no ſooner diveſted of it, but the ſecretary made him do him juſtice.

The ambaſſadors ſtaid at *Aſtracan* 11 weeks, during which time, *Iman-culi Chan* arriv'd; and the *Muſcovite* envoy went off by himſelf for *Muſcow*; but having had intelligence from thence, that his reception there would not be to his liking, he poiſon'd himſelf at *Niſe*.

September 7, the *Holſtein* ambaſſadors (having divided their retinue, and each of them having bought a boat, and hired people to manage it apart) ſet out upon the *Volga*, and came to an anchor half a league from the city, and waited for the *Perſian* ambaſſador, who coming the next day with three boats, they ſet ſail together, and having been two months upon the *Volga*, they enter'd the river *Coſan November* 6, and in good time for them, for the *Volga* was frozen over the next day. The governor of *Caſan*, who had had ſome difference with our ambaſſadors two years before, gave them a bad reception, and to affront *Bruyman*, who, probably, had occaſion'd the difference between them before, he ſent a *Sembojar*, or officer, to *Bruyman*'s boat, deſiring to know, *which was the* ambaſſador, *and which the merchant?* This ſo nettled the peeviſh man, that he took the *Sembojar* by the arm, and ſaid, *Go, tell thy maſter, that if he can't read himſelf, he muſt get one that can, to underſtand, from the Great Duke's paſs, what quality he gives us.* However, upon their making a preſent to the governor of their boats, they were reconcil'd, and having ſtaid in *Caſan* 5 weeks, 'till the ice was ſtrong enough, they ſet out with 60 ſledges from that city, leaving the *Perſian* ambaſſador behind, and made their publick entry into *Muſcow*, the 2d of *January*, upon horſes and ſledges ſent by the *Czar*, richly equip'd. Here they ſtaid till the 14th of *February*, in which time the *Perſian* ambaſſador arriv'd, and proceeded on his journey; but they overtook him at *Novogorod*, on the north of *Ilmen* lake, and they travell'd together to *Narva*, lat. 59 deg. and from thence to *Revel*.

They ſet ſail from thence with the Perſian *ambaſſador.*

Arrive at Muſcow.

But the nearer they approach'd to their own country, *Bruyman*'s apprehenſions encreas'd the more, ſo that, by one pretence or other, he kept them at *Revel* 3 months without any neceſſity; in which time the ſecretary, being no longer able to bear his ill uſage, took the opportunity of a ſhip for *Lubec*, and ſo left them. At laſt the ambaſſadors, together with the ambaſſador of *Perſia*, and a *Muſcovite* envoy, embark'd at *Revel*, *July* 11, and landing at *Travemund* the 23d, purſued their journey to the duke of *Holſtein*'s court, where they arriv'd the firſt of *Auguſt*.

And ſo home.

Thus have we given a faithful abſtract of all that we thought moſt material in *Olearius*'s account of this embaſſy, as far as it relates to *Aſia*. What became of our teſty *Bruyman*, we leave to the hiſtorians of that country: But we cannot help obſerving, that the tempers of men choſen for ambaſſadors (eſpecially to ſuch diſtant courts, ſo different in their cuſtoms and manners from what they have been us'd to) ought to be regarded, perhaps, more than their abilities, becauſe a defect in the laſt may be aſſiſted by a good ſecretary or counſellor, but there is no guarding againſt the inconveniencies of the firſt.

We propos'd to have given an account of what Mr. *Mandelſloe* has left of his travels in a diſtinct chapter; but a great part of it being the diviſion of the *Mogul*'s dominion, and the deſcription of *Agra*, and ſome other cities of *Indoſtan*, already taken notice of; and a great deal more of his journal relating to *Africa*, which is not our buſineſs at preſent, we chuſe rather to throw what we have collected from him into the ſame chapter, eſpecially conſidering that he was one of the embaſſy, altho' he had left the ambaſſadors (by leave from his prince) 3 leagues from *Iſpahan*, and return'd to that city.

Having ſtaid there till the 16th of *January*, 1637-8, and had an audience of leave from the king, by himſelf; he ſet out from *Iſpahan*, the ſaid day, with a ſurgeon, a footman, a groom, and one *Perſian* ſervant.

Mr. Mandelſloe *leaves* Iſpahan.

After 8 days travel, ſometimes with tolerable accommodation, and at other places but very indifferent, he arriv'd, the 24th at *Mader Suleiman*, ſo call'd from a ſepulchre near it, which is ſaid, by the natives, to be that of *Solomon*'s mother, but the *Carmelite* friars of *Schiras* told our author, with more appearance of truth, that it was the tomb of the mother of *Sha Soliman*, the 14th of the poſterity of *Hali*.

Upon the 27th he came to *Mardaſch*, where he took a view of ſome antiquities. Here he ſaw the ruins of a magnificent palace, which the ſame friars told him afterwards, were thoſe of *Perſepolis*, and the famous palace of *Cyrus*. The foundation was rais'd 22 foot above ground, with white marble ſtairs, at the 4 corners, conſiſting of 95 ſteps, ſo flat and broad, that 12 horſes may go up a-breaſt. After you are at the top of the ſtair on one ſide, there is a ſquare, where you ſee the ruins of a wall with two large gates, with a horſe harneſs'd after the old manner on one ſide of each of them, and a flying horſe like a *Pegaſus* on the other, but the head rather like that of a lion, and crown'd. On one ſide are the remains of 19 pillars of white and black marble, of 8 or 10 ells high; and our author was told, that not many years before he ſaw them, they were 40 in number. Farther on were two rooms, pretty large, as may be judg'd by the doors and windows, but all that you ſee is of the fineſt poliſh'd marble. On each of the doors there are figures of men, ſome ſitting, others ſtanding, their hair falling careleſsly over their ſhoulders, their beards long, and round caps upon their heads, their garment reaching to their heels, with wide ſleeves, and tied about the waiſt with a girdle. Not far from theſe are two chambers more, but more defaced than the former. Near thoſe was a ſquare pillar, with characters cut upon it, but which had no reſemblance of any oriential language now known. There are 12 lines, ſo even and clean cut, that they ſhew no ſign of having been done in a barbarous age. Beſides theſe four rooms, there are two courts on the ſame ground-floor, one of 90 paces ſquare, with two gates on each ſide, two of 6, and two of 3 paces wide, of fine marble. The other court has fine *Reliefs* of battles, triumphs, and Olympick games. Upon each gate ſits a graceful perſon, with a globe in one hand, and a ſceptre in the other: A poſture, as our author obſerves, in which the kings of *Perſia* were never us'd to ſit. He got up to the ſecond ſtory, where he ſaw the figure of a king, paying his devotions to the ſun, the fire, and a ſerpent. But he ſays this famous ſtructure is ſo defaced by the inhabitants taking away the ſtones for private buildings, that he could not diſcover of what order of architecture it was.

The ruins ſuppos'd to be of Cyrus's *palace.*

From thence our author went to *Schiras*, which was ten leagues diſtant from the other. Here he met the *Carmelites*, who, being *Italians*, were not baniſh'd the kingdom, as the *Portugueſes* were, but had a convent, and the free exerciſe of their religion there.

Schiras.

Schiras, as we obſerv'd before, is the capital of *Fars*, and ſtands at the foot of a pleaſant mountain, upon the river *Araxes*, there call'd *Sendemer*. It lies in 29 deg. 36 min. and has about 10,000 houſes; but it appears to have been once much larger, by the ruins of a wall which they ſay was the city wall, but now is two miles diſtant from the city. Every thing is produced there in great plenty and perfection, and their wine famous, and taſtes much like Canary, but more ſprightly, and of a more delicate flavour. This country is ſo pleaſant that the *Perſians* us'd to ſay, *If* Mahomet *had known the pleaſures of* Schiras, *he would have beg'd of* GOD *to have ſuffer'd him to live for ever there, inſtead of taking him to* Paradiſe.

Having ſtaid 8 days at *Schiras*, our author proceeded in his journey, *Feb.* 5, and upon the 8th travell'd thro' a dangerous road, full of precipices, upon the high way to *Laar*, ſo that he was fain to lead his horſe a good part of the way, and his horſe falling had like to have puſh'd him down the precipice, but for his getting hold of a branch of an almond tree. He arriv'd at *Laar* the 10th, where was a garriſon in a citadel, built by the *Perſians* after the conqueſt of that city and territory by *Sha Abas*, 1602. The town was open, and conſiſted of above 1000 houſes.

Laar.

After he left *Laar*, he contracted a bloody flux, which was very troubleſome to him upon a journey, where he had little aſſiſtance, except ſome *Spaniſh* wine he receiv'd from ſome *Engliſh* merchants going to *Iſpahan* from *Gambron*: And with great difficulty he arriv'd at that city the 23d of *February*.

Here our author was invited to ſtay with the *Engliſh*, where by good providence, and their care, he recovered in a few days; and having letters of recommendation from the king of *Perſia* to the governor of *Gambron*, he was invited to dinner by him, as ſoon as he was able to go abroad, and had great civilities ſhew'd him.

Gambron.

We have elſewhere ſaid that this city lies upon the *Perſian Gulf*. It is only become conſiderable after the reduction of *Ormus* formerly mention'd; for it was but a village before, but the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, finding the harbour convenient, ſettled there, and ſoon brought a good trade to it from all parts, not only of the *Indies*, but of *Europe*. Ships ride very ſafe there at 5 and 6 fathom water, and are under the cannon of two caſtles built for their defence.

They have a particular manner of making their brick, which is by putting one layer of clay mix'd with ſand, ſhredded ſtraw,

ſtraw, and horſe dung; and, upon that, another layer of ſtraw and faggots, and alternately they put layers of theſe two, 'till it be 6 foot high, and then ſet the ſtraw and faggots on fire, which burns the brick. There are few good houſes in the town except the *Sultan*'s palace, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* houſes, theſe laſt being built ſo cloſe to the water, that the ſea waſhes their walls at high water.

The Place unhealthy.

Gambron is remarkable for the many changes of the wind in a day, which has a very bad effect upon the bodies of the inhabitants; for in the morning there is generally a cold eaſt wind; and towards noon a ſultry ſouth wind; the weſt wind, which begins in the evening is no leſs hot than the other; and then about midnight there blows a piercing north wind from the mountains; and they will be years without a ſhower of rain. But this ſeems to be peculiar to the country about *Gambron*, which makes the neighbourhood of it very barren; but they are ſupplied with grain and all ſorts of fruits from the iſland of *Kiſmiſch* which is not above 3 leagues from it, and is a very fertile ſpot, being 15 leagues long, and 3 broad; from whence they are likewiſe ſupplied with oxen and cows, ſheep and goats at a very cheap rate; and the ſea furniſhes them with plenty of fiſh.

Its Trade.

The winter ſeaſon, when the heat is more moderate, there are a multitude of merchants from *Aleppo*, *Bagdad*, *Iſpahan*, *Schiras*, *Lahor*, *Herat* and *Baſſora*, who go thither in *Caravans*: Beſides *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who go by ſea, and carry with them merchandize of different ſorts, both from *Europe*, and the *Indies*, and ready money, which they exchange for *Perſian* tapeſtry, raw ſilk, cotton, rubarb, ſafron, and roſe-water; of which laſt there are two kinds, one made by infuſion, which they call *Gull-ab*, and the other diſtill'd, by the name of *Archa-Gull*; but the firſt is moſt eſteem'd. The pearl trade was likewiſe conſiderable at *Gambron*, being brought from the iſle of *Bahram*, ſix leagues from *Gambron*, where the divers go under water with their heads in a bag of boil'd leather, from which there is a pipe that reaches above the water, for breathing thro'. Theſe divers fill a bag, which hangs before them, with the ſhells they find at the bottom, and by pulling a cord for a ſignal they are drawn up and empty their bags in the boat.

Gambron is inhabited by *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, but is free to all other nations, except *Portugueſes*, who were excluded ever ſince the conqueſt of *Ormus*, by the *Perſians*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*. This prohibition keeps up the enmity between thoſe two nations, ſo that the *Portugueſe* ſhips make prizes of the *Perſians*, wherever they find them.

The governor of this city, is called the *Sultan*, and his ſecretary is a *Viſier*, and the captain of his guards is called *Couteval*; there is alſo a *Sabandar*, who overſees the cuſtoms.

Our author having ſtaid ſome time at *Gambron*, embarked on board the *Swan*, an *Engliſh* ſhip of 300 tuns, for *Surat*. But he was obliged to ſell ſix *Perſian* horſes, at leſs than they coſt him, becauſe they would not allow him to ſhip above two. The horſes of the *Perſian* breed ſell in *India* for 300 and 400 crowns, and every horſe exported pay 50 crowns cuſtom.

Mr. Mandelſloe arrives at Surat.

He embarked the ſixth of *April*, with two *Engliſh* merchants, and in 19 days arrived in the bay of *Surat*, where going a-ſhore, he was well entertained by the *Engliſh* factory, which he does juſtice to, by acknowledging their great civilities to him. Here he ſtaid five months, diverting himſelf with hunting, and often aboard the ſhips, which came upon the company's account to *Surat*. But intending to take the opportunity of one of thoſe ſhips back to *Europe*, and underſtanding that they would not be ready to ſail for ſome months, he reſolved to take a view of the court at *Agra* till the time of their departure. He therefore took the opportunity of an *Engliſh* caravan going for *Amadabal*, under a guard of *Engliſh*, for fear of the *Resbouts*, who are the *Banditti* of that country. In this journey they had good diverſion of ſhooting fowl and deer in great plenty, before they arrived at *Broitſchia* in 21 deg. 56 min. about twelve from *Surat*, being a place moſtly inhabited by callico weavers, in a rich fertil country.

and goes toward Agra.

As the *Engliſh* have agents, or ſervants in many towns of trade in that country, eſpecially upon the road to *Agra*, ſo they have their own houſes or lodges in moſt of them, where our author and his *Engliſh* fellow travellers took up their quarters, and were entertained by the perſons employ'd in the company's ſervice. Thus, after they had left *Broitſchia*, they went to *Brodra* upon the river *Waſſet*, near to which there is one village, call'd *Sindikera*, which produces 25,000 pound weight of *Lacque* yearly, which is a gum that comes from a tree reſembling a plumb-tree: This gum being dried, and beaten to powder, they give it what colour they pleaſe, and make it up in ſticks for ſealing letters, or lackering cabinets, &c. As they paſt by an old caſtle, they had a ſquabble with the garriſon for cuſtom, which occaſioned the firing of ſome muſkets; but, at laſt, they diſcharg'd the

caravan

caravan for three crowns; and upon the 12th of *October* they arrived at *Amadabat*, where Mr. *Roberts*, the *Engliſh* factor, brought Mr. *Mandelſloe* in his coach, drawn by two white oxen, to the *Engliſh* houſe.

Amadabal deſcrib'd.

In this city there is a very ſpacious *Meydan*, beſides four ſmaller *Baſars*, where all ſorts of merchandize are ſold; the king has a palace ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and our author ſays, the *Banian Moſch* is one of the fineſt buildings he had ever ſeen. It ſtood in the middle of a vaſt court, ſurrounded with a high wall of free ſtone, with a *Piazza*, divided into cells, in each of which is a ſtatue of a naked woman ſitting with her legs under her. At the entry to the *Moſch*, are repreſented two elephants in black marble, with the founder of the *Moſch* ſeated upon one of them. He was a rich *Banian* merchant named *Santides*. The *Moſch* was vaulted, and the walls adorned with pictures of men, and other living creatures: [But theſe were ſince deſtroyed by *Aurenzebe*.] Beſides which there was nothing to be ſeen within.

Amadabat is the capital of *Guzarat*; it ſtands upon a ſmall river, which runs into the *Indus*. *Amadabat* is a place of great trade, there being no nation in the world, but what has ſome of its natives there; nor any ſort of commodity known in *Aſia*, but may be had there, ſuch as ſilk, calico's, gold and ſilver brocades, *China* ſilks, ſatins, velvets, taffeta's, carpets, ſugar, ſpices, druggs, preſerv'd fruits, ambergreaſe, diamonds, &c. This city has under its juriſdiction 25 large towns, and near 3000 villages; and the revenue of this province alone is reckon'd at 6 millions of crowns.

At a little diſtance from *Amadabat*, one can ſee the mountains of *Marvas*, extending ſeventy leagues towards *Agra*, where *Raſgai Rana* liv'd independant of the *Mogul*, and it coſt hard labour to ſubdue thoſe people by reaſon of their almoſt inacceſſible ſituation.

Animals. The country round *Amadabat* is furniſhed with all ſort of animals wild and tame, ſo that the people there might live luxuriouſly, but for want of wine, which want they ſupply with *aqua vitæ*, arrack, &c.

The country likewiſe abounds with hurtful animals. The crocodile does a world of miſchief; one of them having been killed and opened, a woman was found in his belly with all her clothes on. They are troubled alſo with ſerpents, lions, and tygers; but our author reckons the batts the moſt troubleſome of all. He ſays they are as big as crows.

This city is obliged to maintain 12,000 horſe, and 50 elephants, who are under the command of the governor, who has the title of *Raſgai*, or prince added to his name. When our author was there, *Areb Chan* or *Raſgai Areb* was governor, who was ſaid to be worth 50 millions of crowns. His daughter was, a ſhort time before that, married to the *Mogul*'s ſecond ſon, to whom he had ſent her accompanied by 1000 horſe, 20 elephants, and 6000 waggons loaded with riches in money and furniture. He was conſtantly attended by 500 perſons, 400 of which were his ſlaves mantained at his own charge. The charge of his table was computed at 5000 crowns a month. He likewiſe kept 500 horſes, and 50 elephants for his own uſe.

They arrive at Cambaia.

Having left *Amadabat*, our author proceeded to *Cambaia*, a city 10 leagues in compaſs, but the ſand and mud make the harbour inconvenient, which is a great diſadvantage to it. It is inhabited by *Pagans*, *Banians*, and *Resboutes*, theſe laſt apply to nothing but arms, of which they often make a bad uſe.

In this city there being no *Mahometans*, except the governor, and a few of his people, the natives keep their old cuſtom of the widows burning themſelves when their husbands die. Our author ſaw one of 20 years of age, perform this mad frolick, and he looking on with great ſigns of compaſſion, the poor creature obſerving him, took a bracelet off her arm, and threw it to him, and then chearfully mounted the pile.

He was well receiv'd in this place by a *Mahometan* merchant, and the deputy governor, and ſpeaks much of the civilies of the *Indoſtans* in general.

and at laſt at Agra.

From thence he proceeded on his journey to *Agra*, with the caravan of *Engliſh* and *Banian* merchants, where being arriv'd, he was lodg'd at the *Engliſh* houſe.

Having formerly given a deſcription of *Agra*, we ſhall not repeat from this author what we have ſaid in another place. But he gives a moſt ſurprizing account of the *Mogul*'s treaſure, which, he ſays, he was credibly inform'd, amounted to 1500 millions of crowns.

The *Mogul* then reigning was *Choram*, an uſurper, the lawful heir, *Polagi*, being in *Perſia*, as we obſerv'd in the voyages and travels of the ambaſſadors. But as *uſurpation*, in that country, as well as in others, is *ſanctified by ſucceſs*; *Choram* had taken care to keep the throne, by puttinng to death ſuch as he thought were likely to aſſiſt the true heir, if he ſhould attempt to recover his right; and, bating thoſe cruelties which that bottomleſs pit of *reaſon of ſtate* put him upon, he was otherwiſe

otherwiſe a man of a pleaſant humour, and, contrary to the practice of the kings of that country, ſeem'd pleas'd to have ſome of his commands evaded, when it was wittily done; of which our author gives a comical ſtory.

A comical ſtory. The *Mogul*, miſſing one of his *Chans*, ask'd where he was, and being told, he had taken phyſick, he order'd a ſet of his dancing women to go to his apartment, and there to ſtrip, and eaſe themſelves before him. The *Chan*, having information of their orders, ask'd them, as ſoon as they enter'd the room, what were his majeſty's commands, which they repeated to him. Well then, ſaid he, *You may put the king's orders in execution when you pleaſe; but remember, that if you make one drop of water before me, I will make you be ſoundly whip'd.* The ladies, not daring to hazard a whipping, return'd to the palace, and giving an account to the Mogul, he applauded the *Chan*'s ingenuity, and left his phyſick to work of itſelf, without his interpoſition.

Prize-fighting. *Choram* took great delight in the bear garden, as other men of war do, where not only four-leg'd beaſts fought againſt one another, but men encounter'd lions, and other ſavage creatures. At the birth of one of his ſons, the *Mogul* made a proclamation be publiſh'd, that who-ever would engage againſt a lion or a tyger, with ſword and buckler only, ſhould be rais'd to the dignity of a *Chan*, if he came off victor. Three appear'd in the liſts; the firſt, laying aſide his coat of mail, encounter'd with a lion, and fought with great courage for ſome time; but at laſt the lion preſſing hard upon him, and he having unhappily drop'd his buckler, drew a dagger which he had at his belt, and having ſtuck it in the lion's mouth, the beaſt recoil'd, which gave the warrior an opportunity to lay him dead with one blow of his ſcymetar. But the Mogul was ſo incens'd at his having made uſe of his dagger, that he order'd his belly to be rip'd up. The ſecond adventurer was quickly diſpatch'd by a tyger, who tore his throat out. But the third having engag'd the ſame beaſt, at the firſt blow ſtruck off both his fore paws, and having thus diſabled him, kill'd him ſoon after; which pleas'd the Mogul ſo much, that he gave him a brocade garment out of his own hand, and made him a *Chan*.

Mr. Mandelſloe in danger. But our author's deſign of ſtaying ſome longer time in *Agra*, was interrupted by an accident, which might have been fatal to him, but for the fidelity of a *Perſian* ſervant, who, altho' he had deſerted him at *Surat*, ſtuck to him at *Agra*, and, in all appearance, ſav'd his life. For, as he was talking with this *Perſian*, in the ſtreet, one day, an *Indoſtan* of a good mien came up to him and told him, he was much miſtaken if he was not the man who had kill'd his kinſman in the ſcuffle above-mention'd, between the *Germans* and *Indians* at *Iſpahan*. The accuſation being true, (altho' it was in his own defence) ſurpriz'd him; but two *Engliſh* merchants being by, aſſur'd the *Indoſtan*, that he was miſtaken, for that gentleman came by the laſt *Engliſh* ſhip to *Surat*; and the *Perſian* ſwore by *Mahomet* and *Hoſſein*, that he knew what they affirm'd was true. This equivocation ſatisfied the *Indian*, but our author, not caring to have any more queſtions of that kind put to him, took the firſt opportunity of leaving *Agra*.

He leaves Agra,

Having had letters from *Surat*, that the director of the *Engliſh* company was preparing to return to *England*, Mr. *Mandelſloe* left *Agra* with a caravan of *Indian* merchants going to *Amadabat*; where he met with ſome *Engliſh* going to *Surat*, who had taken 24 ſoldiers for their guard. After having march'd two or three nights for coolneſs, they overtook a *Dutch* caravan; but the night after, the *Dutch* having ſet out about midnight, the *Engliſh*, together with our author and the guard, begun their march ſoon after; when at the entry into a wood, their trumpeter (of which every caravan and troop of horſe has one) ſounded his trumpet, which our travellers rightly judging to be a villainous ſignal to the *Resboutes*, put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Our author and an *Engliſh* merchant got out of their coach, and giving four fuſees, which they had, to the reſt of the *Engliſh*, who were in another coach, they got a horſeback, with only piſtols and their ſwords, giving orders not to fire 'till they were ſure of doing execution.

fights the Resboutes,

They had ſcarce time to put their ſmall troop in order, when the *Resboutes* iſſu'd out of the wood in cluſters upon them, and coming near the coach where the *Engliſh* were, the 4 fuſees brought down three, and wounded ſeveral others. But the rogues, truſting to their numbers, preſs'd forward, kill'd two ſoldiers, with their arrows. Mr. *Mandelſloe* had one arrow in the pomel of his ſaddle, and his buff coat ſav'd him from being kill'd by two javelins thrown at him. But two of the *Resboutes* having ſeiz'd his bridle to carry him off, the *Engliſh* merchant, who had an arrow ſticking in his turbant, came ſeaſonably to his relief, and diſpatching one of them, gave him time to kill the other. But they had been overpower'd by numbers, if the noiſe of the trumpet firſt, and then of the guns, had not brought 10 ſoldiers ba k from the *Dutch* caravan; and the *Resboutes* believing they were all return'd,

return'd, fled into the wood, after having loſt ſix men, and others were much wounded, whom they carried off. The *Europeans* had two kill'd and eight wounded. They continued upon their guard for ſome time, but ſaw the rogues no more. What became of the trumpet we are not told; but they ar-

and arrives ſafe at Surat.

arriv'd at *Surat*, upon St. *Stephen*'s day.

The next day Mr. *Metwold* reſign'd his office of chief director of the *Engliſh* company into the hands of Mr. *Fremling*, and in a few days took ſhip and fell down to *Daman*, with intention to ſail along the *Decan* coaſt to *Goa*, where the late director had ſome affairs of the company to adjuſt before he went to *England*.

From thence he ſet ſail to Goa.

Jan. 5, the *Mary* ſet ſail from the road of *Surat*, with Mr. *Metwold* and Mr. *Mandelſloe* aboard, and in ſix days came to an anchor under the fort of *Deguard*, within a mile of *Goa*, where they were complimented in name of the *Portugueſe* vice-roy, by a captain of the fort, and ſoon after the commodore of the galleons came aboard them. Mr. *Metwold* taking our author along with him, went up the river, in a pinnace to *Goa*. Here they ſtaid 10 days, had an audience of the vice-roy, and were entertain'd by the *Portugueſe* quality living in that city, and particularly by the governor of *Moſambic*, who happen'd to be at *Goa* at that time. They were likewiſe treated by the Jeſuites, who ſhew'd them their church and convent, which were rich and magnificent: But the altar dedicated to St. *Francis Xavier*, the apoſtle of the *Indies*, was by far the richeſt in the church. [It is the cuſtom of thoſe fathers to ſpare no coſt upon adorning the altars dedicated to the ſaints of their own order: An inſtance of which is the altar of *Ignatius Loyola*, in the Grand JESU at *Rome*, which is the richeſt of any in that city, or perhaps in the whole world.]

The Jeſuites at *Goa* entertain'd them with an account of the miracles ſaid to have been wrought by *Xavier*. They alſo ſhew'd them a well-built hoſpital for 1000 ſick people, which is under their direction.

Goa deſcrib'd.

The city of *Goa* is the chief of all the *Portugueſe* colonies in the *Eaſt Indies*, where the vice-roy lives in great ſtate. This city is in the kingdom of *Decan*, or *Cuncan*, in an iſland made by a river ſix miles from the ſea, in the latitude of 15 degrees. The iſland on which *Goa* ſtands is ſo barren, that it is with great care that they can rear a few fruit trees. But the city is plentifully ſupplied of neceſſaries from two neighbouring iſlands, *Salſette* and *Bardis*, and likewiſe from the adjacent continent. So that in ſpite of a blockade the *Dutch* had made in the mouth of the river, a hog was ſold at *Goa* for a crown, and for the ſame price they ſold ſix ſucking pigs, or ten pullets.

The ſtrength of *Goa* conſiſts in the river and fort *De-guard*, which commands it; for the city has no walls.

It is inhabited by Portugueſes.

The inhabitants are, for the moſt part, *Portugueſe*, either by father and mother, which gives the name of *Caſtizes*, or elſe of a *Portugueſe* father, and an *Indian* mother, call'd *Meſtizes*; but in three or four generations, they grow of the colour of the native *Indians*.

The *Portugueſes* here are all gentlemen, whatever they were at home. For, it is obſerv'd of them, that when they come to the cape of *Good Hope*, in their voyage to the *Indies*, every man takes the *Don* before his name: And it is good ſport to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to ſee the punctilio and ceremony they uſe in their viſits to one another.

The women's art to come at gallants.

Our author tells of a cuſtom the women of that country have to enjoy the company of white men, of whom they are diſtractedly fond. Being ſo cloſe kept at home, that they are never ſeen in the ſtreets, they make up their preſerves, or drink, with the juice of an herb, they call *Doutro*, but the *Turks* and *Perſians* give it the name of *Datula* (ſomewhat like *Bear's foot*) this preparation they give to their husbands, who are thereby ſtupified for 24 hours, ſo that they are depriv'd of all ſenſe or motion, during that time, whilſt ſome favourite ſlave goes abroad for a gallant to Madam. But applying cold water to the ſoles of the feet, wakes them out of this lethargy as out of a ſound ſleep. And he ſays, that the reſtraint under which the *Portugueſes* keep the women at *Goa*, added to their natural inclinations, makes them take opportunities of gratifying their paſſion, even at the riſque of their lives.

Their ſoldiers.

But their manner of treating the ſoldiers there, notwithſtanding the many enemies they have to encounter, both *Indians* and *Europeans*, ſeems very odd: For we are told, that they are not liſted under any certain officer, or in any ſtanding regiments, unleſs it be when they are actually attack'd; for, at all other times, they are left to ſtarve, or rob upon the highway. And, our author ſays, that ten or twelve of them live in a hut together, having only two or three ſuits of clothes among them, which they wear by turns, when they go out to beg, or purchaſe what or how they can, to ſubſiſt themſelves, and thoſe who ſtay at home for want of clothes.

Notwithſtanding the bigotry of the *Portugueſes*, they gave free liberty of their religion to the *Jews* at *Goa*, whether

ther born among them, or come thither from *Paleſtine*. [But this is the leſs to be wonder'd at, when we conſider the great number of *Jews* who have always been in *Portugal* itſelf, altho' in later days, the inquiſition has made them profeſs themſelves Roman Catholicks.]

Their ſlaves. They are ſerv'd at *Goa* by great numbers of ſlaves of both ſexes, whom the *Portugueſes* keep in great ſubjection, and ſell their children as they would a cow or a ſheep, unleſs the father has pick'd up any pence to redeem the infant at a fortnight old. Their ſlaves coſt them little expence, their food being miſerable, and the clothing only a little coarſe calicoe to cover their nakedneſs.

The people who inhabit the adjacent country are *Pagans*, and, for the moſt part, *Banians*. They are ſo ſuperſtitious, that if they ſee a crow as they go abroad upon any buſineſs, they immediately return home, and undertake no buſineſs that day; [as ſome of my countrymen go to bed, if any unhallowed mortal ſhould overſet a ſalt at table.]

The trade of Goa. The chief trade of the *Portugueſes* is to *Bengal*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *China*, and *Camboia*. But there is likewiſe a conſiderable traffick carried on by ſtrangers, either *Jews* or *Mahometans*, from this place to the *Red Sea*, with ſpices. All goods imported or exported pay 8 *per cent.* duty; but the officers are very moderate in exacting it, which is not ornary in other parts. Beſides, if any merchant exports goods (which have once paid duty) becauſe he cannot ſell them, he is not oblig'd to pay again; by which they often cheat the cuſtom-houſe, entring the goods they have ſold, under their own names, that the cuſtom may be ſav'd to the buyer.

Having ſtaid till the 20th of *January* at *Goa*, Mr. *Metwold* having finiſh'd his buſineſs there, they went down the river, and went aboard their own ſhip, and were ſaluted from the galleons and the fort, which the *Mary* return'd with 20 guns. They ſet ſail the 22d for the coaſt of *Malabar*, having had information, that a rich *Engliſh* ſhip had been taken by the *Moors*, in her way from *Bantam*, after a brave defence, and having blown up 1200 *Moors*, who had boarded her. Mr. *Metwold*'s deſign was to ranſom the captain, and ſuch others as might have been taken. But having met with three *Engliſh* ſhips they were inform'd of their being releas'd before. Notwithſtanding that, they went along the coaſt of *Malabar*, and ſtop'd at *Cananor*, where the *Portugueſes* had a good fleet.

Malabar. This country of *Malabar* all along the coaſt from *Goa* to cape *Comorin*, was formerly under the dominion of one monarch; but when their king, *Sarama Perimal* embraced the *Mahometan* religion, and, out of a ſenſeleſs zeal for devotion, reſign'd his crown to be near the ſepulchre of the prophet, he divided his kingdom into 4, *viz. Cananor*, *Cochin*, *Chaul*, and *Calicut*: But with this condition, that the three former ſhould be tributary to the latter, and therefore he gave the title of *Zamorin*, or emperor, to him whom he appointed king of *Calicut*.

As they parted from *Cananor*, they ſaw a good number of ſhips, which they took for *Malabar* pirates, as indeed they were, and having prepared to fight them, they came up with them in the night; but the weight of the *Engliſh* artillery, and the good management of the ſeamen, ſoon gave them enough of them, for, with the firſt broadſides, they ſunk two, and diſabled four more; ſo that they retir'd, nor had they any ſtomach to renew the attack the next morning: So the *Engliſh* ſhip held her courſe towards the iſland of *Ceylan*, of which we have already given a particular deſcription. *Ceylan.*

What elſe is in Mr. *Mandelſloe*'s voyage to *England* containing only a deſcription of part of the *Indies*, as he had it from the *Engliſh*, with whom he ſail'd, and that very ſhort and imperfect, together with an account of ſuch parts of *Africk* as they touch'd at, which we ſhall reſerve to the third book of our TRAVELLER, we ſhall only add from this author, that after having ſpent the months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*, in ſtruggling with ſeveral ſtorms, and been as far as the cape of *Good Hope*, they were, by ſtreſs of weather, blown back as far as *Madagaſcar*, and came to an anchor in St. *Auſtin*'s bay, on the ſouthweſt coaſt of that iſland, upon the 2d of *July*; and having ſtaid there 'till the 19th of *Auguſt*, they ſet ſail for the cape, and, having doubled it, they arriv'd at St. *Helen*'s, *October* 6, and *Dec.* 16, came to an anchor in the *Downs*. But here they were in greater danger than they had been during their voyage of 12 months. For, there being ſome men of war in the *Downs*, the admiral invited the director to dinner, who carried our author along with him; but as they were going back to their ſhip, after having been royally entertain'd, a ſudden ſtorm carried them out to ſea, where, after they had labour'd hard four hours, they made up to a ſhip which had been driven from her anchors, where they had ſome ſhelter from the water, of which their boat was full, and the next day recover'd their ſhip, which had out-rid the ſtorm. From the *Downs* they came up the river, and the late director being met by

by the chief of the *Eaſt-India* company at *Blackwall*, he and our author were brought in a coach to *London*, where Mr. *Mandelſloe* had the honour to be introduced to the king, and, after a ſtay of three months, went home to his own country by way of *Flanders* and *Holland*, arriving at *Gottorp*, *May* 1, 1640.

CHAP. VIII.

A deſcription of China, *taken from a* Diſcourſe *of the* Kingdom *of* China *in* Spaniſh; *Engliſh'd by Mr.* Park, 1589; *from* Purchas; *from friar* Dominic Navarette's *account of the empire of* China, *about the year* 1650; *from father* Le Comte, *jeſuite, in* 1686; *and others.*

HAVING given as full an account of two of the largeſt empires of *Aſia*, *viz.* the *Mogul*'s, and that of *Perſia*, as our deſign would admit, we now proceed to the great empire of *China*, which with the kingdoms depending upon and tributary to it, takes in the whole eaſtern continent of *Aſia*, lying from 20 degrees n. lat. to 55 deg. (the northermoſt part of *Tartary* being now ſubject to the emperor of *China*.*)

* Salmon vol. 1. p. 1

As this country has been but lately known, I queſtion whether the accounts we have of it are altogether to be depended upon; the diſputes between the *Jeſuites*, and thoſe of the other orders of the church of *Rome* (from whom we have the only relations of that vaſt empire) having made them contradict one another, and their zeal for the different parties engag'd in the controverſy, having turn'd all their narratives of *China* into diſputes of religion, at leaſt ſo blended them, that it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh between points of religion and matters of civil life, among the *Chineſes*. For inſtance.

The *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, in their accounts of the religion of the *Chineſes*, repreſent them as idolaters, for worſhipping *Confucius*, and their departed anceſtors; but the *Jeſuites* (who indulge them in that idolatry) pretend that their ceremonies of kneeling before the images of *Confucius* and their deceas'd fathers, is an innocent piece of reſpect to ſuch as have behav'd well in their lives. Let them adjuſt that diſpute among themſelves, becauſe, if what they ſay of *Confucius*'s life and doctrine be true, I ſhould as ſoon worſhip his image as ſome who have been canoniz'd of late days: That is, I would neither worſhip one or the other. And indeed I cannot ſee what argument could be us'd by the miſſionaries in *China* againſt the *Chineſes* worſhipping *Confucius*, and the other images they found among them, which will not equally hold againſt the image of any ſaint they carried with them: And with what face they could urge the natives of *India* to give over the worſhip of images made in their country, to worſhip others made in *Europe*, I confeſs I cannot ſee: The beſt argument that I know againſt idolatry is, that it is againſt the duty we owe to the ſupreme being, to give that honour to another, which is due to GOD *alone*: And that it is expreſsly forbidden by divine authority, *to worſhip any other but* GOD. And theſe were very proper topicks for thoſe reverend fathers to have inſiſted upon with the *Chineſes*, againſt their images of all kinds: But, to tell them, it was idolatry to worſhip *Confucius*, or their dead parents, and, at the ſame time, to make it a duty to worſhip St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, or St. *Ignatius Loyola*, ſeems a little inconſiſtent, eſpecially ſince they had not language enough to make them underſtand their diſtinction between *Latreia* and *Dulia*, or, if they had, the latter was all that the *Chineſes* meant to pay to *Confucius*, if the *Jeſuites* have fairly repreſented them. But this only by the by.

SECT. I.

Of the origine, ſituation, and diviſion of the empire of China.

Authors diſagree about the antiquity of China.

THERE is great diſagreement among authors, as to the antiquity, name, extent, and even ſituation, of this great empire. Their own accounts (either miſunderſtood by the miſſionaries who tell us of them, or computing their years after a different manner than they do now,

now, or forging pretended old records out of an affectation of antiquity) have given us names and hiſtories of their kings long before the flood, nay before the creation. But, not to trouble ourſelves, nor the reader, with uſeleſs diſputes of that kind, it is agreed by all, that *China* is a very ancient monarchy. The *Diſcourſe* of the *Kingdom* of *China* (written in *Spaniſh* by *F. Mendoza*, who was ſent ambaſſador from the *Spaniſh* court to *China*, and tranſlated by Mr. *Parke*) makes the name of their firſt king *Vitey*, and ſays, that from him to *Tzinzon*, who built the great wall (of which hereafter) there were 116 kings, of the poſterity of their firſt monarch; but, that the people, being diſguſted at the drudgery he put them to, in making that prodigious wall, conſpir'd againſt *Tzinzon*, and murder'd both him and his ſon, and ſo transfer'd the government into another family. After this there were ſeveral changes, during the ſpace of 2000 years, to *Boneg*, who was emperor when this friar was ſent to *China*, by *Philip* II. king of *Spain*.

But F. *Navarette* ſays, that there never was ſuch a king there as *Vitey*, but that their firſt king was call'd *Fo Hi*: And that from him to the year 1675, there had paſs'd 4559 years, which makes the beginning of the *Chineſe* monarchy to have been within little more than 70 years after the flood. With this account father *Le Comte* agrees, and adds, that their kings had chang'd 22 different families, as well they might in 4500 years.

What part of that which we now call *China* was under the dominion of their firſt kings, it is to no purpoſe to enquire; no doubt it encreas'd by the ſame methods that other monarchies and ſtates did; *viz.* by invading their leſs powerful or leſs ſucceſsful neighbours; but, at preſent, the *Chineſe* monarchy is one of the largeſt in the world, being, ſince the addition of *Tartary*, 2040 miles, from ſouth to north.

It is true all that track of country is not properly *China*, but ſince it is under one ſovereign, it is with propriety enough call'd the empire of *China*, altho' for the better underſtanding of the geography of it, we ſhall ſay ſomething of them ſeparately.

Proper *China* is that track of ground which lies between the iſland of *Hainan* in 19 deg. n. lat. and the great wall, formerly mention'd, which runs along the whole breadth of *China*, from weſt to eaſt, in 39 and 40 degrees of latitude, and falls into the *Kang Sea*, between *Pekin* and *Leotung*. So that the length of *China* from the *Indian* ſea, to that wall, is 20 degrees, or 1200 miles, and much the ſame in breadth.

The *Chineſe Tartary* lies north from the wall as far as to the 55th deg. of n. lat. and is bounded on the eaſt by the ſea of *Corea*, and the land of *Jeſſo*; upon the ſouth, by the wall of *China*; on the weſt by *Muſcovite Tartary*; and on the north, by a country as yet unknown. This is the *Aſiatick Scythia* of the ancients. It was of old divided into ſmall kingdoms, and there are petty kings there ſtill, but are no better than vice-roys to the emperor of *China*. But at preſent that country is but indifferently inhabited, vaſt colonies having been tranſplanted from thence to *China*, ſince the union of the two nations, or rather the conqueſt of *China* by the *Tartars*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The *Tartars* who remain'd in their own country ſtill live after their old manner, ſpending their time in hunting and riding; and, if they are not ſo polite as the *Chineſes*, they are braver, and more hardy, as their neighbours farther ſouth found to their coſt the laſt century. They are not very fond of cultivating much land; a little bread ſerves them, and they furniſh themſelves with fleſh by hunting. They have excellent horſes, of which they ſend a good number every year to *Pekin*. The moſt remarkable thing of this country is the great quantity of *Genſing*, which, in their language, ſignifies *Man-plant*; 10,000 *Tartars* are yearly employ'd to gather of it for the emperor of *China*. It likewiſe abounds in furs. But to return to *China*.

Tartary

This great country is not call'd *China* by its inhabitants, if we may believe *Navarette*, for they change the name of the kingdom almoſt with every new king. The *Portugueſes* gave it the name of *China*, which ſignifies *Silk* in the language of the country.

The name of China.

It was formerly much infeſted by incurſions from the *Tartars*; ſo that above 1900 years ago, *Tzinzon* (as *Mendoza* calls him) or *Cing Xi Hoang*, (as *Navarette*) built a wall quite croſs the frontiers, which, with the windings they were forced to make in it, made it 1500 miles in length, 30 cubits high, and 12 thick. To build this ſtupendous wall, the emperor order'd 3 men out of 10, through the whole kingdom to be employ'd in it. It was of dry ſtone, but ſo exactly join'd, that one could not drive a ſmall nail between the joints. After the building this wall, which was finiſh'd in 5 years, with towers at proper diſtances, the king appointed a million of ſoldiers for a conſtant guard at thoſe towers.

The famous wall between China and Tartary.

But, in after ages, the *Chineſe* having enlarg'd their dominion beyond this wall, were poſſeſs'd of *Leoatum* or *Leotung*, they had ſometimes commerce in a friendly manner

with the *Tartars*, and at other times were at war with them. About the middle of the laſt century, one of the princes of the eaſt *Tartars* having ſent a complaint to *Pekin* of ſome hardſhips done to his ſubjects, by the *Chineſe* merchants, near the great wall, the emperor, ſlighting the *Tartar*'s meſſage, provok'd him to raiſe an army, with which he enter'd the province of *Leoatum*, to revenge the injuries done to his people. * *Ouſanguey* was ſent by the king againſt the *Tartars*, who carried on the war, for ſome time, with equal ſucceſs on both ſides.

* F. *Le Comte*'s and *Navarette*'s travels in *China*.

But, whilſt the emperor was living careleſs at *Pekin*, with a garriſon of 70,000 men about him, a more dangerous war broke out, in the heart of his dominions. *Li Kung Xu* was head of this rebellion, who, having rais'd an army, and been receiv'd in ſeveral chief cities of the kingdom, march'd with his victorious forces to *Pekin*, in *April*, 1644. The emperor was kept a ſtranger to the progreſs the rebel had made, the eunuchs, who alone had acceſs to him, being in the plot. So that *Li Kung Xu* had the gates of *Pekin* open'd to him, and the garriſon join'd his army.

The revolution in China.

The emperor then too late took the alarm, but, reſolving to die a king, mounted his horſe, and would have forced his way, at the head of 600 of his guards ſtill with him, or have died with them. But they having likewiſe deſerted to the uſurper, the unfortunate monarch, taking his daughter by the hand, led her into the garden, and there, to prevent their falling into the traitor's hands, he kill'd her with his ſword, and hang'd himſelf.

Upon the report of the king's death, his empreſs, together with many others, whoſe untainted loyalty hinder'd them from expecting or deſiring any favour from him who had betrayed his maſter, made likewiſe away with themſelves. Others fell into the uſurper's hands, and, among the reſt, the father of *Ouſanguey*. The uſurper, who now took the title of emperor, forced the old gentleman to write to his ſon to own *Li Kung Xu*, ſince he had got poſſeſſion of the throne, and ſo was *King de Facto*, and withal preſs'd him to it from the conſideration of ſaving his old father's life. But *Ouſanguey* (like our brave countryman at *Berwick*, upon a like occaſion, when his ſons were threaten'd) return'd an anſwer worthy of himſelf. *That his obligations to his* prince *and* country *were prior to any other ties*; *that if his father continued in his* allegiance *to the* royal family, *there was no danger he would refuſe for his ſafety, but his honour and conſcience forbade him to turn* traitor *to ſave his life*; *and if his father had* renounced *his* loyalty, *he ſhould be aſham'd to be eſteem'd his ſon.*

Li Kung Zu *uſurps the throne of* China.

Great loyalty in Ouſanguey.

The uſurper, upon the return of the meſſenger, march'd againſt *Ouſanguey*, carrying his father along with him, and finding the loyal general in a ſtrong city, which he was reſolv'd to defend, he ſent him word, that unleſs he ſurrender'd, he would put his father to death in ſight of the walls, and upon his refuſal was as good as his word; which ſo exaſperated *Ouſanguey*, that finding himſelf uncapable of pulling down the uſurper by the aſſiſtance of the *Chineſes*, who had generally revolted or ſubmitted, he had recourſe to a deſperate remedy; but ſuch an one as I cannot blame him for, becauſe he could not foreſee that his countrymen would be ſuch poltroons as to ſubmit to a foreign yoke ſo tamely as they did; and therefore they were chargeable with the conſequences of it, and not he. The caſe was this.

Ouſanguey *brings in the* Tartars.

Ouſanguey finding that *Li Kung Zu* had ſuch a party in *China*, that there was no proſpect of reſtoring the royal family with the ſmall army under his command, ſent propoſals to the *Tartars*, then his enemies, offering them the friendſhip of the true heir of the crown, if they would join with him to drive the uſurper from the throne. *Xun Chi*, the *Tartar* prince, readily accepting the propoſals, made peace with the general, and join'd him with an army of 80,000 horſe. This new alliance ſtruck ſuch a damp upon *Li Kung Zu*, that he retir'd to *Pekin*, with the confederate army at his heels. But his courage failing him, notwithſtanding his numbers, as ſoon as he heard of their having paſs'd the wall (which they did either by ſurprize, or by *Ouſanguey*'s intereſt) he plunder'd the treaſury of *Pekin*, and made a retreat to the province of *Xen Si*, which probably was his own native country, or the place where he had begun the rebellion.

Who uſurp the throne.

But *Ouſanguey* having got poſſeſſion of *Pekin*, purſued the uſurper with a part of the army, leaving the *Tartar* prince to put matters in order, 'till he ſhould break the neck of the uſurpation, which he happily perform'd, and alſo recover'd the treaſure which had been carried away. But the *Tartar*, during his abſence, had ſo manag'd the *Chineſe* nobility, that, to the great ſurprize of *Ouſanguey*, they had declar'd him emperor; and he ſent a ſecret order to his own country, inviting the *Tartars* from all quarters to come to *Pekin*.

The general diſſembling his diſlike, accepted of 2 or 3 provinces, with the title of king, under the new emperor. His deſign

deſign was to get at a diſtance from this ſecond uſurper, and as ſoon as he ſhould be in a condition, to declare war againſt him, which he did ſoon after with good ſucceſs, and *Navarette*, who was in *China* about that time, ſays, that a couſin german of the late emperor was proclaim'd king at *Nankin*. But the *Chineſes* tamely ſubmitting to the yoke of the foreigners, and, unluckily for *China*, the brave general dying, they yielded from ſtep to ſtep, by the force of *a ſtanding army*, 'till at laſt they ſuffer'd him to people *Pekin* with *Tartars*: And, as a great condeſcenſion, the new citizens vouchſaf'd to let the old proprietors build a new city for themſelves, joining to the old one.

Thus *China* and *Tartary* became united, and continue ſo to this day, by the abject ſpirits of the *Chineſes* at firſt, who, altho' they then had above 200,000 men in arms, and might have rais'd 200,000 more, ſuffered themſelves to be enſlav'd by leſs than 80,000. And were oblig'd to conform to the cuſtoms and habit of the *Tartars*, that they might not diſcover the ſmallneſs of the number of their inſolent maſters, and, out of mere ſhame, ſtir up the women to extirpate them, ſince the men had loſt their ſpirit.

Tartary a loſer by being united to China.

It is very true that *Tartary* gain'd nothing by the union; for (as it muſt happen in all unions between rich and powerful kingdoms, and thoſe which are poor and ſmall) *Tartary* became a province to *China*, and, altho' thoſe *Tartars*, who were tranſplanted to *China*, made a good exchange; yet the *Tartar* emperors ſoon became *Chineſes* in good policy; and *Tartary*, before independent, now receiv'd their laws from *Pekin*.

Having now ſhew'd how *China* came to be united to *Tartary*, we ſhall proceed to give the diviſion of it. But here we are plagued with a confuſion of names, it being ſo hard to pronounce the *Chineſe* language right. However, not to puzzle our reader with odd ſounds, we ſhall ſet them down as the moderns generally write them.

China then is generally divided into 15 provinces, *viz. Quantum*, *Fokein*, *Chechiam*, *Nankin*, *Xantum*, *Pekin*, *Xanſi*, *Xenſi*, *Suchuen*, *Yunan*, and *Quamſi*. Theſe 11 being the outward provinces quite round, within the wall, beginning from the ſouth coaſt, and going, by the eaſt, north, weſt, and ſo ſouth; within which 11 provinces are the other 4 in the heart of the country, *viz. Queycheu*, *Kiam-ſi*, *Huquam*, and *Honan*. To theſe muſt be added *Leoatum*, benorth the wall, which makes a 16th province in proper *China*, before the union.

The 16 provinces of China.

China, properly ſo call'd, is near the figure of a circle, and the 11 provinces, firſt mention'd above, go round the inſide of the circle, in the order there ſet down. So that *Quantum*, begins the round, on the ſouth ſouth-eaſt part of the circle. Its chief city is *Canton*, as it is in our *Atlas*, juſt under the tropic of *Cancer*: And is the place whither the firſt *Spaniſh* miſſionaries went, from the *Manilla* iſlands.

1. Quantum. *Its capital* Canton.

The next to that, within the circle, towards the north-eaſt, is the province of *Fokein*, whoſe capital is *Focheu*, about the latitude of 26 degrees. Between theſe two provinces lies the iſland of *Formoſa*, to the eaſt-ward of them; of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

2. Fokein. *Capital* Focheu.

Chekiam is the next to *Fokein* towards the north, and has, for its capital, *Hamcheu*, in 31 degrees.

3. Chekiam. *Cap.* Hamcheu.

The next province is *Nankin*, whoſe capital is in 33 deg. and bears the ſame name with the province, altho' it is likewiſe call'd *Kiamnen*. It was once the ſeat of the emperors, untill the frequent wars with the *Tartars*, made them change it for *Pekin*, that they might be ſo much nearer to obſerve the motions of that warlike people. *Kiam*, the greateſt river of *China*, runs through this province.

4. Nankin. *cap. the ſame.*

Xantum is the next, and lies upon the coaſt of the *Cang Sea*, which is north from it. The capital of this province is *Cinan*.

5. Xantum. *cap.* Cinan.

Between this and the great wall, is the province of *Pekin*, in whoſe capital, of the ſame name with the province, is the reſidence of their emperors; and of which we ſhall give a farther deſcription by and by.

6 Pekin, *cap. the ſame.*

Xanſi lies along the great wall weſtward from *Pekin*. Its capital is *Tayven*. This province is divided by the *Hoanbo*, or yellow river, from

7. Xanſi, *cap.* Tayven.

Xenſi, which is the firſt province of the weſtern part of *China* from the great wall, and runs a conſiderable way towards the ſouth. The capital of this province is *Sigan*.

8 Xenſi, *cap.* Sigan.

Suchuan is the next farther ſouth, where the country turns towards ſouth-eaſt. Its capital is *Chimtu*, or *Chingtu*.

9. Suchuan *cap.* Chimtu.

South-eaſt of *Suchuan* is *Yunan*, whoſe capital has the ſame name.

10. Yunan *cap. the ſame.*

Quamſi compleats the circumference of the circle, and joins to the firſt province mention'd. It's capital is *Queilin*. All theſe are the provinces of *China* which bound it on all ſides, having the eaſt ſea, call'd the ſea of *China*, to the eaſt; the great wall to the north; *India* beyond the *Ganges* on the weſt; and part of the ſea of *China*, with the iſland of *Haynan*, on the ſouth.

11. Quamſi, *cap.* Queilin.

The inward part of the circle is made up of four provinces, the firſt of which is *Kiamſi*,

12. Kiamsi, *cap.* Nankam

Kiamsi, lying northward of *Quantum*. Its capital is *Nankam*, in 30 degrees, by the side of a lake in our maps, between *Chekiam* and *Suchuan*, but much nearer to the first.

13 Queycheu, *cap.* Queyang

The next is *Queycheu*, to the north of *Quamsi*, westward of *Kiamsi*, and east of part of the provinces of *Suchuan* and *Yunan*. The capital of this province is *Queyang*.

14. Huquam, *cap.* Vucham.

Huquam is almost the centre of the circle. Its capital is *Vucham*, much the same with the name of the province.

15. Honan, *cap.* Caifum.

The last province mention'd within the wall is *Honan*, as much beyond the centre northward, as *Huquam* is short of it to the south. Its capital is *Caifum*.

16. Leoatum, *cap.* Xyniam.

But, besides these 15 provinces, there is another, without the great wall, which was, long before the *Tartar* conquest, a part of the empire of *China*. This province is call'd *Leoatum*, or *Leotung*, and has the great wall and *Cang* sea on the south and part west; *Corea* on the east; the mountains of *Tartary* on the north and west. Its chief city is *Xyniam*.

Chinese Tartary. * See *Atlas*, p. 212.

The *Chinese Tartary*, north of this, is but little known to *Europeans*. Our *English Atlas* * describes it from *Isbrand Ides*, as one province of *China*, under the name of *Bogdoi*, or *Niuche*, having the river *Argun*, and sandy deserts, which divide it from the *Muscovite* dominions, on the west; the river *Amour*, which separates it from the same dominions on the north; the eastern sea and part of *Corea* on the east, which divide it from the land of *Jesso* and *Japan*; and *Leoatung* and the great wall on the south. So that, according to this computation, it is 360 miles in length and 540 in breadth. The *Chinese Tartars* are represented by *Ides*, as avow'd worshippers of the devil, and profess'd conjurers, at least in the country about *Nankoton*, which he makes the first city from the river *Argun*, subject to *China*. Their houses are only huts of clay, cover'd with reeds, or small bamboos, with a pillar in the middle, hung with the entrails of beasts, bows and arrows, all which they worship. Their kitchen furniture are two kettles, one for tea, and another for boiling victuals. The people are well-shap'd, but the handsomest of the women often carried off by the *Mandarins*, or governors, whether they be maids or wives; which they are forced to reckon an honour, because they dare not resent it. But the extent of this country is not known, and there is so little of certainty to be found in the few accounts that are given of some parts of it, that we shall leave it to farther discoveries, and return to *China*.

The cities of

We have mention'd sixteen capital cities in *China*, but there are great numbers of others mention'd by those who have describ'd that country. F. *Le Comte* reckons 160 first rate cities in *China*, 270 of the second sort, and 1200 of the third, and this computation is exclusive of villages, which he says are numberless, and likewise exclusive of 300 wall'd towns of great trade, but not worth observing in respect of the others. We shall only trouble the reader with a short description of *Pekin*, by which he may judge of the others.

Description of China.

Pekin, or *Pe King*, (which, in the *Chinese* language, signifies the *North Court*, to distinguish it from *Nankin*, or *Nan King*, the south court) being, as has been observ'd, the residence of the kings of *China*, is therefore look'd upon as the metropolis of the empire. * It stands in 40 degrees, in a fertile plain, near the great wall so often mention'd. It was formerly almost square within a wall of about 12 miles circuit. (which is much about the same extent of *Rome*) But after *Zung Chi* had brought a colony of his *Tartars* to *Pekin*, he oblig'd the poor *Chineses* to remove out of the city, graciously allowing them to build a new city on the other side of the wall. *A just judgement upon them for suffering* foreigners *to get such footing among them, as to be able to make laws for them.* This addition to *Pekin*, altho' it spoil'd the regularity of the city, yet it has encreas'd it considerably, it being now 18 miles in circuit.

* *Le Comte's voyage.*

Pekin very populous.

Altho' this city is very populous, so that *Le Comte* says there are at least 2 millions of people in it, yet it seems a great deal more populous than it really is, because, there being no river to bring commodities by water, the streets are crouded with paisants and carriages, insomuch that, at the opening and shutting of the gates, there is no passing the streets near them, without being stop'd for some time. Besides, the artificers do not work in their own houses, but at the houses of those who employ them; so that you meet an army of shoemakers, taylors, &c. going to work at different places, and multitudes of them standing in the streets for want of work. And then considering that all people of any tolerable rank, go thro' the streets a horseback, and that the *Mandarins*, or officers of state, are attended by numbers of servants and hangers on; these things occasion the streets to be crowded like a fair, altho' no women appear in them.

But indeed one would suspect, that this computation of two millions of people, in 6 leagues circuit, where all the houses are only one story high, was a mistake, but *Le Comte* says the *Chineses* take up but half

half the room of the *Europeans*; and ſo by dividing their low houſes into a great number of rooms, they contain many people in a ſmall compaſs.

The ſtreets are very ſtrait, being built from wall to wall, only croſs'd by other ſtreets, reaching from the other two walls, and the great ſtreets are 120 foot broad, and thoſe of trade open all along, and ſet out with thoſe commodities they have to ſell; and generally painted, and ſometimes gilded boards, containing an account of what they have to diſpoſe of.

The emperor's palace.

There are no dwelling-houſes worth deſcribing, except the palace, which is a kind of city of itſelf; for, it has not only the emperor's apartment, and the place for his women, but likewiſe the houſes of the officers of ſtate, and large courts for artificers of different trades, who are conſtantly at work for his majeſty's ſervice. Theſe laſt mention'd are outer courts, but ſeparated from the city by a wall. The inner palace is a ſtately building, and has 9 courts with arches, thro' which you muſt paſs to come at the emperor's apartment, where no body lives except the emperor, his women, and eunuchs. The portico of that apartment is ſupported by ſtately pillars of white marble, into which you aſcend by ſteps of the ſame, and the walls and cieling painted and gilt, and mix'd with glaz'd yellow tiles, make a glaring ſhow. But this pile wants that uniformity and taſte which a regular architect would have given it.

At every arch and court, you ſee ſome guards only arm'd with ſcimetars, and ſo mix'd with *Mandarins* and other officers of ſtate, who wait to do their homage to the emperor, that the guards ſeem more numerous than they really are.

The women's apartment being only to be entur'd by eunuchs, our authors ſay little of them, and therefore we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence. Only we ſhall take notice that the emperor is ſaid to have a great number of concubines, or, at leaſt, women, in his ſeraglio; (for there are many there with whom he has never had any communication) but he chuſes out 3 to be his queens, and they are ſerv'd in great ſtate, but do not meddle with politicks.

The Mandarins houſes, and courts of juſtice (out of the palace) are low, like the other buildings. Of their temples we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The royal obſervatory at Pekin.

But we muſt not omit the imperial obſervatory, altho' F. *Le Comte* (with very good reaſon, if it be no better than he has deſcrib'd it) will not allow it to be finer than any thing in *Europe*, according to the *Encomium* which he ſays a mathematician gave of it. As you enter a large court, you ſee on the right the apartments of ſuch as have the care of the obſervatory. Then you aſcend by a narrrow ſtaircaſe to the top of a ſquare tower, contiguous, on one ſide, to the city wall, but rais'd 12 foot above it. Upon a platform roof, covering this tower, the *Chineſe* aſtronomers placed their inſtruments, *viz.* a cœleſtial globe of 3 foot diameter, almoſt oval, but bunglingly divided, and coarſly made; with other inſtruments like aſtronomical rings. In a lower room was ſet a gnomon, and meridian line, but neiexact, nor artfully done. But *Verbeiſt*, a Jeſuit, in great credit with the emperor of *China*, perſuaded him to pull down the old machines, and ſet up others, *viz.*

1. *Sphæra Armillaris Zodiacalis*, of of ſix foot diameter. This is ſupported by 4 dragons, whoſe bodies, faſten'd to the ends of two brazen beams, bear up the ſphere. Four brazen lions ſupport the end of thoſe beams, all the animals being repreſented in the greateſt attitude of fierceneſs that art can put them in. The circles on the ſphere are divided both in the interior and exterior ſurface, by croſs lines, into 360 degrees each, and each degree into 60 min. and each min. into 6 parts of 10 a-piece, mark'd by pins.

2. *Sphæra Æquinoctialis*, of the ſame diameter with the former, ſtanding upon the back of a brazen dragon.

3. *Horizon Azimuthale*, of the ſame diameter. This inſtrument is compos'd of a large circle plac'd horizontally. The double index, which ſerves for a diameter, runs over all the limb, and carries with it a *rectangle triangle*, the upper angle of which is faſten'd to a beam rais'd perpendicular from the centre of the horizon. Four folded dragons make the inferior limb of the circle faſt, and two others, winging about two ſmall columns, keep the triangle ſteady.

4. A *Quadrant* whoſe *Radius* is ſix foot. The limb of it is divided into portions of 10 ſeconds. The plummet of it weighs a pound, and hangs from the centre by a braſs wire. The index moves eaſily round the limb. The ſeveral plates are faſten'd to a dragon folded in rings. The body of the quadrant hangs in the air, and a fix'd axis runs thro' its centre, to turn it how you will; and, leſt its weight ſhould make it ſhake, and ſo loſe its vertical poſition, the ends of the axis are fix'd to a beam on each ſide.

5. A *Sextant*, whoſe radius is 8 foot. This is ſupported by a beam, the baſe of which is concave, faſtned with dragons, and croſs'd in the middle by brazen pillars, on one end of which is an engine with wheels to move the inſtrument. On this engine reſts the middle of a ſmall brazen beam, which repreſents the radius of a *Sextant*, and is faſtned to it. It's upper part is terminated by a big cylender, which

is the center on which the index turns; and the lower is extended 2 foot beyond the limb, that it may be graſp'd by the pulley that raiſes it.

6. A *Cæleſtial-Globe* of ſix foot diameter. This is made of braſs exactly poliſh'd; the ſtars truly placed, and all the circles duly proportion'd, and the globe ſo well hung, that the leaſt touch moves it, and a child may elevate it to any degree. Upon the large hollow baſe, ſtand 4 dragons, which ſupport a noble horizon, commendable for its breadth, ornaments, and workmanſhip. The meridian, in which the pole is fix'd, moves with the whole globe, to give it the elevation requir'd.

Theſe machines being rais'd 10 foot from the floor, have marble ſtairs all round by which they are acceſſible.

Odd notion of eclipſes.

But the *Chineſes* were ſo fond of their old machines, and lame ſyſtem of aſtronomy, that the father, who had prepared theſe new ones, was fain to procure a poſitive order from the emperor, to give them a ſanction. And ſo ignorant they were of the cauſe of eclipſes, that they thought they were occaſion'd by a dragon's attempting to devour the ſun and moon, at different times, and therefore they made a terrible noiſe with drums and braſs kettles, during an eclipſe either of ſun or moon, to frighten away the monſter. It is no wonder then, if they could not calculate the time of an eclipſe before the jeſuits went among them. And altho' the more learned among the *Chineſes* are better inſtructed of late, yet the miſtake is kept up among the vulgar, and the learned comply ſo far with them as to pray for the deliverance of thoſe planets from the power of the dragon.

The gates of Pekin.

The next remarkable ſtructures in *Pekin*, are the city gates, whoſe greateſt beauty conſiſts in their heighth, which makes them ſhew at a great diſtance. Each gate has a ſquare redoubt before it, join'd to the walls of the city, on each ſide of the gate; the area of which redoubt is capable of drawing up 500 men in order of battle. And they have always guards at thoſe fortreſſes, beſides thoſe at the towers, which are at equal diſtances round the walls. The ditch without the wall is dry, but very broad and deep.

The porcelane *tower of* Nankin.

We ſhall not trouble the reader with the deſcription of any other cities in *China*, they being, for the moſt part built one way, *viz.* of one ſtory, and defended by walls and ditches. But we muſt not paſs over the *Porcelane* tower of *Naukin*, which *Le Comte* ſays is the nobleſt ſtructure of all the eaſt. The foundation is of brick with a rail of unpoliſh'd marble round it. The aſcent to the firſt hall is by 12 ſteps, on the ſeveral ſides of the octogon, which is the figure of the tower to the top. At the landing place of the ſeveral ſtairs, there is a gallery round ſupported by pillars, the roof of which is covered with green ſhining tyles, and the cieling painted in different figures. The hall has no windows, but is lighted by 3 large doors. From this firſt ſtory, you aſcend by an inconvenient ſtair, whoſe ſteps are 10 inches deep, to all the ſtories of the tower, which are nine; every one of thoſe having a pent-houſe jetting out, to go round it; but every ſtory growing narrower as they are higher. The wall of this tower is faced with *Porcelane* or *China* on the outſide, which gives it the name. Every ſtory has a diſtinct floor, and the rooms are all painted, or cover'd with varniſh'd tyles. After the firſt floor, there are windows quite round in all the reſt, and niches for ſtatues between them, where are the images of their gods and other idols. There is a cupola at the top, out of which runs a ſpire with a golden ball above. This tower is reckon'd 200 foot high.

Nankin, was, by much, a larger city than *Pekin*, the old walls being about 48 miles in circumference; and ſtill it is ſaid to have more ſouls in it than *Pekin*, but either of theſe cities has more inhabitants than *London* and *Paris* put together, if they who have given us the moſt modeſt computation of *China* have not miſtaken very much in their calculation.

Harbours The chief ports of this empire, are *Canton*, *Macao*, *Emoui*, and *Nimpo*; that of *Nankin*, once a very famous harbour upon the great river *Kiam* is now in a manner uſeleſs.

Canton. The port of *Canton* in the province of *Quantum*, lies the moſt convenient for all the *European* and *Indian* trade, being in the moſt ſoutherly part of *China*. It lies upon the river *Ta*, and is one of the beſt harbours in the kingdom. Towards the water, it is defended by two high walls, with towers and caſtles, and another wall equally guarded ſecures it on the land ſide. This city would be one of the moſt trading towns in *Aſia*, if the *Mandarins* did not hinder ſtrangers from approaching the walls, and the merchants of the city from trading with them, having themſelves engroſs'd all the traffick, and none but their factors have liberty to deal with foreigners.

Macao. In the mouth of this gulf, into which the *Ta* empties itſelf, lies the iſland of *Macao*, where there is very ſafe anchorage for ſhipping, becauſe they are ſhelter'd from all ſorts of wind, by ſeveral little iſlands. In this place the *Portugueſes* once drove a conſiderable trade, till partly by their own fault, and partly by the *Dutch*, they were forced to give it up, at leaſt in a great degree. They have ſtill

a fort in it, but the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* have a greater ſhare of the trade. and the *Portugueſes* are forced to ſubmit to all the impoſitions of the *Mandarins*, notwithſtanding their garriſon.

Emui. *Emoui* or *Ama*, the next good harbour, is an iſland upon the coaſt of *China*, near the province of *Fokein*. The largeſt ſhips ride ſafely there cloſe to the ſhore. This is a place of great trade, and has a *Chineſe* garriſon of 7000 men. The *Engliſh* have a factory there*

* Engl. Atlas, p. 216.

Nimpo lies upon the coaſt in the province of *Chikiam*, and drives a vaſt trade to *Japan*, whither they carry ſilks, ſugar, drugs and wine, which they exchange for gold, ſilver and braſs. This port lies within two days ſailing of *Ximo* iſland. The worſt of this port is that the entry to it is ſhallow, not being above 15 foot water at the greateſt tide.

Cuſan. About 30 miles from *Nimpo* lies *Cuſan* or *Cheuxan*, an iſland of about 115 miles in compaſs, where ſhips ride very ſecure near the *Engliſh* factory at the weſt end of the iſland. There are about 200 merchants houſes, where they keep their ſtores, and employ their ſervants and artiſts, but their families live at the town a mile farther from the ſea, a place wall'd, having 22 ſquare towers, ſome iron guns, and a garriſon of 4000 men.

Having thus given a ſhort account of the diviſion of *China* proper, we muſt take notice of ſeveral kindoms which are ſaid to be tributary to that emperor. Of this ſort are reckon'd *Tonquin* and *Siam* on the weſt of *China*, and *Corea* on the north, beſides the iſlands of *Formoſa* and *Aynan*. As to the firſt two, there being ſome diſpute whether they are dependent, or independent kingdoms, and as they are conſiderable dominions under their own kings, we ſhall refer them to another place, and ſhall here give a ſhort account of the three laſt. And firſt,

Kingdoms tributary to China.

Eng. Atlas, p. 213. Corea.

" *Corea*, whether a kingdom or province, lies eaſt from *Leoatung* and a " part of *Tartary*. Some make it an " iſland, but the laſt maps make it the " eaſt part of the continent, over againſt " *Japan*, and the ſouth part of it is a " peninſula. Some make *Tupa* the north " part of it, which extends as far as the " river *Amour*; ſo that it extends from " ſouth to north almoſt 720 miles, and from " eaſt to weſt about 240. It is divided into " eight provinces, is generally populous, " and has ſeveral rich cities, well inhabited, and in form and ſtrength much " like thoſe of *China*. They have a " king of their own, but tributary to " the emperor of *China*. In habit, ſpeech, " writing and religion they agree with " the *Chineſe*, but give more liberty to " the women. They have plenty of wheat " and rice, fruit of all ſorts, and two " harveſts in a year. They make ſeveral " ſorts of paper, and curious writing pencils of wolves hair. Here is alſo the " root *Ginſeng*; and it is ſaid they have " gold mines. But the country is little " known, the people having no commerce " but with thoſe of *China* and *Japan*. " The clerk of a *Dutch* ſhip caſt away on " the coaſt in 1653 * ſays it extends from " lat. 34. to 44. which agrees with our " maps; but he makes it only 75 miles " broad. He ſays it contains 360 cities " and towns, beſides forts on the mountains. The narroweſt part of the bay, " between it and *China*, freezes in winter, ſo that they paſs from one to the " other on the ice. The coaſt abounds " with whales and herrings in the winter, " and on the eaſt coaſt are many rivers, " where there is pearl fiſhing. The north " people are poor, and for the moſt part " wear skins; and the froſt is ſo ſevere, " and the ſnow ſo thick, that thoſe in " the mountains make paths under it. " Here are ſome mines of ſilver and lead, " and all ſorts of *European* birds and " beaſts, with monſtrous crocodiles and " ſerpents. This author ſays, they pay " tribute to the *Tartar* with the root " call'd *Niſi*; and that when the *Tartar* " ambaſſador comes for the tribute, which " is three times a year, he is more reſpected than their king. It is probable " that he is rather an ambaſſador from " *China*; for the author of that emperor's " voyages ſays, deputies from *Corea* came " to wait on the emperor of *China* at *Leoatung*, and made preſents to him. Yet " the king here is abſolute, according to " the *Dutch* clerk; has always a good " army about his capital, and once in ſeven years all the provinces ſend their " freemen to attend him by turns, beſides " his ordinary guards; and as he paſſes " the ſtreets, every one muſt turn his " back to him. His horſemen are arm'd " *cap-a-pie*, and uſe bows and arrows; " his foot wear corſelets and head-pieces, " and carry half pikes, beſides ſwords " and muskets. Every town maintains " a galley with 30 oars, and ſome ſmall " canon and fire-works. Yet the people " in general are cowardly, and bemoan " thoſe who are obliged to fight, ſo that " their greateſt defence is the cold, and " mountains. The king's revenue ariſes " from a tax on the product of the country, and goods imported. All his grandees depend on him, becauſe they have " nothing to live on but the ſalaries he " gives them."

* Harris Bibl. Vol. II. Append.

This *Dutch* clerk (from whoſe account, abridg'd by Mr. *Harris*, the publiſhers of the Atlas took the above deſcription of *Corea*) was caſt away upon the iſland of *Quelpart* on the ſouth of *Corea*.

In

In this ſhipwreck 36 out of 64 were caſt aſhore upon the iſland, and, having made tents of the wreck, they were ſurrounded by the natives; but, being in no condition to defend themſelves, they ſubmitted, and were carried before the governor of the iſland, under the king of *Corea*, who treated them with great humanity. But, ſoon after, they were, by the king's order, ſent to the continent, and arriv'd at *Sior*, which was the reſidence of the court. The king having ask'd them many queſtions (by a *Dutchman*, who, by a like fate with theirs, had been in the king's ſervice 27 years) incorporated them into his guards. But, upon an attempt to eſcape, they were ſent priſoners to *Quelpart*, where they were us'd well or ill, according to the temper of the different governors, who are often chang'd. Having ſtaid in that country, partly on the continent, and partly on the iſland, 14 years, eight of them, among whom this clerk was one, made their eſcape, by means of a *Corean*, to whom they had done ſome ſervice, whilſt they were in the king's guards; he procur'd them a boat, in which thoſe eight (for the reſt were at different places of the iſland) embark'd in a dark night, and, paſſing undiſcover'd thro' the king's galleys, arriv'd in two days upon the coaſt of *Japan*, where they were were brought aſhore, ſent to *Nangaſaki*, and from thence ſail'd by the firſt ſhips for *Batavia*, and afterwards for *Holland*, where they arriv'd *July* 20, 1668.

What the clerk ſays of the *Coreans* being ſubject to the *Tartars*, is no contradiction to their being tributary to the emperor of *China*. For, at that time, the the empire of *China* was transfer'd to the *Tartar* princes, as we obſerv'd before; ſo that *Corea*, altho' ſubject to *China*, was tributary to the *Cham* or lord of *Tartary*, then emperor of *China*.

I now proceed to give ſome account of the iſland of *Formoſa*. But before I ſay any thing of it, I muſt beg the reader's pardon to take notice of one book, which gives a particular deſcription of it, and to ſay ſomething in relation to the author of it.

Of Mr. George Pſalmanaazar.

The book I mean is *The deſcription of the iſland of* Formoſa, *by Mr.* George Pſalmanaazar. Altho' I will not take upon me to vindicate that gentleman, or his book, againſt the univerſal cry rais'd in prejudice to him and it, (*I know even truth may be run down by a loud cry againſt it*) yet I hope it may be permitted me to tell a circumſtance, which I know to be true, and ſeems at leaſt to make one part of the hiſtory, of his coming to *Europe*, to be no romance.

When I was at *Avignon*, in the year 1727, (where I ſtaid ſome time) remembering that Mr. *Pſalmanaazar* had aſſerted in his book, that the jeſuite, who brought him from, what he calls, his own country, kept him ſome time at *Avignon*, and that he had made his eſcape from thence, finding himſelf threaten'd with the *inquiſition* (which ſome of his adverſaries, without giving themſelves the trouble of enquiring, make uſe of as a proof of his impoſture, becauſe, *Avignon* being in *France*, there can be no inquiſition there, as they thought; but I would not adviſe them to make the experiment, leſt they ſhould find that *Pſalmanaazar* had ſpoken more truth in that, than they will allow him to have done in other things) I made it my buſineſs to enquire from ſeveral people in town, whether they had ever heard of ſuch a perſon as *Pſalmanaazar*, at *Avignon*, about the year 1698 or 99. I met with above half a ſcore of perſons, at different times, of good reputation for ſence and veracity, who all agreed, that, about that time, altho' they were not poſitive to the preciſe year, there was a perſon, in a ſtrange outlandiſh dreſs, and what was moſt remarkable, with a very high crown'd hat, whom they had ſeen often walk the ſtreets, ſometimes alone, and ſometimes accompanied by a jeſuit, and that he liv'd in the jeſuits college, where I might be fully inform'd of every thing I had a mind to know about him. I took an opportunity of converſing with ſome of the fathers, having been often to ſee their library; and having ask'd, as in courſe of other converſation, whether they knew of ſuch a perſon, ſome of them, who had been in the houſe for ſeveral years before 1698, and after it, always anſwer'd in the negative, declaring that no ſuch perſon had been there, nor had they ever heard of ſuch a *Formoſan*, or known *Pſalmanaazar*; and one of the fathers being very earneſt to know why I ask'd about that perſon, I told him I had ſeen the account of his coming thither, of which I gave him ſome particulars, and added, that there was a a great diſpute in *England*, whether it was true or falſe. Falſe, without doubt, ſaid the father, and written by an enemy to our ſociety. I told him I believ'd the book was to be had in *Latin*, altho' I had only read it in *Engliſh*. Thus finding no light into that affair among the jeſuits, I drop'd any farther enquiry, being unwilling to give any offence to a ſociety who had, in ſeveral places, treated me with good manners and freedom, notwithſtanding the difference of our ſentiments, which they were no ſtrangers to.

This circumſtance I thought myſelf oblig'd in juſtice to relate, having this opportunity; but whether it may be of any weight to give any credit to what he has ſaid of himſelf or his country, I do not

not know. But as the cry againſt his book hinders me from making uſe of it in this collection, I ſhall ſay no more of him, but to lament that he was not employed to better purpoſe, if he is truly a *Formoſan*, he having ſhew'd a genius capable of greater things than he has ever been engag'd in. If I differ in my ſentiments from the generality of people, I cannot help it. Majorities *are not always in the right.*

Iſland of Formoſa. The accounts we have of the iſland of *Formoſa* are ſo ſame, that I queſtion whether *Pſalmanaazar's* romance, if it be one, is not more worthy of credit than that of *Candidius*, who is call'd a *Miniſter* of the *Word* of GOD, that is, a *Dutch Divine.* I ſhall only take notice of one very extraordinary aſſertion of his, *viz.* that the women of *Formoſa*, altho' they are allowed to marry when they come to maturity, which, thro' all the *Indies*, is allow'd to be ſooner than our women, nor is fornication any blemiſh to their character, yet they ſuffer no child to be born alive, before the woman is 36 years of age, and that their prieſteſſes make them believe, it is the greateſt ſin they can commit, to bring forth a live child before that age. Not that they abſtain from the company of men to their 35th year; for, he declares them to be very laſcivious, and that they may marry or do worſe as ſoon as they are ripe; but, when they find themſelves with child, either by their husband or gallant, they ſend for the prieſteſs, and tell their condition to her, who lays the woman upon a bed, and there ſqueezes and preſſes her till ſhe miſcarries. And our divine knew a woman, in that iſland, who had been forced to miſcarry, in this manner, 16 times, and was then with child of the 27th, which ſhe promis'd ſhe would not murder; by which we are left to conjecture, that ſhe was not then arriv'd to due age for preſerving the fruit of her body, but that he had convinc'd her of the greater ſin of murdering it.

Suppoſe now the women of this iſland ripe at 14 (and through all the *Eaſt Indies*, eſpecially in the latitude of *Formoſa*, they are ripe much ſooner) ſuppoſing too, as our author ſays, that they are very looſe in their deſires, and under no reſtraint from ſhame or fear of puniſhment; then here are 22 years of the bloom of youth, and the fitteſt time for procreation of children, cut off from every woman of the iſland, and only 14 years left them for peopling the iſland; ſo that, allowing the uſual caſualties of death, to thoſe who are born alive, and two thirds murdered of thoſe who have once had life, I believe the iſland could not have been ſo well peopled, as it was ſaid to have been. But I leave it to phyſicians to give their opinions, whether a woman who had been forced to miſcarry 16 times before ſhe was 36 years old, was likely to bring forth many live children after. After this ſketch of *Candidius's* judgment, I ſhall give the reader an abridgment of his account of *Formoſa*, but I adviſe him at the ſame time to read *Pſalmanaazar's* deſcription of it, where, I can promiſe him, he will be more diverted, and better inſtructed, and where he may find a reaſon why the jeſuites at *Avignon* did not care to own his having been there, ſuppoſing his account of his leaving his own country to be true, which, I muſt confeſs, I believe for ſeveral reaſons.

Candidius ſays *Formoſa* is ſituated in the 22d degree of northern latitude. *The ſituation of Formoſa.* [I ſuppoſe he means the *Dutch* fort upon that iſland was in that degree; for the iſland being, as he ſays, 130 leagues in circumference, and, as the figure of it in our maps ſhews it to be conſiderably extended in length from ſouth to north, more than in breadth, it muſt take up ſeveral degrees of latitude. It is accordingly placed in our maps from 22 to 25 deg.]

It is *very populous*, and full of fair and large villages. And having had no government when our author was there, the inhabitants were continually at war with one another. And yet they were *good-natur'd*, *affable*, and *faithful.* [But that was to the *Dutch*] They were not addicted to ſtealing, but ſo honeſt, that if they found any ſtolen goods, they could not be eaſy till they were reſtored to the right owners. *The character of the people.*

They appear wild and barbarous at firſt ſight, and are ſtrong-limb'd and tall. The women are low, fat and ſtrong; they are very modeſt; for, our author ſays, they don't diſcover their nakedneſs oftner than twice a day, when they waſh themſelves, as is their conſtant cuſtom.

The country would be very fertile if it were in good hands; but it is much neglected, ſome parts only being cultivated by the women, I ſuppoſe by digging it, for they uſe no plough, neither horſes nor oxen. And when the rice is fit for cutting down, they uſe a ſort of knife, and cut it, *ſtalk by ſtalk*, and ſo make it up in bundles; and when they have occaſion to uſe it, they put as many bundles over the fire at night, as ſerve for the next day's proviſion, which they tread out the next morning, and this all the year round, [unleſs it be when the prieſteſs treads them, to cauſe abortion, as we obſerv'd before.] *The ground cultivated by the women.*

Product. They likewiſe plant ginger, ſugar, and water-lemons, and other fruits unknown to the *Dutch*; but they had no wine, or ſtrong liquor, the produce of any tree, as in other parts of the *Indies*; but their women ſupplied that defect, by making an infuſion of rice, which they turn'd to a paſte, and mixing that up with water, and making it ferment, it became excellent drink. The women likewiſe went a fiſhing, and ſupplied the family with every thing except fleſh, which was the man's buſineſs by hunting, with bows and arrows, lances, or nets. Their lances have a bell hanging at them, ſo that when a wild beaſt is wounded by one of them, it can be purſued by the ſound of the bell.

Their wars. Our author deſcribes their wars in a moſt ridiculous manner. He tells us that when two Cantons, as he calls them, fall out, they denounce war againſt one another. Then 20 or 30 of them get into a boat, and row towards the enemy's borders, but do not come aſhore 'till night, and then they ſurprize a houſe, and kill all that come in their way, carrying off their heads, or, if they are in haſte, they content themſelves with only their enemy's hair, and ſo go home in triumph, and the war is ended. Any perſon that can ſhew a head in his houſe, is not a little proud of it.

Their government. Their government being none at all, for, he ſays, the villages have no head, nor is any particular village govern'd by any ſuperior power, our author has fram'd one for them, *A la mode d'Holland*, compos'd of 12 counſellors changeable every two years; but their authority is much cramp'd, their decrees being of no force, 'till they are accepted by an aſſembly of the village. The chief execution of their authority conſiſts in exacting the fines laid on by the prieſteſſes, for crimes of their own making; and in taking the cloaths from all the men who preſume to wear any at a certain time of the year, contrary to a law of no body's making. But they muſt not puniſh theft or adultery, but every perſon injur'd does himſelf juſtice by going with his friends to the offender's houſe, and taking an equivalent for what was taken from him by the thief; and a couple of hogs from the man who made him a cuckold. And in caſes of murder, a hog or two, or a buck's skin, diſcharges the murderer.

They have no way of computing time, and yet no man muſt marry 'till he is 21; but, to ſalve this contradiction, they clip the hair of their young men by their ears, and when it is grown to ſuch a length, they are allowed to marry. But the women are reſtricted to no time.

Their marriages. And indeed their marriages are as odd as any other part of this author's account of the country. For, the man having ſent his mother, aunt, or ſiſter, to the houſe where his ſweet heart lives, with a preſent of cloaths, ſhirts, rings, &c. if they are rich; or preſents of leſs value, if poor; if the relations of the woman accept the preſents, the man, without more ceremony, goes to bed to his wife: But this muſt be, when the family is gone to ſleep. Nor do they live together 'till the wife be 35, but all the time between the marriage and that period, he muſt not be ſeen about her houſe in the day time, but ſneaks to bed to her at night [as our rakes us'd to do to young women who had ſome ſenſe of ſhame, before whoring became reputable, and bluſhing a ſign of want of education.] When the woman is turn'd of 35, then ſhe lives with her husband, and brings forth children, if ſhe can, after having murder'd half a ſcore or more, if we will take our author's word for it.

Divorces. They may be divorced at pleaſure, and if the husband can prove adultery, ſhe muſt return his preſents. And the women may divorce their husbands, as well as be divorced by them. But altho' they do but ſeldom practice polygamy, the men take women beſides their wives, but they are ſuch puny ſinners, (*not being Chriſtians*) that they do it in private.

Their houſes. Their houſes are high and ſtately, their floors of cane, and their ornaments are heads of boars and ſtags, and here and there the head of a man. Their furniture is *Chineſe* linnen, and buck's skins, which are priz'd by them above gold and ſilver. Their eating veſſels are of wood, and thoſe for drinking of earth or cane. The beſt ſtuffs for wearing are made of dog's hair, pull'd when the dogs are alive, and manufactured like wool.

Their religion. Their religion is repreſented of a piece with their goverment. For, altho' they ſeem to believe the immortality of the ſoul, they have ridiculous conceits about a future ſtate. Their religious ceremonies are all perform'd by women, but in ſo abominable a manner, that it is nauſeous and ſhocking to think of it. And, if our author is to be believ'd, their notions of vertue and vice have no relation to morality, nor is any one wicked, in their eyes, for theft, adultery, or murder; but for wearing clothes at ſuch ſet times, for neglecting odd ceremonies, or ſuch like. But this ſyſtem of divinity is like the whole deſcription of the iſland, fulſome and ridiculous; we ſhall therefore leave this author, neither to be burnt nor buried, as he ſays is the exit of his *Formoſans*; who are laid upon a table 3 foot high (when they die) and there are ſmok'd *and burials.* with

with a moderate fire for 9 days, 'till all the moiſture is drain'd, and then wrap'd up in a mat, and laid on a ſhelf for 3 years, and when the fleſh falls off, the bones are thrown into a pit dug in the houſe. This being the only account of the iſland of *Formoſa* which the collectors of voyages, my predeceſſors, at leaſt ſuch as I have by me, have had to give us, I hope our readers will not take it amiſs that I have made ſome remarks upon it.

Hainan. We have little to ſay of *Hainan*, but that it lies ſouth of *China*, in 19 and 20 degrees, is almoſt a circle, whoſe diameter is 40 leagues. It is a plentiful place, has a good pearl fiſhery, and gold and ſilver mines; it abounds in animals tame and wild. This iſland is as much ſubject to the emperor of *China* as *Jerſey* is to the crown of *England*.

SECT. II.

Of the nature of the climate in China, *and the produce of the country.*

The climate and temperature of China. F. *Le Comte* well obſerves, that a country of ſuch a vaſt extent as *China* muſt be very different both in ſoil and climate. The ſouthern provinces, lying about the tropic of *Cancer*, are much hotter than the others farther north; and yet it is comfortable living enough in the moſt ſouthern parts, only that all the world goes to bed about noon in ſummer, as they do after dinner at *Rome*: But the mornings and evenings are very ſupportable. In the northern provinces, by reaſon of the hills, they have ſnow for four months of the year, beginning at *November*. Their rains about the tropic come at the *equinoxes*. Upon the whole, this country may be reckoned in the northern temperate zone.

The induſtry of the Chineſe. The land is divided into hills and plains, upon both which the natives have beſtow'd a great deal of pains. They cut the hills, from top to bottom, like ſtairs, that the rain water may ſpread equally, and not waſh down the ground, or deſtroy the ſeeds; by which laborious induſtry, they make the hills as fruitful as the vallies. The ſoil of their mountains is light and porous, ſo that, in moſt of them one may dig 300 foot before you come at the rock. The plains they have likewiſe wonderfully improv'd, by cutting canals thro' them all, by which they have brought water either from the rivers adjacent, or from the neareſt mountains; ſo that the whole country looks like a garden. And in thoſe provinces which are moſt barren, their hills produce great ſtore of trees, both for ſhipping and building. And thoſe they cut down, and lopping off the branches, tie 80 or 100 of them together, and, after the emperor's miniſters have taken what he has occaſion for, they ſend them in floats along the rivers or canals to the next ſea port; and becauſe theſe floats will ſometimes be 3 or 4 months upon the water, eſpecially if they come from *Xenſi* or *Honan*, the wood merchants build little cabins upon them, where they live with their families, and work, as at land.

Mines of gold, &c. Their mountains likewiſe produce mines of gold, ſilver, mercury, braſs, iron, and tin. The gold is waſh'd down in great quanties from the hills, and is gather'd with the ſand, as in *Peru*, and is reckon'd much finer.

Corn and fruit. They have no trees in their low ground, becauſe they will not loſe ſo much ground from rice, barley, peaſe, &c. of which they have two crops in a year, beſides a harveſt of herbs, and pulſe between the two ſeaſons of corn. But in their gardens they have fruit trees of all the kinds known in *Europe*, and excellent in their kind. They have, beſides our ordinary melon, and the water melon, a third ſort, ſmall and yellow within, which they eat without cutting away the rind; it taſtes like ſugar, and has a fine flavour.

But, beſides the fruits in common with us, they have others that we are ſtrangers to. Such as,

Letchi. 1. *Letchi*, about the bigneſs of a nut, inclos'd in a rough rind, ſhap'd almoſt like an egg. The kernel is ſoft and wateriſh, but of a delicate taſte; it is to be eaten ſparingly, for it is apt to occaſion out-breakings in the skin. They commonly dry it with the rind, and uſe it by way of ſugar in their tea. It grows in the province of *Quantum*.

Louyen. 2. *Louyen*, or *Dragon's Eye*, grows in the ſame province, and in that of *Fokein*. It is a round fruit, the rind ſmooth, and grows yellow as it ripens. The meat of it is white, very juicy, and of an agreeable ſharpneſs. The tree on which it grows is about the bigneſs of a walnut tree.

Seze. 3. *Seze*. Some of them are ſmall, and as ſweet as ſugar, melting in the mouth like it. Some of them are bigger and firmer. The rind is clear and ſmooth, of a reddiſh colour, the ſeed of it black and flat. They dry them like figs, and in time they acquire a ſugar cruſt of a delicate flavour. They have them through all *China*, but thoſe of *Xenſi* eat like our fineſt apple.

Orange. 4. *Oranges*, of which they have two ſorts. One is the ſame we get from *Portugal*, and are call'd *China* oranges, becauſe they had the firſt of them from thence. But the fineſt *China* orange is

is no bigger than a billiard-ball; the rind is a reddiſh yellow, and very ſmooth. Theſe they ſend for preſents to the *Indies*, and are reckon'd excellent for the lungs.

Lemon. 5. A ſort of *Lemon* about the bigneſs of a walnut, perfectly round, green, and ſharp. The trees they put in boxes, to adorn their courts and halls, being very beautiful.

Tallow Tree. 6. The *Tallow Tree* is the moſt wonderful of any they have. It is about the bigneſs of a cherry tree, the leaves ſhap'd like a heart, and of a lively red. The fruit is enclos'd in a rind, divided into 3 ſegments, which opening of themſelves when it is ripe, diſcover 3 white kernels of the bigneſs of a nut. Theſe kernels have all the qualities of tallow, and they make candles of it; but not knowing how to purify it, or to make cotton wicks, they have a diſagreeable ſmell, and bad light.

Pepper tree. 7. The pepper-tree in *China* is as big as a walnut-tree, and the berry of the bigneſs of a pea, of a greyiſh colour, with red ſtreaks: When it is ripe, it opens, and diſcovers a little ſtone black as jet, which they throw away for its exceſſive heat. The reſt of the berry they uſe in ſauce, but is not to be compar'd to the pepper farther ſouth.

This country abounds in pulſe and roots, which are moſt of their food. They have *Onion.* a ſort of *Onions*, which do not ſeed like ours, but grow upon a ſtalk above one another, with leaves round them.

Petſi. The *Petſi* is an herb that grows under water, and when freſh taſtes like a nut. It is ſaid to have a quality of ſoftening braſs.

They have no notion of laying out their gardens to pleaſe the eye, which makes them neglect flowers, and thoſe have degenerated for want of care. But they have trees, which, if well order'd, *Flower trees.* would be a great ornament to their gardens; for they are full of flowers of a florid carnation all the year round, and, if ſet in rows, with orange-trees between them, would be very beautiful.

Father *Navarette* mentions other trees, ſuch as the *Camphire* tree, very large *Camphire tree.* and beautiful. The camphire of *China* is coarſe. The ſaw-duſt of that tree deſtroys bugs; in ſo much that there is not a bug to be ſeen within 5 leagues of the place where thoſe trees grow, altho' they ſwarm in other places. It is very ſtrange they ſhould not plant the camphire tree every where, if it has that effect. The way of gathering the camphire is by ſpreading ſheets under the tree, before the ſun riſes, and then ſhaking the tree, a certain ſubſtance, which ſweats out of it like gum, falls upon the ſheet, where it conſolidates, and is put up in canes. This author ſays they preſerve their dead many days from corruption by blowing camphire into their mouths, which, he ſays, works itſelf out below. This is pretty odd, if true.

He ſays they have cinamon trees in *China*, but neither cloves nor nutmegs. But they have ſugar canes and tobacco in plenty.

We obſerv'd before, that the *Chineſes* brought the water in canals through *The canals.* their ground; this not only helps the fruitfulneſs of it, but gives the moſt delightful proſpect; for theſe canals are like highways through every province; the walls are of rough marble, with bridges in ſeveral places, of 3, 5, or 7 arches; the middle arch is made high for the boats paſſing without lowering their maſts. Theſe great canals run out into ſmaller ones at different diſtances, and thoſe again ſubdivided, for watering the whole country.

Atho' all thoſe canals ſhew a wonderful induſtry in the *Chineſes*, yet the great canal is the moſt ſurprizing piece of *The great canal.* art to be ſeen there, being no way inferior to the great wall formerly mention'd. It runs from *Pekin* to *Canton* about 1200 miles, only interrupted (as Mr. *Salmon* ſays) in one place, by a mountain in the province of *Kiamſi*, which puts them under a neceſſity of travelling a ſhort day's journey by land. *Le Comte* ſays it was made about 400 years before his time of being there.

Becauſe in ſuch a vaſt track of ground there muſt be a difference in the level, this canal has 72 ſluices, with gates made of large pieces of timber, which are ſhut in the night, by people appointed to take care of them, and open'd in the morning. Moſt of them are eaſily paſs'd; but where there is a conſiderable fall, it is a prodigious labour to draw their boats up from a lower part of the canal to a higher. For, as they did not underſtand the modern way of making ſluices, to bring the water to a level, they were forced to drag the boats and large barks by the force of men and ropes, at ſome of their waterfalls. The ſame way they make uſe of in other canals thro' the kingdom, *viz.* when they have a mind to paſs from one to another, with which it has not an immediate communication, the banks between them being ſlop'd like the roof of a houſe, and the boats being flat-bottom'd, they draw them along, altho' the difference of the level is ſometimes 15 foot. They have ſuch conſtant occaſion for the aſſiſtance of a great number of men at thoſe water-falls, (eſpecially upon the great canal, where above 1000 boats and barges, from 80 to 100 tuns, paſs every year

year upon the emperor's account, between *Canton* and *Pekin*) that a proper colony of people are ſettled in thoſe places to aſſiſt in ſuch caſes, where, without doubt, they are paid for their labour, according to the bulk or burthen of the boats they draw up.

To feed theſe canals, beſides the rain water, and the ſprings from the neareſt hills, they have ſeveral rivers in different provinces which they take care to bring water from, to fill the canals. The two moſt conſiderable are the *Kiam* and the *Hoambo*.

Rivers.

Kiam. 1. The *Kiam* river has its riſe in the province of *Yonan*, and croſſing thoſe of *Suchuen*, *Huquam*, and *Nankin*, having run almoſt the whole breadth of *China* from weſt to eaſt, falls into the ſea, ſouth of *Nankin*, over againſt the iſland of *Cummim*, in 34 degrees lat. and it is ſaid, that iſland was made of the ſand and mud brought thither by the force of this river.

This river is ſo very rapid, that when it is ſwell'd, by the torrents from the mountains, it ſweeps away ſome iſlands, and forms new ones, upon which grow bulruſhes of 10 or 12 foot high, which ſerve for firing, and pay a conſiderable duty to the crown. But the river makes ſuch a change among thoſe iſlands, that the *Mandarines* are oblig'd to take a new ſurvey of them every three years, to fix the taxes. The *Kiam* is about half a league over at *Nankin*, but the navigation very dangerous.

Hoambo 2. The *Hoambo*, or *Yellow River*, ſo call'd from the colour of its waters, which, like the *Tyber*, was always muddy, riſes from the mountains of *Suchuen*, and runs northward through the province of *Xenſi*, and under the great wall, about 50 miles into *Tartary*, and then, changing its courſe, it returns thro' the great wall, in the province of *Xanſi*, and having run as far ſouth as *Honan*, it turns to the eaſt, and paſſing through a part of the province of *Nankin*, falls into the ſea, ſome leagues northward of the mouth of *Kiam*. There are ſeveral other large rivers in *China*, but there being nothing remarkable in them, they are not nam'd.

There are many fountains and lakes in *China*, ſome of which are ſaid to have ſtrange qualities, ſuch as turning iron into copper, petrifying fiſh, &c.

In the rivers and lakes they have abundance, and great variety of fiſh, there being found in them moſt of the ſame kind with what we have in *Europe*, and others which we have not. *Le Comte* gives a deſcription of one fiſh particularly, which is very uncommon, *viz.*

Gold and ſilver fiſh The gold and ſilver fiſh, which he ſays are the male and female of the ſame ſpecies. This fiſh is about the length of one's finger; the male is of a bright red from the head to the middle, and from that to the tail, ſuch a glittering gilding, as ſurpaſſes any imitation of gold that art has found out; the female being the ſame way cover'd with ſilver. They are ſo very delicate and tender, that they die by being touch'd with one's hand; the noiſe of a canon or thunder, a ſtrong ſmell, or any violent motion, kills them. They multiply faſt, if care be taken of their eggs, which float upon the water, and are, by the *Chineſes*, put into a veſſel, to preſerve them from being ſnap'd up by other fiſh; this veſſel they expoſe to the ſun, which hatches them, like other eggs, and the fiſh come out of the egg of a black colour, which changes to red, gold, and ſilver, according to their kinds.

Land animals. Of land animals they have all ſorts, as the other kingdoms on the continent of *Aſia*, but the wild elephants are ſcarce there. Their horſes are ſmall, and therefore they bring a better breed from *Tartary*. There is nothing particular in their camels, mules, oxen, cows, or buffaloes. Their ſheep have great tails, like others already mention'd. They uſe hog's fleſh as freely as we do; and have hogs in plenty, all black.

There is in the provinces of *Xanſi* and *Xenſi* a kind of deer, which has a bag of muſk hanging near its navel, which is the choiceſt perfume to thoſe who can bear it, of any in the world. *Navarette* tells, with great gravity, of a ſort of lizards, of which the *Chineſe* emperors made an oyntment, and rub'd the wriſts of their concubines with it. The vertue of this oyntment was, that the mark it made in the skin continu'd, whilſt the ladies abſtain'd from man's fleſh, but upon the firſt intercourſe with a man it vaniſh'd, and ſo diſcover'd the intrigue. [*Engliſh* wives would have a fine time of it if their vertue were to be tried by ſuch an experiment.]

Cormorants fiſh for their maſters. Nor is *China* leſs deſtitute of fowls, wild and tame. One of the moſt curious things they tell of their fowls, is their breeding the cranes or cormorants to fiſh for them. After they have tam'd them, they tie a ſtring about their necks, to hinder them from ſwallowing, and then let them flie; when they catch a fiſh, they bring it to their maſter, altho' there are many other boats near them. But I much queſtion the truth of one circumſtance, told by ſome authors, that if they catch a fiſh that proves too heavy for one, the other fowls will help that one to carry it to the boat. When they have loaded their boats, they untie the ſtrings from their necks, and give

them the ſmalleſt fiſh as a reward of their labour.

Way of catching wild fowl

They have great ſtore of geeſe and ducks wild and tame. *Navarette* mentions a clever way of catching the wild ones, by covering the perſon's head with a *Calabaſh*, having holes in to ſee thro', and ſo ſwimming through great flocks of geeſe or ducks upon the lakes or canals, it ſeems as if nothing mov'd but the *Calabaſh*; when the ſwimmer gets within reach of his prey, he pulls it under water, and wringing the neck about, puts the gooſe or duck, in his bag, and ſwims about to the next.

Having thus given ſome account of the climate and the produce of *China*, we ſhall proceed to

SECT. III.

Of the people of China, *and their manner of living.*

THE *Chineſe* men, as to their bodies, are tall, big, with broad foreheads, little flat eyes, ſhort noſes, large ears, and long hair; all which are marks of comelineſs in men, according to their taſte. *Le Comte* ſays, the greateſt ſign of a fine perſon among them is, his filling an elbow-chair, and looking fat and bulky.

The children, eſpecially in the northern provinces, have a complexion as fair as many *Europeans*, but, when they grow up, the little care they take of their faces, their wearing only a little bonnet upon their heads, and their being always abroad, and ſometimes half naked, brings their complexion to tawny. But there is great difference according to different climates.

The women agreeable.

But the women taking more care of their beauty, and keeping, for the moſt part, within doors, are agreeable enough, only that they too have little eyes and ſhort noſes. But their extravagant humour of affecting little feet cripples the whole female ſex; for, it is agreed upon, by all that have given us an account of *China*, that as ſoon as female children are born, the midwives or nurſes tie up their feet ſo hard, that they hinder them from growing; ſo that the feet of a grown woman in *China* is no bigger than a child's of 3 or 4 years old in other countries.

The dreſs of the men and women is in ſome reſpects the ſame. For, they both wear a long veſt of ſatin, red, blue, or green; but the elder women, of black, or purple, and over that a gown with wide ſleeves reaching to the ground. The

The men's habit.

men have their veſts folded over their breaſt, and button'd on the left ſide with four or five buttons of gold or ſilver, the ſleeves wide at the ſhoulder and narrow at the wriſts, reaching to the fingers. It is tied with a ſilk ſaſh, the ends of which hang down to the knees. In ſummer their necks are bare, but cover'd in winter. Their heads are ſhav'd except one lock behind, which they ſuffer to grow to great length, over which they wear a bonnet, in ſhape of a cowl, wide below, and ending in a point above. It is lin'd with ſatin, and has a tuft of hair dy'd red, which being fix'd to the top of the bonnet, hangs down all round like a fringe, and waving with wind looks very agreeable; and they affect to have a large button of amber or glaſs on the top, which makes a glittering ſhow: But the great people have a diamond, or ſome other rich ſtone. Their other clothes are a ſhirt of white taffata and drawers of the ſame in ſummer, but in winter their ſhirt is linnen, and their breeches coarſe ſatin quilted with cotton: And over all a ſurtout, with ſhort wide ſleeves. They uſe boots, even at home, but they are made of ſilk, and they wear ſlippers over them. If they are viſited when their boots are off, they don't appear 'till they have put them on.

The women's habit.

The women dreſs in their hair, part of which they make in a roll, faſten'd with a bodkin, and the reſt of it is divided into two locks, which hang upon their neck. But they never ſhew their cheſts, but have them always cover'd, and likewiſe their arms and hands; ſo that *Le Comte* ſays they appear with ſuch a modeſt air that they look like nuns; altho' he adds that the more they are confin'd the leſs they love ſolitude, which indeed is very natural. And they dreſs themſelves in their beſt apparel every day with as much care and ſtate as if they were to viſit or to be viſited, tho' they are ſure to ſee no body but their own domeſticks.

The *Chineſe* are ſo tenacious of their old cuſtoms and faſhions, that they would not change them, unleſs forced to it, and when their new *Tartarian* emperor brought in his own country dreſs among them, he had a great ſtruggle, many of them chuſing rather (as *Le Comte* expreſſes it) to loſe their heads than their hair.

The people of condition are very expenſive in their dreſs; for they deal much in rich furs; a veſt and ſurtout lin'd with ſables, or even with the furs of foxes bellies, will coſt above 200 *l.* The ordinary people are contented with coarſe linnen dy'd blue or black, and in cold weather they uſe quilted cotton.

Although the country produces every thing for luxury as well as conveniency of life, the *Chineſes* do not live luxuriouſly. They eat of all ſorts

of

of fleſh, even horſes, dogs, cats, frogs, and all ſorts of vermine. But rice and pulſe are their common food. And they neither uſe cloth, napkin, ſpoons, nor knives, at table; for, as to their ſoup, they have it in little china cups, which they put to their mouths, and drink their broth like tea; and their fleſh being cut in ſquare pieces before it is brought to the table, they uſe two little ſticks of ebony, ſome tip'd with ſilver, by way of fork, which they manage very dextrouſly.

Their eating and drinking to exact time.

They have one peculiarity in their eating and drinking; which is, that they keep exact time in eating. For, at a ſign given, by the maſter of the houſe, the whole company flouriſh the ſticks, (like the kettle drums) and, at another ſign, take the meat up, then put it in their mouth, and chew it alike, or if one perſon has ſwallow'd his morſel ſooner than the reſt, he muſt move his mouth as if it were ſtill there, 'till the ſign be given for the next flouriſh, in order to take a new morſel. And when every one has taken three or four bits of every diſh, the maſter gives a ſign to lay down their arms, which is done with as true time as one of our beſt diſciplin'd regiments can ground their firelocks.

After every diſh, they drink, ſtill in time; they take their cups in their hands at once, and, at once, carry them with both hands as high as their heads, and then to their mouths. If any one does not encline to drink, he is at liberty; but he muſt make the motions, and keep the cup at his mouth as long as they that drink. This is done after every diſh, altho' they have 20 or more. They ſit ſilent all the whole time they are at table, which is ſometimes 3 or 4 hours. The laſt diſh is the ſoup or broth, after which there is no drink offer'd, but the maſter makes a ſign to riſe, which they all do together, and retire to the garden or another room, for a quarter of an hour, and then coming back to the hall, they find the tables ſet out with different ſorts of ſweet meats and dry'd fruits to eat with their tea.

Their drink is made of rice; but as *Le Comte* calls it a ſmall wine, I ſuppoſe it is not what is commonly call'd *Arrack*, but an infuſion of that grain in water, fermented like beer.

By this account of their formal manner of eating and drinking, it is eaſy to imagine that they are pretty much upon the ceremony in other matters. And indeed they are ſo to the greateſt punctilio, altho' where they are intimate they lay aſide the ceremony, unleſs ſtrangers are by.

Their ſaluting one another.

When equals meet, they ſalute one another, by putting their hand upon their breaſt, and bowing the head a little. To ſhew more reſpect, they put their hands together, and bowing the whole body, make their hands almoſt touch the ground. And if a perſon of high rank comes to an inferior's houſe, or meets him in the ſtreet, the other kneels upon one knee, and continues in that poſture, 'till the man of quality takes him up, which he is ſure to do very quickly. But if a *Mandarin*, or officer of ſtate, paſſes by, it is as great a blunder to ſalute him, as it is to bow to the *French* king, unleſs you have ſomething to ſpeak to him.

Troubleſome ceremonies

Their viſits (except among familiar acquaintances) are the moſt troubleſome inſupportable farces imaginable. For, altho' they know before-hand who is to go in firſt, and to take the chief ſeat, they will ſtand diſputing at the door, like the muſick-maſter and the dancing-maſter in a *French* farce, who offer the precedency to each other, when they are both very eager to have it. And when they are placed with a world of grimace, the whole viſit, perhaps, paſſes without one word ſpoken of either ſide, but the impertinent ceremonies of yielding the place to one another, which are repeated at parting.

Writing letters.

Their letters to one another are of a piece with their viſits; the very form of the paper, the bigneſs of the character, and the diſtance of the lines, being very material according to the quality of the perſon to whom the letter is addreſs'd. So that it is no wonder if ſtrangers ſhould miſtake in their ceremonies, ſince we are told that there is ſcarce one *Chineſe* learned enough in all the formalities requir'd.

Speaking.

Their ſpeaking to one another, where they would ſhew reſpect, is always in the 3d perſon, as we find was the way of ſpeaking in all the eaſtern nations, in ancient times, by the ſtile of the Holy Scriptures. *If thy ſervant has found favour in the ſight of my lord*, &c. and that not only to GOD, but to others. Thus the *Chineſes*, inſtead of ſaying, *You do me a great deal of honour in the favour you have done me*, expreſs themſelves thus; *The honour my lord has done his ſervant, who is ſo much his inferior, has put him under the higheſt obligations.* And they never ſay *I*, or *You*, but *Your Servant*, and *My Lord*, unleſs they ſpeak to ſervants.

The uncovering the head is ill manners in *China*, in ſo much that the miſſionaries were oblig'd to get a diſpenſation from the pope, for keeping on their caps in church, in compliance with the cuſtom of the country; which was well judg'd: For the outward reſpect ſhew'd to GOD Almighty is to be meaſur'd by the uſages of the place where people live, and by the

the marks of reſpect ſhewn to ſuperiors in different countries. So we find *Moſes* was commanded to *put off his ſhoes from his feet, becauſe the place where he ſtood was holy ground.* But that is no ſign of reſpect in this part of the world.

The temper of the Chineſes

The *Chineſes* have always been reckon'd a wiſe people; and, altho' pride is certainly a vice, yet, if it carries people no farther, than to deſire to excel others, in vertue and uſeful attainments, it is of great ſervice to their country. The pride of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which made them deſpiſe other nations as barbarous, had this good effect, that it made them vie with one another in thoſe qualities, in the want of which they reckon'd the barbarity of the reſt of the world to conſiſt. The people of *China* ſeem to have been of the ſame temper, and would, like thoſe other maſters of the world, make their barbarous neighbours believe that they did not deſire ſovereignty, out of avarice or ambition, but from a principle of teaching them the rules of perfect government, and polite living. And indeed their cultivating arts and ſciences among themſelves made them much reſpected by their neighbours of *India* and *Tartary*; ſo that they were look'd upon as the oracles of the eaſt. Therefore when *Xaverius* preach'd Chriſtianity in *India*, they ask'd, with the Jews in the goſpel concerning the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; *Have the* Chineſes *embraced your religion?*

The high opinion of themſeves.

But as a ſmall degree of knowledge above others only ſerves to make people inſolent and impertinent, the *Chineſes*, over-valuing the ſmall attainments they had acquir'd, grew ſo ſaucy, that they believ'd themſelves the only people in the world who were fit to inſtruct mankind, and they look'd upon the reſt of the world as dwarfs in underſtanding, 'till they were undeceiv'd in the laſt century, by the jeſuits going among them, who were able to teach them thoſe ſciences which they pretended to teach others, and to ſhew them inſtances of art, in clock-work, mathematical inſtruments, cloth and ſtuff manufactures, and ſuch like, as ſurpriz'd them: And, altho' this did not hinder them from thinking well of themſelves, yet it gave them a better notion of the *Europeans* than they had before, and made way for the introducing Chriſtianity, if it had been right manag'd. But that we ſhall ſpeak of hereafter.

The *Chineſes* are a temperate people, drink only tea, except at meals, that the better ſort drink their ſort of wine made of rice, or wheat in ſome places. They are a very induſtrious people, and lay out their ground to the beſt advantage. F. *Le Comte* ſays, their manners were much freer from corruption before they came under the *Tartar* government than they have been ſince; and whereas before, merit alone was the road to preferment, now intrigue and bribery have crept in: And inſtead of that open and candid manner of dealing in matters of traffick, any one who deals with a *Chineſe* now, muſt look well to him, or elſe he may expect to be cheated. He tells us, that they have a moſt dexterous way of counterfeiting all ſorts of goods. For inſtance, one who buys a ham from one of them muſt look ſharp, leſt, inſtead of bacon, he gets only a piece of wood for his money.

When they travel abroad, they go upon horſes, mules, or camels; ſometimes in litters, which are carried either by men or mules. Others of them travel in a ſort of chaiſes, which are, by the authors who write of *China*, call'd chariots. Their chairs are made of cane, without any glaſs, the upper part open before, except ſuch as women are carried in. But the moſt convenient, and therefore moſt common way of travelling, is, by the canals; where you ſee barges and boats of all ſorts and ſizes, as thick as the boats on the *Thames*. Thoſe of the great people make a fine ſhow, being very magnificent in their equipage and ornaments.

SECT. IV.

Of the trade *and* manufactures *of* China.

THE greateſt manufactures in *China* are thoſe of *Silk* and *Porcelane*. The ſilk is the fineſt in the world, and many provinces abound with it; but *Chekiam* is reckon'd the moſt proper ſoil for mulberry trees, and conſequently for ſilk worms; altho' for working the ſilk when made, *Nankin* claims the precedency of all other cities in the empire, that being the place where the beſt weavers and workmen for ſilk reſide. Thither the emperor ſends, every year, for what is worn at court, or given by him in preſents. *Silks.*

But the ſilks of *Quantum* are moſt valued by foreigners, which, perhaps, is occaſion'd by the conveniency of having them at a cheaper rate from *Canton*, becauſe, as we obſerv'd before, the port of *Nankin* is an impracticable place, and that of *Canton* lies more convenient for the *Indies*, the ſeveral *Iſlands*, and for for *Europe*. The moſt uſual ſtuffs made for ſale are

1. *Touanze*, a ſort of ſatin, ſtronger than ours, but not ſo gloſſy; ſome of it is quite ſmooth, and ſome flower'd with the figures of birds, trees, houſes, flowers, and fruit: But thoſe figures are not rais'd upon

1. Touanze.

upon the ſtuffs, as in *Europe*, but only diſtinguiſh'd by the different colours, all the ſilk of which they are compos'd being equally twiſted with the reſt of the ſtuff. When they mix gold and ſilver with the ſilk, they lay the gold or ſilver in ſmall ſhreds of paper, wrap'd about with ſilk, which I believe is what we call *Gimp*. And ſometimes they put, in the work, little ſcrowls of gilt paper, but both theſe tarniſh very ſoon, altho' they look beautiful at firſt. In thoſe ſtuffs, the dragon is the figure moſt valued; of which they uſe two ſorts; one with 5 claws, call'd *Lom*, which, being the emperor's coat of arms, is only done upon the ſilks deſign'd for his uſe: The other with 4 claws, call'd *Mam*, which any one may wear. Another ſort of ſtuff is

2. Cha. 2. *Cha*, which is a ſummer ſtuff, much laſtier and more ſubſtantial than our *Taffata*, but not ſo cloſe, nor has it ſo fair a gloſs. Some have it plain, but others with flowers cut through like lace. This is a neat wear for ſummer, and is cheap; for as much as will make a veſt and ſurtout, may be purchas'd for 2 guineas.

3. Tcheouze. 3. *Tcheouze* is a ſort of *Taffata*, which ſerves for drawers, ſhirts, and lineings. It is very cloſe, and yet ſo pliable, that fold or rumple it how you will, it will not keep a wrinkle, and it waſhes like linnen.

They have, in the province of *Quantum*, a ſort of ſilk produc'd from wild worms, which the people gather in the woods. It is of a grey colour, without any gloſs, ſo that it looks like unbleach'd linnen, but it is more valued than ſatin. It is call'd *Kien Tcheou*.

Beſides theſe, they make pluſh, velvet, crapes, druggets, and other ſtuffs. But *Velvets, &c.* they make no cloth, altho' they abound in wooll; whether it be becauſe they cannot ſpin the wooll fine enough, or that their wooll will not do of itſelf, I do not know: But the *Engliſh* cloth ſells dearer than their richeſt ſilks. However, they make blankets of their own wooll, and a ſort of coarſe cloth, which ſerves their ſtudents for gowns in winter.

Cotton. They have likewiſe a plant call'd *Co*, which grows to the thickneſs of one's finger. Theſe they bind in ſheaves like flax, and ſteep it in the water, and peeling off the outward skin, make a ſort of linnen of what remains, which is very cool and light. They make alſo cotton cloth. But the great people, in winter, eſpecially in the northern provinces, wear furs, which makes them look like ſo many bears.

The next ſtaple commodity in *China* is *Porcelane* their porcelane, which is commonly call'd *China Ware*. It has been ſaid, that the compoſition, of which this is made, took ſome centuries to prepare it; but F. *Le Comte* aſſures us that this is a miſtake, and gives this good reaſon for his aſſertion, that if it were ſo tedious and difficult to be made, it could neither be ſo common, nor ſo cheap. He ſays, it is a ſtiff clay, or rather a ſoft white ſtone, found in the quarries of the province of *Quamſi*. *China ware, how made.* They firſt waſh it, to ſeperate it from any earth of a different nature; then they pound it ſmall, and for a long time together, which makes it more tranſparent. To this powder they put water, brought out of other places. (For the earth and water are not the product of the ſame ground) The water fit for it is impregnated with a particular ſort of ſalt, which refines the clay better than any other. Having made a paſte of the powder, thus moiſten'd, and well incorporated with the water, they mould it, with the wheel, in what ſhape they pleaſe. When it is form'd, they expoſe it to the ſun, morning and night, to harden it; but guard it from the noon day ſun, to keep it from warping. When their veſſels are thus dry'd, by degrees, they paint them, and, to give them a luſtre, they make a fine lye of the ſame porcelane, and waſhing the veſſel over with it gives it a fine whiteneſs and gloſs. Then they put their ware into a furnace, applying a gentle, but conſtant, fire to it; and after they are ſufficiently bak'd, they let them lie in the furnace to cool by degrees, for fear of cracking.

Of this porcelane, they have three *Of different ſorts* different kinds. 1. *Yellow porcelane*, which is very fine, yet appears coarſer than the white, becauſe that colour will not take ſo fine a poliſh as the other; notwithſtanding which, the emperor has no other in his palace; and, yellow being his colour, the uſe of that ſort of *China* is forbidden to every one elſe. 2. *Grey Porcelane*, which has many irregular lines croſſing one another, almoſt like moſaic work; over which they give a ſtratum of varniſh to cover any unevenneſs that may be in it, before it is put in the furnace. Theſe have a peculiar beauty, which *Le Comte* is of opinion would pleaſe the curious, and therefore it is a wonder we have not of it in *Europe*. The 3d ſort is the *white porcelane*, which is painted in blue, red, or gold, in figures of birds, flowers, houſes, or men. This, which is the moſt common, is brought in great quantities into *Europe*, and to be ſeen almoſt every where. It's fineneſs is judg'd by the tranſparency of it, and the whiteneſs and ſmoothneſs of the poliſh enhaunce its value.

The moſt of our *China Ware* is painted *The painting of it.* blue, becauſe that colour ſuits beſt with it, altho' they do ſome of them with red,

which looks like brown. The flowers done upon the them are pretty enough, but the humane figures are monſtrous. Yet thoſe are more valued in *China* than better proportion'd pictures; and we may ſee by their skreens, and other pieces from thence, that they are very fond of ſuch pictures of men and women as the *Italians* call *Caricatura*, *i. e.* charging the features and ſhape with deformities which the perſons repreſented have not at all, or not in ſuch a degree as the picture repreſents.

Varniſh. The *China* ware made of this earth, as well as their wooden ware, are varniſh'd over with a ſort of liquor which makes them look beautiful. It takes all colours, or rather does not ſpoil any colour by waſhing it; for when the porcelane or wood is painted with flowers, or other figures, in gold or ſilver, or any colour elſe, the varniſh gives a luſtre and brightneſs to it, which makes it more agreeable. This varniſh is not a compoſition, as ſome have thought, but a certain gum, which diſtils from a particular tree, like roſin, but *Le Comte* does not name the tree.

Beſides the trade they drive to all parts of the world with this ware, it is likewiſe the greateſt ornament they have in their houſes, and they make uſe of it for eating and drinking.

Wax. Another commodity in ſome of the provinces of *China*, is white wax; not made by bees, but found upon trees, in ſuch abundance, that it ſerves the whole empire. They ſay it is produced by an inſect no bigger than a flea, which has a ſting ſo ſharp and ſtrong, that it pierces not only the bark, but the body of the trees upon which they feed, and convert their nouriſhment into wax as white as ſnow. This wax hangs congeal'd in drops about the tree, and being gather'd is made into cakes for ſale.

Tea. *China* abounds likewiſe in Tea, which they call *Teha*. We need not ſpend time in deſcribing it, there being ſcarce a ſervant maid or footman now in *London*, who is not well acquainted with the ſeveral kinds of it. Mr. *Salmon* ſays, from Dr. *Cunningham*, phyſician to the *Engliſh* factory at *Cuſan*, that the Bohea, Imperial, and Green Tea, are all the growth of one tree, or rather ſhrub. The *Bohea*, which the *Chineſes* call *Voui*, are the leaves which are pull'd in *March*: The *Imperial*, or *Bing* tea is the ſecond growth, pull'd in *April*: And the *Green*, or *Singlo* tea is the laſt growth, and is pull'd in *May* or *June*. The ſhrub is an ever-green, and is in flower from *October* to *January*. *Le Comte* ſays the tea trees grow of all ſizes, from two foot high to an hundred. As to the qualities of it, I leave them to the phyſicians, or rather to the ladies, who have experienc'd ſo many admirable vertues in tea.

Genſing. But there is no plant more valu'd than the *Genſing*, of the root and leaves of which they make infuſions, and is a good medicine. The root is about the bigneſs of one's little finger, and twice as long, being divided like a man's thighs, for which they call it *Genſing*, or the *Man Plant*. They have alſo ſtore of rhubarb.

Theſe are the greateſt commodities which *China* produces, and which in former times they exported in their own bottoms, not allowing any foreigner to enter their ports. But now they are grown wiſer, and allow a free trade, as other nations do.

Their ſhips. Their ſhips are very large, ſome of them being 1000 tuns burthen, but they are not ſo well built for ſailing as ours; for they are ſquare before as well as be-aft. Their maſts are of one piece, and their ſails of matting, ſtrengthened with ſplit cane, at every two foot diſtance. They have no yard to ſtretch out their ſail above, or to furl it; but let it fall upon deck, where they fold it like a fan. The hold is divided into ſo many different partitions, where the ſeveral merchants have their goods ſeparately.

SECT. V.

Of the language, learning, arts, and ſciences, of the Chineſes.

The language of China. ALL the authors who have written of *China*, have repreſented their language as the hardeſt to be learn'd of any in the world, except F. *Magellan*, who pretends it is eaſier than *Greek* or *Latin*, becauſe of the few roots of which it is compos'd. But, as he is ſingle in this opinion, there is all the reaſon imaginable to think he was wrong. For, beſides that there is no affinity between it and any other language, the ſmall number of roots, or original words, is the great difficulty of it. *Le Comte* ſays, all the words in the language may be learn'd in two hours, altho' it requires ſeveral years ſtudy to ſpeak it. (I think he might have ſaid, it is impoſſible to learn to ſpeak it to perfection.) There is ſomething ſo difficult in the pronunciation of this language, that altho' a man has acquir'd ſuch a competent knowledge in it, as to be able to underſtand a book when he reads it, yet he can neither be underſtood in reading it to another, nor make ſenſe of it when read by another. But this is not peculiar to the *Chineſe* language, for there are many perſons who have

have learn'd *French* and *Engliſh* by their own induſtry, without a maſter, who can turn thoſe languages into their mother tongue without heſitation, and yet would not underſtand a page, nor a line, when read by a native of thoſe countries.

But the difficulty of the *Chineſe* tongue does not only ariſe from the pronunciation, altho' that is conſiderable, but from the ſame word ſignifying ſeveral different things, and only to be diſtinguiſh'd by the different tone with which they are pronounced. Hence it muſt follow, that if one, who has no muſical ear, has a mind to make a fine compliment to a great man, or to his miſtreſs, in the *Chineſe* language, for want of putting ſome words in the right key, he calls them ugly names, inſtead of complimenting them.

There are not above 330 words in the whole language, and thoſe either monoſyllables, or appearing to be ſo from the quick pronunciation of them. This ſmall number any one will eaſily allow to be very inſufficient for expreſſing one's thoughts, upon different ſubjects, or indeed upon any one; and therefore, to ſupply that defect, they give every word 5 different ſignifications, which are only known by the different tones in which they are pronounced. The firſt, we are told, is an uniform full tone, like the firſt note of our muſick. (I ſuppoſe he means the ordinary tone in which people uſe to ſpeak.) The ſecond ſignification is given to words by raiſing the voice conſiderably higher. (I wiſh he had told us whether it was a third or a 5th) The third is by raiſing the voice to a more acute note (perhaps an octave) To make the 4th ſignification, they deſcend all of a ſudden to a grave tone (a Baryton or ſo) And for the 5th a very deep baſe. From whence we muſt conclude that none but muſicians, at leaſt who have nice muſical ears, are capable of learning to ſpeak rhe *Chineſe* language.

By thus varying their 330 original words 5 times, we have got 1650 different ideas expreſs'd. But *Le Comte* tells us, that beſides the variations of the tones above-mention'd, their pronouncing the words ſmoothly or aſperately, in each of thoſe tones (which we may call flatly or ſharply, or B *molle* and *Diæſis*) they augment their words to double the number. This being the caſe, I agree with him, that it is eaſier to drudge in their mines than to learn their language.

Nor is their character a greater hindrance to writing their language and underſtanding it, than the pronunciation is to ſpeaking it. For, they have no alphabet, nor can they imagine how ſo many books can be compos'd of ſo few letters as 22 or 24. (One would think a very little mathematicks, or even common arithmetick might have ſhew'd them how 24 letters might be combin'd to make many more words than what their language conſiſted of with all its cadencies.)

Characters. Many ages ago, they are ſaid to have expreſs'd themſelves by hierogliphicks, or pictures of things, inſtead of words. As the ſhape of a bird, a tree, a horſe, &c. for the things meant by them: Much like the account we gave of the *Mexicans*, before the conqueſt of that country. But, finding the tedioufneſs of that way of writing, being an ingenious people, they contriv'd ſingle characters for things inſtead of the pictures of them, and, in proceſs of time, put marks for thoſe things which could not be repreſented by pictures, ſuch as the voice, ſmelling, ſpeaking, thinking, &c. And thus from time to time they multiplied their characters to above 24000 which requires more than one life to be maſter of. So that it is not to be wonder'd at, if there was little time left for the ſtudy of ſciences, where the bare learning to read and write was ſuch a tedious affair.

But to make this eaſy for common uſe, they laid aſide their very ancient ways of writing, and muſt be at as great pains to decypher their old inſcriptions, as we are to explain letters written in cypher; their common way of writing what they call their *Mandarin* language, us'd all over *China*, is much more intelligible and eaſy to be underſtood, in reſpect of what it was before. And perhaps the jeſuites were a great help to improve them in their way of writing, after they got footing among them.

Their manner of writing is different from all other nations. For they not only begin at the right hand, and at what we call the end of the book, both which the *Hebrews* do to this day; but, inſtead of writing croſs the paper, as all other nations do, they write down the page, ſo that their lines are from the top of the paper to the bottom, and beginning again at the top. But they write with the utmoſt exactneſs, becauſe their characters ſignifying words, and there being very little difference between a character ſignifying a cock, and what ſtands for a bull, they are oblig'd to be very careful to diſtinguiſh them in writing, to make them intelligible, becauſe the leaſt ſtroke alters the ſenſe.

Paper. Their paper is made of the bark or inward rind of the bamboo tree, which is even, ſtrait, and ſtrong. They throw away the firſt rind, as too hard, and put the ſecond in fair water, and by pounding a quantity of it, they bring it to a paſte, which

which they put in a frame as we do. Their ſheet is ſometimes 10 or 12 foot long, as white as ours, but much ſmoother, and thinner than our beſt poſt paper. Before they uſe it, they waſh it over with allom, which not only hinders it from ſinking but gives it a beautiful gloſs, as if it were varniſh'd over. But the matter it is made of, makes it ſubject to worms; ſo that no manuſcript can laſt many years, but muſt be renew'd, from time to time.

Inſtead of pens for writing, they uſe pencils, and their ink is too well known in *England* and indeed through all *Europe*, to need any long deſcription.

Printing. But we are told they had printing in *China* long before that art was found out in any other part of the world, but the manner is ſomewhat different. When a book is fairly written over, the printer glews each leaf upon a ſmooth board, and with an engraver cuts all the characters ſo nicely that none can diſtinguiſh between the printed copy and the original, if the paper and ink are the ſame. The only diſadvantage is, that they are cumbered with a houſe full of boards; but there is this advantage in it, that they need not caſt off more copies than there is a demand for, and a new impreſſion coſts nothing but the paper and ink, with a trifle for a man's labour, who can caſt off 1500 ſheets in a day.

Their reading and writing being thus troubleſome to themſelves as has been ſaid, they have not much time to apply to other ſtudies, and, altho' they valued themſelves for being, in their own opinion, wiſer and more learned than all the world beſide, yet when the jeſuites got footing among them, they ſoon ſaw themſelves out done by thoſe fathers in their boaſted arts of aſtronomy and natural philoſophy. However, they have a ſort of colleges or ſchools, where their youth is taught, and where they take degrees in learning; and, as *Le Comte* ſays, they have, for 4000 years, been accuſtomed to give premiums to thoſe who acquitted themſelves beſt upon publick examinations. And he attributes their want of farther improvement to their not knowing more of the world, and their want of logick and geometry. But they had made ſome progreſs in aſtronomy, phyſick, and anatomy,

Aſtronomy and aſtrology. altho' with great defects. It is true indeed that their aſtronomy dwindled into aſtrology, to which they are much given. They mark, in their kalendars the lucky and unlucky days for marrying, beginning journeys, &c. in which they are very ſuperſtitious.

Phyſick. As to their skill in phyſick, as it regards medicine, they have made no conſiderable progreſs in it, for want of a true knowledge of natural philoſophy. But they pretend to mighty skill in pulſes; and undertake to tell by long feeling one's pulſe, not only the nature of the diſeaſe, but the time of its duration, and the iſſue of it. And *Le Comte* ſays they often give a ſhrewd gueſs, altho' they are oftener miſtaken. Their method of practice is, by preſcribing ſudorifick pills, or medicines to purge the blood; but they never apply gliſters, nor open a vein; but when any one is afflicted with a cholick, they cup, not only in thoſe parts of the body uſual with us, but upon the belly, as being the part affected. They have no apothecaries among them, for they ſay the *European* doctors ought to be puniſh'd, for putting their patients lives, and their own reputation, in the power of an apothecary, or perhaps, an ignorant apprentice or journeyman. *Le Comte* ſays *Anatomy.* they own'd the circulation of the blood and humours, which I think is ſaying a good deal for their skill in anatomy.

Their knowledge in geometry was very confin'd before the jeſuites went among them: But they pretended to be the inventers of muſick, altho' *Le Comte* *Muſick.* ſays it was ſuch wretched ſtuff, that they had better have been without it.

Another branch of the mathematicks which they were converſant in, was arithmetick, which they manage mechanically. They had no figures, as we uſe, but made uſe of a board about a foot and a half long, having 10 or 12 parallel lines acroſs, with moveable beads or buttons, by which they add and ſubſtract, multiply and divide, as we do with counters. *Arithmetick.*

However ſome of their own pretended hiſtories (of which, as we obſerv'd before, they have no ancient MSS. becauſe of their paper being ſubject to worms) have made their kingdom of 40,000 years *Chronology.* ſtanding, *Le Comte* aſſures us, that the learned among them compute the beginning of their monarchy to have been about 4,000 years ago, and that their firſt kings lived to great age, as the patriarchs, their cotemporaries, (upon this ſuppoſition) did. And thoſe very hiſtories of theirs, which carry their original beyond our account of the creation, carry their own confutation along with them, by allowing that all arts, even agriculture, architecture, &c. began within theſe 4000 years; and it is not agreeable to common ſenſe to imagine that the world ſhould have liv'd 35,000 years without ſowing, planting, building, clothing, &c. and without any particular reaſon aſſign'd, ſhould give into thoſe arts for the laſt 4000 years.

We obſerv'd above, that they had different degrees to which their youth was admitted; of which we ſhall give a more diſtinct account from the author laſt mention'd.

Thoſe

The education of their youth.

Thoſe who have a mind to breed their ſons to learning (which in *China* is the only way to preferment, there being no hereditary nobility there) after they have been taught to read and write, they are brought to examination before a *Mandarin* of the lower order. If he approves of the writing of any of them, that youth is allow'd to read their books of law and hiſtory, and after a tolerable progreſs in thoſe, he deſires his degree, of which there are 3, equivalent to our batchelor, maſter of arts, and doctor.

Degrees given.

The firſt degree is confer'd by certain *Mandarins* (who probably have the care of their colleges) aſſiſted by a commiſſary from court. The ſecond degree is given by an aſſembly of the chief *Mandarins* of the province. But the third, or doctor's degree can be given no where but at *Pekin*.

The examination of ſuch as take degrees.

In examining the candidates for degrees of all ſorts, but eſpecially for that of doctor, they are very ſtrict. They are ſearch'd, to ſee that they have no books or MSS. about them, when they preſent themſelves, and then are ſhut up, every one by himſelf, with paper and ink, and ſuch ſubjects aſſign'd them to write an eſſay upon, like our themes. At the appointed time they are brought before their examiners, who muſt not ſee them before they have perform'd their task. After thoſe are given in, they are examin'd in law, aſtronomy, hiſtory, *&c.* And according as they acquit themſelves in thoſe, and as they find their compoſition juſt and elegant, they are admitted or rejected. If any one who has taken the firſt degrees in his province, wants money to carry him to *Pekin*, he is ſupplied at the publick charge. The emperor is preſent, and commonly an examiner, at conferring the degree of doctor, and his ſeverity in trying their abilities is a greater check upon them than any trial of others. To ſuch as acquit themſelves well, he gives garlands of flowers, and other more ſubſtantial rewards: And at every commencement, ſome are choſen into the royal academy, from whence they never remove, but to conſiderable poſts in the ſtate.

Of theſe learned men ſome are appointed to take notes of all the memorable occurrences in every reign, and all the remarkable actions and ſpeeches of their kings. This is done ſeparately in looſe papers, and as one ſheet is fill'd up, it is thrown into an office appointed for that purpoſe, which is never open'd during the life of the emperor of whom they write, nor whilſt any of his immediate deſcendants are upon the throne; but when another race of kings, or any collateral branch ſucceeds, this office is open'd, and ſome ſelect perſons are employ'd to reviſe all thoſe papers, and out of them to compile a hiſtory of the paſt reigns; which, in my opinion, is a very likely method to come at truth, when the firſt writers are under no temptation to flatter the reigning monarch, becauſe he is never to know what they ſay of him, and, for the ſame reaſon, they are in no fear of offending him, by ſpeaking truth.

A good way of writing hiſtory.

But our author ſays they are luckier at arts and handy crafts, than at ſciences; and, beſides thoſe they underſtood before their acquaintance with the *Europeans*, they were ingenious imitators of what they have ſeen done by others. The *Chineſes* now make watches and clocks, glaſs, guns, and piſtols, bombs, *&c.* But he tells us, they had gunpowder, and the uſe of the compaſs, as well as printing, long before they were known in *Europe*. But if that be true, they were very dull, in not improving thoſe inventions, in ſuch a number of years as they are ſaid to have had them, to better purpoſe, ſince it is certain that they are beholden to the *Europeans*, and particularly to the jeſuites, for the uſe and improvement of all the three.

SECT. VI.

Of the policy *and* government *of* China.

SEveral authors commend the government of *China*, and F. *Le Comte* ſays it is the moſt perfect and exact model of government of any that the ancients ever fram'd; and that it has continued, much the ſame, for 4000 years. If that be ſo, it is the oldeſt monarchy in the world. But it is to little purpoſe to ſpeak of the antiquity of it, and it is eaſier to leave them in poſſeſſion than either to prove or diſprove it.

The government of China *monarchical.*

That *China* has been always monarchichal, there is no difficulty to believe, that being the form of government thro' all *Aſia* originally, as we have good authority from all the hiſtories extant, both ſacred and prophane. And they were ſo little acquainted with either the name or nature of a *Republick*, that they could not make ſenſe of the *High and Mighty States of* Holland, but fancied that a commonwealth without a king was a monſter with many heads, engender'd out of ambition and luſt of power, in times of confuſion. Nor were they out in their conjecture.

But we find this monarchy, like that of *Ruſſia* at preſent, had deviated from the practice of the other eaſtern nations, and indeed from the common inſtitution of

monarchies, by a power, aſſum'd by their emperor, of ſetting aſide the next in blood, and naming a ſucceſſor to the throne, during their own life, without any regard to hereditary right, which I humbly conceive to be an abuſe of their authority, and a ſtretch of power introduced by abſolute and tyranical princes, who, taking advantage of the great truſt repos'd in them, either without the conſent, or by the forced conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom, by their own *abſolute authority*, chang'd the conſtitution, and brought in that unreaſonable innovation of naming their ſucceſſor out of the right line. And this, we may ſuppoſe, at firſt was introduced when a king had no heirs of his own body, and had taken ſome unreaſonable prejudice or averſion to the next in blood; or, having ſons of his own, he has ſometimes been prevail'd with, by the charms of a wife or miſtreſs, to name her ſon for his ſucceſſor, in prejudice to his elder ſons by other women. But they give inſtances of oppoſition made to the emperor in his deſign of ſetting aſide his eldeſt ſon, and the Mandarins of his council laying aſide, unanimouſly, the enſigns of their office, 'till he thought fit to alter his reſolution, and declare his eldeſt ſon his ſucceſſor, to the great mortification of his beloved wife, who had perſuaded him to diſinherit him in favour of her ſon.

But to repreſent the government of *China*, in the beſt light, we are told, that altho' the emperor is abſolute, yet their laws lay a neceſſary obligation upon him to uſe his power with moderation. *The great authority of the emperor.* He is almoſt ador'd by his ſubjects. They ſtile him *the ſon of heaven*, and *the only maſter of the world*, and he is never ſpoken to but kneeling; the princes of the blood, and chief officers of ſtate not excepted from this homage: And there are certain ſtated days in every week, when the nobility aſſemble, in one of the courts of the palace, to own his authority by the moſt ſubmiſſive adoration.

Over life and goods As ſoon as he is proclaim'd, he is veſted with the power of life, nor can any governor or judge through the whole empire put any criminal to death, without his warrant. Nor has he leſs power over the goods of his ſubjects, by laying what taxes he thinks fit upon them; but *Le Comte* ſays he never exceeds the ordinary ſtated impoſts, unleſs it be upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions as will juſtify a ſtretch of power in any government.

He appoints all officers. He has the ſole diſpoſal of all offices throughout the empire. And, were the conſtitution obſerv'd, no poſt could be bought; but they would all be diſpos'd of by merit; the rule in that caſe being to confer offices and dignities upon men of integrity, learning, experience in buſineſs, and a grave ſober behaviour. And if any complaint is brought againſt any vice-roy, or other officer, of any tranſgreſſions in any of thoſe points, the emperor diſmiſſes the guilty perſon without more ado.

Makes peace and war. He is abſolute maſter, and has the ſole power of peace and war. He ſends his orders thro' the empire, which muſt be proclaim'd and regiſter'd without delay, or asking queſtions.

But with all this power, the law has appointed co-adjutors and aſſiſtants to the emperor, not unlike our *Council*, and the *three Eſtates* in *Parliament*, not to coerce and control their ſovereign, but to adviſe and humbly to repreſent what they think is for the good of the publick. For

Beſides the great maxim, inſtill'd from their infancy, in all the royal family, (from their old law-givers) that the emperor ought to ſhew himſelf *the father of his people*, and to *govern them as his children, not as ſlaves*; the *Mandarins*, or officers of ſtate, have a right to tell the emperor, of any miſcarriages in his government, and, with all ſubmiſſion, to repreſent to him any infringement upon the conſtitution; which (altho' ſome have fallen under diſgrace for their honeſty) has often been of great uſe to keep their emperors within bounds; as it muſt be of great weight with princes of ſenſe and vertue. *The nobility have a liberty of adviſing him privately.*

His council. But beſides this private advice, there are two ſtated councils; one of the princes of the blood only, who aſſemble only upon extraordinary occaſions; the other of the princes of the blood, and other officers of ſtate, who make up the ordinary council, call'd the *Calaos*. Theſe examine all affairs of ſtate, and, like our parliament, prepare laws, which they humbly offer to the emperor for his approbation. And the moſt material affairs paſs through this council, before the emperor gives his judgment upon them; and their reputation is very great among the *Chineſes*; nor is it adviſeable for the emperor to ſlight their advice; for if they ſtick together, they are a formidable aſſembly, as long as corruption does not creep in among them.

Six inferior courts in Pekin. Next to this great council, there are ſix inferior courts, all kept in *Pekin*, but their athority, like that of the *Calaos*, reaches through the empire, according to their different charges. The firſt is call'd *Lipou*, and has authority over all the *Mandarins*, or great officers of ſtate, through the whole empire. They take cognizance of their qualifications, and receive complaints againſt them: And as they find occaſion, repreſent the caſe to the emperor, and receive his authority to remove,

remove, or otherwiſe chaſtiſe them. 2. *Houpou*, to which the affairs of the treaſury, and the laying on taxes are entruſted. 3. *Lypou*, which is a very extenſive juriſdiction, having cognizance of the ancient cuſtoms, rites and ceremonies of religion, arts and ſciences, and foreign affairs. 4. *Pimpou* has all the affairs of the army committed to it. 5. *Himpou* is ſet apart for criminal matters. And 6. *Compou* takes care of all publick buildings, eſpecially thoſe belonging to the emperor.

All thoſe courts have their ſeveral preſidents, and ſubdivide themſelves into committees, which are accountable to the preſident. And leſt too great power ſhould tempt any of theſe courts to encroach upon the emperor's authority, they are ſo wiſely regulated, as to be a check upon one another. So that ſeveral of them muſt combine, before they can do miſchief. Thus if the *Mandarins*, or any number of them, ſhould conſpire with the *Pimpou*, and ſo get any part of the army to be order'd to any place, the *Houpou* having the money in their hands, muſt be ſatisfied that the army has the emperor's orders to march, before they can pay them. And upon the firſt ſuſpicion of any ſeditious deſign, the *Lipou* calls the *Mandarins* to account, and acquaints the emperor with it. Beſides all this, the emperor has a ſpy in every one of theſe courts, who watches their conduct, and ſometimes gives private intelligence to the emperor of their behaviour; and, at other times, openly accuſes them before the *Calaos*. Theſe officers are call'd *Colis*, of whom the *Mandarins*, and even the princes of the blood, are ſo much in awe, that we are told of one of them, who being inform'd that one of the *Colis* objected to his having built his houſe higher than ordinary, immediately pull'd it down, and order'd it to be built more to the inſpector's liking.

Good order of thoſe courts.

The Colis a check upon them.

The provinces are govern'd by vice-roys. *Le Comte* differs from *Purchas*, and *Navarette* from both, and *Mendoza* from them all, in the names given to thoſe magiſtrates. But the beſt of theſe authors agree in the ſubſtance of what they ſay, as to their authority and manner of government. So that we ſhall not trouble our ſelves nor the reader with a parcel of hard names, which, it is agreed upon all hands, no *European* can pronounce, nor have we letters that will expreſs their ſound. The *Portugueſes* call'd all thoſe officers *Mandarins*, from their word *Mandar*, to *command*, or to *ſend out*.

The government of the provinces.

In the provinces there are chief *Mandarins*, whom we may call *vice-roys*; of which there are two ſorts. One preſides over one province only, as *Pekin*, &c. Others have the government of two or three provinces. This laſt is call'd, by *Le Comte*, *Tſounto*, and they ſend deputies to the different provinces under their charge. Thoſe deputies are accountable to them, as they are to the council of *Calaos* at *Pekin*.

Of the cities, towns, and villages.

The cities, towns, and great villages, have their ſeveral governors, the laſt of which are ſubordinate to the ſecond, as the ſecond are to the firſt, and all of them to the vice roy. And there is no claſhing in their adminiſtration; for, every one knows his power and juriſdiction; ſo that there is no diſpute to whom the cognizance of any cauſe belongs, throughout the whole empire.

But, as a check upon the vice roys, there are one or more *Mandarins* in every government, who are the *Colis* or inſpectors; not only to give an account of the adminiſtration of the ſeveral vice roys and their miniſters, but of their behaviour in private life.

Corruption in the adminiſtration.

One would imagine, by all this precaution, that it were impoſſible there ſhould be oppreſſion or injuſtice in the government of *China*, unleſs it were by the emperor, or his *Calaos*; and yet we are inform'd, that corruption has got the better of the good laws and wiſe regulations to prevent or puniſh it. As an evidence of this, they tell us of the immenſe riches amaſs'd by the *Mandarins*, conſidering the ſmallneſs of their ſalaries, which are not above 1000 crowns a year. It may be ſaid, that they grow rich by preſents made them; but ſuch preſents as would amount to ſuch vaſt ſums as they are ſaid to be poſſeſs'd of, can ſcarce be ſuppos'd to be given purely out of good will. We are told, that the miniſters at *Pekin* extort great ſums from the vice roys, which they, in their turn, ſqueeze out of their inferior officers, and theſe of courſe, exact from the people; and thus every one in authority being more or leſs guilty, they connive at one another, and ſo bribery and corruption go an univerſal round, notwithſtanding the moſt excellent laws to the contrary. But laws in the hands of corrupt miniſters are only ſolemn nothings, and are as great an inſult upon a nation, as gravely telling them they are rich and free, when they feel, to their coſt, that they are poor and ſlaves.

The emperor viſits the provinces

But, in ſpite of corruption, there is one reſtraint upon the *Mandarins*, *viz.* the emperor's viſiting the ſeveral provinces in perſon, which is the greateſt terror to them that can be. For, at thoſe times, every one of them, who has been guilty of any injuſtice, is at the mercy of the perſon injur'd; for the emperor receives petitions

petitions and complaints from all ſorts of people. The only remedy in this caſe is, to bribe thoſe officers who have the reviſing of the petitions; becauſe the emperor is oblig'd to give them into other hands, it being impoſſible he ſhould read them all himſelf; and thus if a complaint bears hard upon a governor who has been liberal in his gifts, they either drop it, or put ſuch a face upon it, as it paſſes without any examination.

Good policy. In ſending vice roys to the ſeveral provinces, there is one rule conſtantly obſerv'd, which is, never to make any perſon preſident of the province where he was born, and where his relations live. This cuſtom they obſerve for two reaſons. 1. That, ſince there are no hereditary nobles in *China*, and that the higheſt poſts may be conferred upon the ſons of coblers, or ſcavengers, a *Mandarin* of no birth ſhould not be render'd contemptible, by having a father, uncle, &c. of a mean way of living, in the province where he is vice roy. 2. Leſt, if he be the ſon of a *Mandarin*, and has great or rich relations in the province, he may grow too popular, and have ill deſigns. And farther to prevent this laſt inconvenience, they keep the vice roy's children in *Pekin*, at leaſt ſuch a number of them, by way of ſecurity, for the behaviour of their fathers.

In criminal cauſes, if a magiſtrate ſees a fault committed, he may judge it upon the ſpot, and puniſh it without any farther proceſs. He may order a gameſter, rook, or debauchee, without any trial, to be baſtinado'd by any of his followers, as he paſſes the ſtreets, or upon the high way: But this does not exempt the offender from being proſecuted by the injur'd party in a ſuperior court.

Appeals from the vice roy's court. When an appeal is enter'd, from the judgment of the vice roy, to the council at *Pekin*, the *Calaos* orders it to be examin'd by proper officers, and then the council gives ſentence, and preſents it to the emperor, who ſometimes remits it back to them to be better examin'd, or gives judgment immediately. And ſuch ſentence paſt by him is irrevocable.

Puniſhments. As to their puniſhments, they are different according to the crimes. The moſt common is the baſtinado, which is reckon'd a fatherly correction, altho' they get 40 or 50 ſound blows upon the back. Nor is it accounted ſcandalous, for ſometimes the *Mandarins* undergo it. And, *Le Comte* tells us, that when any perſon has been thus baſted, he muſt fall upon his knees before the judge, and thank him for his care of his education. It is much they are not oblig'd to kiſs the rod. But, altho' this puniſhment is ſometimes ſo ſevere, that people die of it, yet they can, for a bribe, make it ſlight, or ſubſtitute another in their place, and ſo be beaten by proxy.

The baſtinade. When any one is baſtinado'd without the gate of the city, he can never recover his reputation again, and therefore this infamous puniſhment is never inflicted but upon thoſe who deſerve death.

Death. Capital puniſhments in *China* are quite the reverſe of ours; for there they ſtrangle the great people, and cut off the heads of the poor and mean, as being the moſt diſgraceful death of the two. But if the crime is heinous, they cut off the head of a *Mandarin*, and hang it on a tree in the high way. In caſes of treaſon, they cut the offender in pieces with great barbarity. But, as we obſerv'd before, there muſt be a warrant from the emperor for every execution.

The crimes capitally puniſh'd. The crimes which are puniſh'd by death are treaſon, murder, diſobedience to magiſtrates, but, above all, any indignity or inſult offer'd to parents. This laſt is ſo heinous an offence, that the whole neighbourhood is alarm'd where it happens. For obedience to parents is ſo inculcated to the youth, and the leaſt failing in that reſpect ſo deteſted, that a ſon's mocking his father, is, upon the firſt complaint, capitally puniſhed: But any violence offer'd to his perſon incurs the ſame penalty with treaſon.

Theft and adultery no capital crimes. But theft and adultery are not capital. (unleſs violence has been offer'd or done to the party injur'd) In all ſuch caſes, where no violence is us'd to the perſons, the puniſhment is either the baſtinade, or hanging a board about the neck of the offender, with the crime written upon it, and ſo expoſing him to open ſhame.

Priſons crowded in China, and why. The miſſionaries inform us, that the emperors hear all cauſes themſelves, and give ſentence accordingly. But whoever conſiders the vaſt extent of the *Chineſe* dominions, and multitude of people in them, will eaſily ſee, that it is impoſſible one man ſhould be inform'd of all affairs. But the truth of the matter is, that the cauſes judg'd in the provinces are return'd to ſuch officers or *Mandarins* in *Pekin* as are appointed to take cognizance of them. Theſe officers ſend ſuch of them as they think proper, and their own repreſentation of them, to the palace, and from thence they are ſent back approv'd or not, as the emperor pleaſes. And I do not doubt but the reaſon of the priſons being crowded, in the chief cities of *China*, may be, that the tenth part of the ſentences paſs'd in the provinces having never been ſhew'd to the emperor, they cannot execute the delinquents without orders; nor will they ſuffer them to eſcape without puniſhment, and therefore ſuffer them to pine away

away their lives in priſon. Thus we are told, that in *Canton* alone there were at one time 15,000 priſoners.

The emperor ſeldom ſeen.

The great veneration, or rather adoration, they ſhew towards the emperor, and the profound reverence they have for the great *Mandarins*, are kept up different ways. Their awe towards the perſon of the emperor is, without doubt, encreas'd by his keeping himſelf ſhut up in his palace, and ſo ſeldom ſeen by any but women and eunuchs: But when he does ſhew himſelf, it is with all the ſigns of majeſty, and the greateſt kings, his tributaries, muſt kneel before him. But the Mandarins attract the people's reſpect by appearing frequently among them, and with great ſtate and magnificence, being carried in rich chairs upon mens ſhoulders, with all the enſigns of authority carried before them, as the conſuls in old *Rome* had their axes and rods before them where-ever they went.

The manner of receiving ambaſſadors.

Since the *Tartars* got poſſeſſion of *China*, the emperor ſhews himſelf once a week, beſides giving audience to foreign ambaſſadors, which he does with great ſtate. For there is a large ſquare building, in the middle of one of the inner courts of the palace, where, as it were different ſtories, there are ſeveral ſtairs leading up to five different landing places, the upper ſtories ſtill ſmaller in the ſquare, according to their heighth; from the fifth of which there is a large room, ſupported by four rows of pillars, where the emperor's throne is erected. This room is painted and gilded, and cover'd with yellow tiles. Here the emperor (ſurrounded with his vaſſal kings, the princes of the blood, and his Mandarins in their richeſt apparel, but all upon the knee, and, without them, his guards, in glorious accoutrements) receives ambaſſadors, who are brought in by ſome vice roy. The throne is four foot high, and cover'd with ſables, where his majeſty ſits croſs-leg'd.

Mr. *Salmon* gives a ſhort account of the audience of *Ides*, the *Muſcovite* ambaſſador formerly mention'd, telling us that the emperor was dreſt in a dark-colour'd damask waiſtcoat, a coat of deep blue ſatin fac'd with ermine, a ſtring of coral about his neck; a cap fac'd with ſable, with a cockade of red ſilk, and ſome peacocks feathers hanging behind, but neither gold nor jewels; his boots or buskins of black velvet. After the ambaſſador had lighted at the gate of the outward palace, and been conducted by three Mandarins, thro' all the courts, in every one of which there were a great many Mandarins in embroider'd robes, he was brought before the throne, where having deliver'd his credentials, and made the Czar's compliments, he was conducted back to his houſe. He was afterwards invited to an entertainment at court. The emperor, after ſome compliments of enquiry about the Czar's health, order'd the tables to be unconver'd, upon which (the damask clothes being taken away) there appear'd cold meat and fruits. The ambaſſador had his table by himſelf, as the emperor had, and about 200 Mandarins had a table between every two. The emperor ſent ſome meat from his table to the ambaſſador, altho' his own was ſupply'd before, and likewiſe a gold cup with ſpirits. After dinner they ſat about a quarter of an hour, and the ambaſſador being order'd to ſtand up, the emperor ſaluted him, and retir'd, the ambaſſador was conducted to his houſe, as before.

His ſtate in going abroad.

But the moſt ſolemn appearance the *Chineſe* emperor makes is when he goes to the temple to ſacrifice, which he does upon ſolemn feſtivals, of which we ſhall ſay ſomething, when we ſpeak of the religion of the *Chineſes*. Upon thoſe occaſions, we are told, he is preceded by 24 trumpets, and as many drums, with gold coronets; then march 24 men with gilded ſpears; after them, 100 halbertiers, richly accourted; then as many ſergeants with maces, who are follow'd by 400 with rich lanterns, and theſe by a like number with gilded flambeaus; after them appear 200 lances, follow'd by 24 banners, with the ſigns of the zodiack, (after their way of reckoning) and 56 others repreſenting the conſtellations. Then come 24 rich umbrello's, ſurrounding a cupboard of gold plate, carried by the proper officers of the court. Then comes the emperor on horſeback, magnificently dreſt, his clothes, as well as the furniture of his horſe, all cover'd with gold and jewels, with his pages round him, covering him with rich umbrello's. Next follow the princes of the blood, vice roys, and miniſters of ſtate, all glorioufly ſet forth in their robes. Theſe are follow'd by 500 young gentlemen on horſeback, (attended by 1000 footmen) dreſs'd in carnation ſilk, wrought with ſtars of gold and ſilver. After theſe comes an open chair, in the ſhape of a triumphal chariot, richly adorn'd, carried by 36 men, which is follow'd by another much larger, ſupported by 120 men. Theſe are followed by two chariots drawn by elephants, and two others by horſes, each chair and chariot guarded by 50 ſoldiers. And laſt of all come 2000 *Mandarins*, and as many principal officers of the army in their richeſt apparel.

When he viſits the provinces, and particularly the frontiers of *Tartary*, as he does either one or the other every year, he goes with a ſmall retinue, and guards are placed the whole way as he paſſes.

The forces of China.

Nor is it a hard matter to have ſuch a number of ſoldiers placed for his ſecurity wherever he goes; for, if we will believe the accounts given of this empire, he has five millions of ſoldiers in pay in time of peace; moſt of which are horſe. In the city of *Pekin* alone, there are quarter'd 160,000 horſe, arm'd with lances and ſcimetars. The horſe have no fire-arms, and the foot but very few; for altho' they are ſaid to have had gun-powder long before us, they keep ſtill the uſe of bows and arrows. But indeed his forces are no better than militia; for having no foreign enemy now to fear, a ſmall knowledge in the diſcipline of war is ſufficient to keep the provinces in order, which is all they have to do. This army is paid with an allowance of rice and other proviſions, and many of them in every province are allowed to work at their trades, and only to be ready to muſter when call'd, like our militia. Since the jeſuites came among them, they have got a good train of artillery for the field, which they taught them to caſt; but thoſe guns upon the walls are ſaid to be of little uſe.

The emperor's revenue.

We may eaſily imagine, that it requires an immenſe revenue to defray the charge of ſuch a number of ſoldiers, beſides the vaſt ſhoal of *Mandarins*, and other officers, who depend upon the goverment. *Purchas* has two different computations of the revenues of *China* from two different authors. The one amounts to 100 millions, and the other to 150 millions. The firſt account is taken from F. *Diego de Pantoia*, a *Spaniſh* jeſuite, in a letter of his, written from *Pekin*, in *March*, 1602. The 2d he had from *Ricius* and *Trigautius*. I ſuppoſe both theſe accounts are meant of crowns; and if ſo, the firſt is not much different from *Le Comte*'s value of the revenue, from whom Mr. *Salmon* takes his computation, *viz.* 21,600,000 *l.* ſterling. But they all agree, that it is not eaſy to calculate the ſum, becauſe a great part of the taxes being paid in goods, it is uncertain what the value of thoſe may be. But there is one thing to be obſerv'd in the manner of collecting it, which makes it very eaſy to the people; that is, they are not burthen'd with an unneceſſary addition to the tax, for paying collectors fees. For an account of every man's family, together with the taxes due by him, is written upon a board, and hung up before his door; and the maſter of the houſe is oblig'd to bring in the money to the Mandarins of the city, town, or village, againſt an appointed time, under the pain of the baſtinado. Thoſe Mandarins ſend the money to the treaſurer of the province, who pays the vice roys and other officers their due; and ſends the over-plus to *Pekin*. What tricks are plaid by the connivance of thoſe officers with one another, and how they may oppreſs the people by exacting more of them than they ought, is another conſideration; but, we are inform'd, for the honour of *China*, that thoſe abuſes are ſeverely puniſh'd, when diſcover'd.

Their computation of time.

F. *Le Comte* obſerves, that the *Chineſes* are embaraſs'd in computing the time. There are 100 perſons appointed to regulate their kalendar, and theſe ſend a new one every year, with great ceremony, to the ſeveral vice roys through all the provinces. They make the year conſiſt ſometimes of 12, and ſometimes of 13 months, according to the moon's courſe. Thoſe almanacks contain the equinoxes, ſolſtices, eclipſes, the ſun and moon's entering into the different ſigns, the courſes of the planets, with their oppoſitions and conjunctions, &c. But they are likewiſe crowded with ridiculous ſuperſtitions of judicial aſtrology; ſuch as lucky and unlucky days, &c.

Their day was divided into 12 parts, each of which they ſubdivide into 8. But their old ſun-dials were divided into 4 general parts, and each of thoſe into 24 little ones, which is the ſame with the former, dividing the whole into 96 parts. Since they got the jeſuites among them, they compute as we do; but the common people mind little of hours, except the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, and noon. In the night, they diſtinguiſh the 5 watches by bells and drums; ſtriking ſingle ſtrokes for the firſt watch, two ſtrokes for the ſecond, three for the third, and ſo on.

Their coin.

Their current coin is of two ſorts, copper and ſilver. The copper coin is very troubleſome, there being 10 clumſy pieces of them to a penny. But they do not count by pieces but by ſtrings; for, there is a hole through them, and ſuch a number is put upon a ſtring. The ſilver coin (if it may be call'd coin) is an irregular piece, like the *Spaniſh* cobs, and paſſes by weight. Gold does not paſs for money, but is bought, as jewels and other merchandize are, and *Le Comte* ſays the *Europeans* make a good hand of it in *China*, by ſelling it for a third part more than it coſt them. They ſell almoſt every thing by weight, which obliges every one to carry a ſmall portable ballance, which they have made to that exactneſs, that the thouſandth part of a crown will turn the ſcale. Their pound is 16 ounces, each of which is divided into 10 *Tciens*, each *Tcien* into 10 penny-weights, and each of theſe into 10 grains. They have many other diviſions, which cannot be explained without their own names. Their meaſures differ according to the provinces, but the common mathematical foot is very little ſhort of ours.

Weights and meaſures.

As

As the emperors of *China*, for all their power, are but a ſort of ſtate priſoners, ſeldom coming abroad, it is to be ſuppos'd they have ſeveral ways of diverting themſelves, and paſſing their time at home. And this we are told they do with their women and eunuchs, ſometimes in walking in their large gardens, and ſometimes in their private receſſes, with ſuch of their wives or concubines as they pitch upon; and very often in buſineſs with ſuch eunuchs as are employed in affairs of ſtate, and to bring the opinions of the council, or complaints againſt any of his miniſters.

The way the emperor ſpends his time.

The number of the women in his *Seraglio* is not limited; but as many beautiful girls as his Mandarins can purchaſe for him, are all entertain'd there, altho' there are many of them with whom he never had any converſation. We are told that there are three of thoſe women call'd the emperor's wives, but it is agreed upon by all authors, that his ſons by thoſe call'd his concubines may inherit, and often do. And it may be imagin'd, that the reſpect ſhew'd them in the Seraglio, is rather owing to the affection and countenance of the emperor towards them, than to any greater right which one has in him above the reſt.

The emperor's women.

There being a great number of women, and they only to be attended by eunuchs, and the emperor having none but ſuch to attend himſelf there, the number of them muſt be very conſiderable. *Purchas* ſays, from *Pantoia*, there are 16,000 of them in the palace, and that they chuſe 3000 at one time, out of 20,000, who were preſented. The choice was made by one of the chief Mandarins about the court, and the oldeſt eunuch in the ſeraglio. The qualifications requir'd are a good face and good pronunciation.

His eunuchs.

As theſe ſlaves after they are admitted into the palace, have a good allowance, the poorer ſort of people, through the whole empire, emaſculate their handſome ſons, in expectation of this preferment, as they do in *Italy* to get them into the pope's chapel, or to fit them for the ſtage; but in *China* they are cut clean, as, of latter times, they have been in *Turky*. As ſoon as they are receiv'd into the ſeraglio, they have their different tasks aſſign'd them according to their capacities: And ſome of them are put to learn mathematicks, or to ſtudy politicks, as their genius ſeems to lead them; and thoſe eunuchs are often rais'd to the greateſt poſts in the ſtate; altho' our author ſays, they are generally a cruel, covetous, ignorant ſet of people. What a noble education muſt a young king have among ſuch inſtructors!

SECT. VII.

Of the religion of the Chineſes.

OF all parts of the hiſtory of *China*, there is the greateſt diverſity of opinions with regard to their religion both before and ſince the *Europeans* had footing among them. It would be a very tedious, as well as unprofitable task, to collect the different accounts given of their principles and practice in matters of religion, by *Mendoza*, *Ricius*, *Navarette*, *Le Comte*, and others. I ſhall therefore only trouble the reader with a ſhort abſtract of what is moſt material upon this ſubject, without following any one author entirely in his opinion; for, I honeſtly declare, that in all the accounts I have read, upon this ſubject, there are ſuch contradictions, that I do not think any one author is to be depended upon. F. *Le Comte* tells us, that *China* having been peopled by the ſons of *Noah*, receiv'd the true doctrine taught by that patriarch, and that their firſt emperor carefully brought up ſeven ſorts of creatures to ſacrifice to the ſupreme ſpirit of heaven and earth; and their third emperor built a temple to the ſovereign lord of heaven; and that their fifth emperor inſtituted prieſts in the ſeveral provinces to preſide over the ſacrifices; that the true religion, which they had receiv'd from their firſt founders, continued during the reign of 80 emperors, before the corruption of it by *Fo*, which they tell us was 2000 years after their firſt ſettlement, about 800 years before our B. Saviour's incarnation. In all this time both inward and outward worſhip was carefully preſerv'd, that of the mind having been inculcated with the greateſt care, and the external worſhip practis'd with the utmoſt decency; the empreſſes (breeding ſilk worms) wrought with their own hands, coverings for their altars, and habits for their prieſts; the emperors tilling the ground for producing corn and wine for ſacred uſes. And ſo religious were the prieſts of *China*, that they would not offer ſacrifice before the people, unleſs they were prepar'd for it by three, and ſometimes by ſeven days abſtaining from their wives.

If this account were true, the *Chineſes* had the beſt title to have been GOD's peculiar people of any nation in the world, and the favour the Almighty ſhew'd to the *Iſraelites*, for the faith and piety of a very few among them, ſeems to have been more juſtly due to this great nation, who had perſever'd in the true religion,

when

when even the *Iſraelites* themſelves, notwithſtanding the great advantages of revelation they enjoy'd above all the world, had often corrupted themſelves. Nor is this obſervation a preſumptuous preſcribing to the free grace of GOD. I know that he chuſes whom he will. But I have good authority to aſſert that the reaſon of his election is vertue and piety, and eſpecially an oppoſition to idolatry. This was the cauſe of his chuſing *Noah*, *Abraham*, and the other worthies mention'd in the Holy Scriptures. And therefore I ſhall not be afraid to ſay, that had the *Chineſes* kept to the true religion for 2000 years, they muſt have been the moſt belov'd of GOD of any nation under heaven; for *him that honours* GOD, *he will honour*. Nor can I help thinking, that ſuch a powerful nation, who had the vertue to keep themſelves, without revelation, in the true worſhip, longer than even the Jews did with it, I ſay, I cannot help thinking, that GOD would have vouchſafed them ſuch aſſiſtance as he gave to others who did not deſerve it ſo well.

But we are told, that in proceſs of time, *viz.* 800 years before our Saviour, they fell into idolatry. The firſt corruption was introduced by *Li Laokun*, that is, *the old child*; he was ſo call'd becauſe they pretend his mother went with child of him 80 years, and at laſt he was cut out of her ſide. This philoſopher taught that the Deity was corporeal, and that he had ſeveral inferior gods under him. Being a chymiſt, he pretended to have found out a drink that would make people immortal. He was not ſo cunning as Mr. *Aſgil*, to leave the fault upon the patient's want of faith, which hinders his immortality; but, as Mr. *Salmon* obſerves, *Laokun*'s followers do as well, for they ſay, it fails of the effect by ſome defect in the compoſition. The followers of this philoſopher are very fond of magical ſtudies, and ſome time after his death, built temples to him, and worſhip'd him as one of the ſubordinate deities.

1. *The firſt ſect of idolaters in* China. Laokun.

The ſecond ſect of religion among the *Chineſes* is that of *Fo*, which prevails more among the people than the other, or than the third, which ſhall be nam'd. This the jeſuites juſtly ſpeak againſt as worſe in many reſpects than the othors. This ſect began about the time of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus Veſpaſian*, altho' the author, from whom it was taken, liv'd 1000 years before, as they ſay. This was ſaid to have been the author of the opinion of tranſmigration of ſouls, at leaſt in *China*, and his followers worſhip'd him, and brought in different ſorts of idols, ſuch as elephants, dragons, &c. upon the ſuppoſition that their maſter *Fo* had paſt into thoſe bodies. But ſometimes they treat thoſe idols very ill, (as the *Spaniards* are ſaid to whip the image of St. *Anthony*, when they can't get fair weather by their prayers before it) for they will pull them down, and drag them through the kennel, when they cannot obtain what they pray for; And *Le Comte* tells of a man who having pray'd for the recovery of an only daughter, and who had the *Bonzo*'s (or prieſt's) promiſe, as he ſaid by the idol's order, that ſhe ſhould recover, enter'd a proceſs againſt the idol, upon the girl's dying of that ſickneſs, and obtain'd a ſentence of baniſhment of the idol, the demoliſhing its temple, and the chaſtiſement of the Bonzo.

2. Fo, *the 2d religious ſect.*

Theſe *Bonzo's* are a ſet of prieſts who are particularly appropriated to preſide over the worſhippers of *Fo*; and to make the oracles given by him in *Pekin* the more eſteem'd, they put one of their own number upon his altar, and pretend it is he himſelf; and as one dies, they ſet up another, taking ſpecial care, that the people ſhall not ſee him ſo plainly as to find out the impoſture. They have 1000 other tricks to cheat the populace; but upon a diſcovery, they are treated as they deſerve. However, they have this one true principle in this ſect, *viz.* the belief of the immortality of the ſoul, which the other ſects, at leaſt, as they are at preſent, do not ſeem to believe. *The* Bonzo's.

Not long after *Laokun*, *viz.* about 500 years before the *Chriſtian Æra*, flouriſh'd *Confucius*, call'd, by the *Chineſes*, *Kung Fu Zu*, whoſe name having made ſo great a noiſe, not only in *China*, but in *Europe*, ſo as to divide the whole church of *Rome* into parties, we ſhall give a more particular account of him and his ſect.

3. Confucius. *The 3d ſect.*

Confucius was born in the province of *Quantum*, about the period above-mention'd; he was deſcended of the royal family, but never was emperor, altho' he govern'd a good part of the empire, by influencing the greateſt men in it by his doctrine. He ſhew'd an exemplary piety even in his youth, and a gravity in his behaviour very extraordinary. He was ſcholar to *Tcem ſe*, a famous doctor of thoſe days, who taught him the learning of the ancients of their own nation, whoſe maxims he collected, and made them the rule of his life, and preſcrib'd the practice of them an others.

All the different provinces of *China* being, at that time, kingdoms, but ſubject to the emperor, there were frequent wars between the ſeveral kings, and the emperor was much put to it to keep his authority in ſuch different intereſts. To remedy thoſe diſorders, which *Confucius* juſtly

juſtly believ'd to proceed from ambition, pride, and avarice, he ſet himſelf to preach up a ſtrict morality, ſhew'd the advantage of temperance and juſtice, and contempt of riches and grandeur: And, by his own life, gave them an eminent pattern of ſubduing their paſſions. He ſoon made a conſiderable number of proſelites, and, as it muſt happen to thoſe who are ſincerely vertuous, they who did not think fit to imitate him, admir'd him, and gave him the title of a ſaint. But one of their neighbour kings, dreading the power of a nation ſo vertuous as *Confucius* was like to make his countrymen, under colour of complimenting the king of *Lou*, whoſe court had embrac'd the philoſopher's doctrine, ſent a good number of the moſt beautiful young girls, (well inſtructed in the art of pleaſing) by a particular ambaſſador, to that king.

Thoſe ladies, being well receiv'd at court, very ſoon got the better of *Confucius*'s doctrine; ſo that finding all that he had done fruſtrated by this tribe of beauties, he retir'd to other kingdoms; but meeting with ſmall encouragement, he was forced to lead a more private life, and many coming to him, he taught them as in a private ſchool; and from time to time ſent 600 of his diſciples thro' the ſeveral kingdoms of *China*, to try if they might not have better ſucceſs in reforming the manners of the people than he had had. And thus having ſpent his whole life in moſt exemplary piety, he died in an advanc'd age, and, however he was neglected in his life-time, has been honour'd as a ſaint ever ſince, and the reſpect ſhew'd to his memory is, to this day, a bone of contention, which the church of *Rome* has not been able to remove, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper place.

Father *Le Comte* gives an account of ſome of his maxims; but as they do not contain the body of his doctrine, but only looſe ſayings upon occaſional ſubjects, we ſhall not trouble the reader with them.

But whatever might have been *Confucius*'s own opinions with regard to religion, which I ſhall not diſpute at this diſtance of time, the ſect which adheres to his doctrine are very differently repreſented by the jeſuites, and other miſſionaries; as we ſhall ſhew by and by. But,

The learned ſect.

This ſect, which has the name of *the ſect of the learned*, *Le Comte* owns, is ſo obſcure, in their doctrines, that the very profeſſors of it do not underſtand what they teach. According to him, it began only in the 15th century; the then emperor employing 82 of the moſt eminent doctors to compile a ſyſtem of religion out of the ancient books, particularly thoſe of *Confucius*. The *Mandarins* who were employ'd in the collection, being prejudic'd with the idolatrous opinions of the later doctors, and either not underſtanding, or not liking, the doctrine of the ancients, made them ſpeak their modern ſenſe. For inſtance. They make GOD no other than *Nature*, and ſay that there is no worſhip to be paid to him. And, in ſhort, he ſays, they mangled *Confucius*'s principles ſo, that they introduc'd, or rather left, ſuperſtition, magick, paganiſm, and atheiſm, to prevail, as the different humours of people led them.

All theſe ſects have temples to their ſeveral founders; but the jeſuites will not allow that the learned ſect worſhip *Confucius*, (for a certain reaſon, which we ſhall relate in its place) but it ſeems the pope, in his conſiſtory, was not of their opinion.

Beſides this worſhip paid to theſe authors of the three ſects mention'd, the *Chineſes* pay religious worſhip to their deceas'd anceſtors; and from the emperor down to the meaneſt ſubject, they have the images of their dead progenitors in their houſes, to whom they offer, with great devotion, ſuch things as they offer to their idols in their temples, which the miſſionaries of the other orders, took to be idolatry; but the jeſuites were of another mind, and calling it only a civil reſpect, not only allow'd their converts in the practice of it, but were preſent themſelves at thoſe ceremonies, and did as the natives, as ſhall be ſhew'd before we finiſh this ſection.

Idol temples.

The temples to their idols, eſpecially of the worſhippers of *Foe*, are generally without the gates of their cities, or in retir'd places: And near them, they have towers to the memory of ſome ſaint of their own. In thoſe temples they have lamps conſtantly burning, and a number of prieſts belong to them, who offer wine, rice, and other proviſions, to their idols, and then cheat the people by foretelling future events. The moſt common idols, beſides the three authors of their ſects, are, that of *Immortality*, repreſented by the figure of a very fat man ſitting croſs-leg'd; another of *Pleaſure*, not unlike the former, ſitting at ſome diſtance from it; and between thoſe a third, placed upon a ſtool, gilded over, and magnificently dreſt, with a crown upon his head. This figure is 30 foot high, and is call'd, *the Great King* KANG, to whom they pay great adoration. They have innumerable images of ſmaller conſideration, not only in their temples, but in their houſes, ſhips, and in the ſtreets.

There are ſome Mahometans in *China*, who are allowed becauſe they are quiet; but they make no figure, nor are ever employed in publick buſineſs.

Feasts of the Chineses.

The feasts observ'd in *China*, wherein there seems to be any mixture of religion, are.

1. Birth-days.

1. Their birth-days, and especially that of the emperor. Those are celebrated with great solemnity, and especially in the night. It is a kind of revel, but *Purchas* tells, from F. *Da Cruz*, that it is attended with sacrifices perform'd by their priests, who are present at the feast, and after they have sung hymns appointed upon these occasions, and offer'd the proper sacrifices, erect triumphal arches made artificially of paper, and other fine shows, all hung round with lamps and lanthorns.

2. New year.

2. The new year's feast is of universal observation. Then all their doors, and even the whole streets, are adorn'd, and richly dress'd with arches of paper finely painted, and ornaments of damask, and other rich stuffs. There is variety of musick, and great feasting. This likewise continues all night, the priests performing their part of the pageantry, by hymns and sacrifices. This lasts 3 days.

3. Of the dead.

3. Their feasts at the sepulchre of their dead friends, of which by and by.

4. Of lanthorns

4. *Le Comte* gives an account of another feast, which he says is the most solemn of any that they celebrate, and is kept upon the 15th day of their first month, 12 days after the new year's feast. This is call'd *the feast of lanthorns*, because upon the night of that feast, they light up lanthorns, not only before every house, but all over the streets. So that, according to him, there are 200 millions of lanthorns lighted that night. [But I do not know whether he means in *Pekin*, or through all *China*.]

Those lanthorns are hung up in the day time, and some of them are so gloriously adorn'd, that they will cost 2000 crowns. And our author says, some are of 27 foot diameter. At night, all these are illuminated with wax candles and lamps; so that the whole city seems to be on fire. The lanthorns are lin'd within with rich stuffs, or paintings of different kinds, and adorn'd with streamers of divers colours, according to the fancy of the owners. Those streamers, blowing with the wind, and shewing as bright as at broad day, being mix'd with the rich stuffs and paintings within the lanthorns, make the finest effect that can be.

The origine of this feast is uncertain, and those they ascribe it to so ridiculous, that they do not deserve to be mention'd.

Having thus, out of a great deal of trash, given a short account of the religion of the *Chineses*, without taking any notice of Christianity, I shall now come to the progress of the Christian religion (such as it is) in *China*.

I think it is very unnecessary to enquire, whether St. *Thomas* the apostle, or any of his disciples, preach'd the gospel in *China*. It is very possible he might; but as all the seed of the word, sown at that time was quite lost two centuries ago, we shall leave others to dispute that point, and come to the accounts we have within that period.

It would be a very tedious, as well as disagreeable task, to give a minute account of the attempts of some of the *Spanish* friars, to convert the *Chineses*. Their zeal was undoubtedly very laudable, but the manner of going about their mission does not say much for their knowledge. So that, whatever prejudices people may have at the jesuites in general, this justice must be done to that society, to allow, that the knowledge of the Christian religion, which the *Chineses* have, is undoubtedly owing to them; and it is past dispute, that the fathers of the society have done and suffer'd like apostles, for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, and especially in *China*: And if they have allowed their proselites in principles or practices, contrary to the simplicity and sincerity of gospel ministers, as is objected to them, and determin'd against them, by what they preach up in *Europe* as an *infallible authority*, tho' they seem to have less regard to it in *China*; yet I hope they did this with the same mind that St. *Paul* conform'd himself to several customs, which he knew unnecessary, in order to make himself more acceptable to such as he labour'd to convert. And if the jesuites in *China* went farther than that glorious apostle, and have allow'd their converts, in what the pope and consistory, the congregation *de propaganda fide*, and the other religious orders in that mission, have censur'd as idolatrous; I hope it appear'd to them in another light; and altho' they may be in the wrong, it was no otherwise than St. *Peter* was, when St. *Paul withstood him to his face*, for compliances which were not justifiable.

The conversion of the Chineses owing to the Jesuites.

I am not afraid to be reputed a favourer of the jesuites, by this charitable remark; they who know me are sufficiently convinced of the difference of my principles from theirs, in all the controverted points between our churches. But I can have charity without espousing errors; and I can have a great regard for many worthy men of that society; especially for such as freely venture their lives for the propagation of the gospel, altho' I do not approve of all the methods taken to do it. *I wish we had their zeal, and they our truth.* But to return to our subject.

Xaverius

St. Fr. Xavier.

Xaverius deſign'd the converſion of *China*, as he had labour'd with a becoming zeal in the *Indies*, about the middle of the 16th century; but however warmly he purſued that deſign, he died without effecting it, in the iſland of *Sancian*, or *Sancheu*, not far from the *China* coaſt, towards the north eaſt. This happening about 1552, three of the ſame ſociety, *Italians*, undertook to proſecute the intended miſſion. Theſe were FF. *Ruggero*, *Rizzi*, and *Paſi*; who not having the miraculous gift of tongues, wiſely ſet about learning the *Chineſe* language, before they pretended to make converts. They, going to *China*, tho' not all together, began to preach the goſpel. The novelty of it brought people out of curioſity to hear them, and the good lives and prudent behaviour of the fathers ſoon gave the people a favourable opinion of their doctrine.

Rizzi, Ruggero *an* Pā

Rizzi ſtaid in *Canton*, and, ſpeaking the *Chineſe* language fluently, inform'd himſelf of their religion and cuſtoms, and being a man of a pleaſant converſation, he ſoon became very familiar with them, and, in ſpite of their ſuperſtition, made ſeveral proſelites.

The Mandarins *and* Bonzi *oppoſe* Chriſtianity,

But the *Mandarins*, who were always jealous of ſtrangers, ſet themſelves to oppoſe his labours, and thoſe of his brethren; to which oppoſition the *Bonzi* contributed all that was in their power. They rais'd great troubles to the fathers, which they overcame with admirable Chriſtian courage and patience, and behav'd themſelves ſo inoffenſively, that, in proceſs of time, they brought over not only a great number of the meaner ſort to Chriſtianity, but likewiſe converted many *Mandarins* in ſeveral provinces: And F. *Rizzi*, from his skill in mathematicks, was in ſuch favour at court, that the emperor *Vanlo* gave him a houſe at *Pekin*: And he having ſent for more of their order, the goſpel ſeem'd to be in a flouriſhing ſtate before the end of the XVIth century.

But this ſun-ſhine was ſoon obſcur'd by the contrivance of the *Mandarins* and *Bonzi*, who fearing the deſtruction of their religion, by the progreſs the goſpel made, accus'd the fathers as ſpies, employ'd by ſome foreign power, in conjunction with the king of *Japan* and the *Dutch* to conquer *China*. This impeachment meeting with the natural jealouſy of the *Chineſes*, and the known behaviour of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, rais'd a perſecution againſt the jeſuites, and coſt F. *Martinez* (one who had come to aſſiſt the miſſion) his life. *Rizzi* having friends about court, eſcap'd, but died ſoon after; and the accuſation proving falſe, the ſtorm fell upon the accuſers, and the miſſion went on ſucceſsfully.

And accuſe Rizzi *of a plot.*

Purchas tells, from *Pantoia*, a ſtory of *Rizzi*, which rais'd his reputation much among the *Chineſes*. Whilſt he was at *Nankin*, there happen'd to be a fine houſe built by a *Mandarin*, which had the name of being haunted by devils, as the ſuperſtition of that country made them believe. As F. *Rizzi* was enquiring for a houſe to live in, the *Mandarin*, ſmiling, offer'd him his, which the father, either having too much ſenſe to believe the ſtory, or too much faith to be afraid of the devil, readily accepted, and having exorcis'd the houſe according to the form preſcrib'd by the *Roman* ritual, the devil either never had been there, or gave up his poſſeſſion to the fathers. This made all people think better of them and their religion than they had done before.

He takes a houſe ſaid to be haunted.

Upon the death of *Rizzi*, *Pantoia* prefer'd a petition to the emperor for a burying-place for him, which was granted, his majeſty having written *Xi*, or *let it be done*, with his own hand, upon the petition. This happen'd in 1610.

His death.

Another cruel perſecution happen'd in 1615, which laſted ſix years; but altho' many died, they got the better of their enemies, and a *Mandarin* call'd *Chinkio*, who had been the author of the perſecution, was depriv'd both of office and life, and the ſtorm ceas'd.

Soon afterwards a *German* jeſuit, F. *Adam Schaal*, went to *China*, who, by his skill in mathematicks, engratiated himſelf ſo with the emperor, that it was believ'd he would have it in his power to convert him, and conſequently bring the whole empire to the Chriſtian faith. And it is not known what might have been the event, if the ſudden revolution formerly mention'd had not happen'd, by which the *Tartars* came to be maſters of *China*. However, to make the beſt of a bad bargain, F. *Adam* found means to ſtrike up with the uſurper, to whom, as we obſerv'd before, all *China* ſubmitted, either by force or flattery. That prince being more acceſſible than the *Chineſe* emperors us'd to be, father *Adam* came to be highly in favour, and the *Mandarins* thought it their beſt policy to keep a good correſpondence with a perſon who was ſo well with their new maſter.

The revolution of China.

The *Tartarian* emperor ſoon changing the face of affairs at *Pekin*, and ſettling a colony of *Tartars* there, the jeſuites were very ſerviceable to the new emperor, and F. *Verbeiſt*, a *Frenchman*, taught the *Tartars* to caſt a light but ſtrong cannon, which could eaſily be carried in the worſt roads. Theſe ſerv'd them in good ſtead againſt the brave *Ouſanguey*, who out of

a principle of loyalty to the true line of the royal family of *China*, continued the war all his life againſt the uſurpers.

This good ſervice done by the miſſionaries did, in the wiſe providence of GOD, who can *bring good out of evil*, help to promote the converſion of ſome great men in *Pekin*, the new emperor giving F. *Adam* leave to build churches in that city, and by that giving encouragement to the progreſs of Chriſtianity. In the mean time, F. *Faber*, another *French* Jeſuite, having been invited to the province of *Xenſi*, by a *Mandarin* of *Hanchum*, a great town in that province, brought numbers over to Chriſtianity, by his miraculous chaſing away great ſwarms of locuſts (as they ſay) from thoſe parts. And when the ſame plague return'd, upon their neglecting to turn Chriſtians, as they had promis'd, he, being importun'd by them a ſecond time, with great profeſſions of repentance, we are told, the good father, by prayers and holy water, baniſh'd the inſects again, and the whole town became his converts.

The uſurper favours the Chriſtians.

But the firſt uſurper dying, his ſon being young, came into the hands of four Mandarins, who, not being ſo well affected to the fathers, put F. *Adam* and three more of the fraternity in priſon, and burn'd all their books and relicks, and in a ſhort time condemn'd our *German* father to be ſtrangled, and then cut to pieces; but the ſentence was not executed, for he was releas'd, and died ſoon after. *Le Comte* ſays, they were frighten'd into the releaſing him by prodigies; but perhaps every one will not believe that. The other fathers, *viz.* 21 jeſuites, three Dominicans, and one Franciſcan, were baniſh'd to *Canton*. However, 4 jeſuites, of whom *Verbeiſt* was one, made a ſhift to ſtay at *Pekin*. And ſoon after one of the regent Mandarins dying, and a ſecond condemn'd and executed for male-adminiſtration, F. *Verbeiſt* boldly accus'd the third (who had the care of the mathematicks, and was the greateſt enemy the fathers had) of ignorance in the ſcience he profeſs'd, and had intereſt enough to get it brought to a trial before the emperor, now come to age; and the father made ſuch an aſs of the Mandarin in mrthematicks, that the emperor turn'd him out, and put *Verbieſt* in his place.

The jeſuites troubled after his death.

F. *Verbieſt*'s intereſt at court ſoon retriev'd the affairs of the miſſion, and the converts became ſo numerous, that they ſent for aſſiſtance from *Europe*, which was unaccountably obſtructed by a moſt unſeaſonable diſpute between the king of *Portugal* and the *Sacred congregation*, whether of them had the right to name perſons for the miſſion. But, after much ſtruggle, the *Congregation* ſent over the titular biſhop of *Heliopolis* (who died in a very few months after his arrival) and after him Monſieur *D'Argolis*, and *De Baſilee*, the one an *Italian*, and the other a *Chineſe*, who had been educated by ſome Franciſcans of the miſſion, and had taken the order of St. *Dominic*. This laſt was the firſt native of *China*, who had been either *prieſt*, *monk*, or *biſhop*.

They recover.

The next conſiderable miſſion to *China* was by *Louis* XIV. in 1685, of which F. *Le Comte* was one, to whom we have been oblig'd for ſo much of our account of *China*. He farther tells us, that, of the other 5 fathers who went with him to that miſſion, the FF. *Garbillon* and *Bouvet* ſtaid at *Pekin*, in good reputation at court, the firſt being admitted the emperor's maſter for mathematicks and philoſophy, upon which ſtudies he beſtowed two or three hours every day. The other fathers were ſent to the other provinces. F. *Le Comte* had *Xenſi* aſſign'd for him, where he took great pains to improve what *Faber* had planted. He gives a good account of the zeal of the natives, of their devotion in chanting their prayers, in tunes of their own compoſing; of the profound humility with which they receiv'd the holy ſacrament; and of their great reſpect to images, relicks, holy water, and above all to the croſs. He tells, indeed, that they boggled at images at firſt, but they brought them over that ſcruple. I wiſh F. *Le Comte* had told us what arguments they made uſe of to prove the uſe of the *Chineſe* images unlawful, but their own allowable: For I confeſs, I am of opinion that *Duleia* will anſwer equally to both.

They found great difficulty in converting the women, becauſe of their recluſe way of living; but as they were allow'd to come to church once a fortnight, the fathers took thoſe opportunities of converſing with them, and when they were converted, they were very zealous, and our author gives a very good account of the innocency of their lives.

The objections againſt Chriſtianity. 1.

The chief obſtacles towards the converſion of the *Chineſes*, were of different ſorts, according to the people, who made them 1. Your people of learning and demonſtration would not hear of the Trinity, incarnation, and other myſteries of Chriſtianity, becauſe they could not be demonſtrated by ſuch arguments as a propoſition in *Euclid* could. To ſatisfy ſuch objectors, the father *Le Comte* propos'd, that they ſhould only believe what plain reaſon, free from paſſion or prejudice, dictates, *viz.* "That "there is a GOD, who, being infinitely "great, deſerves to be worſhip'd; as he is in- "finitely pure, requires vertue in thoſe who "adore him; as he is infinitely juſt, he "will not ſuffer good men, who have ſuf-

"ſer'd

" fer'd in this life for their love to him,
" to loſe their reward in the life to come;
" and on the contrary, they who have
" deſpis'd vertue, and ſlighted the ſu-
" preme power here, and yet have proſ-
" per'd, ſhall be puniſh'd hereafter. In
" ſhort, that this ſupreme being infinitely
" perfect deſerves the love of all his crea-
" tures, in the utmoſt degree they are
" capable." Theſe things *Le Comte* preſs'd them to believe, and practice accordingly, adviſing them to pray to GOD to diſcover the ſublime myſteries of his religion to them. And this, he ſays, had a very good effect.

2. Another objection againſt the goſpel, was, the obligation the fathers told them it laid upon them *to reſtore what they had unjuſtly taken from others.* This touch'd a vaſt body of people, eſpecially the Mandarins and merchants, the one took people's goods by rapacious force, and the others by fraud and cunning. But both were equall unwilling to make reſtitution.

3. But almoſt an inſuperable difficulty in the way of Chriſtianity, was the obligation put upon them *to keep themſelves to one woman*, when the laws of the country allow'd the men concubines without reſtriction. But altho' a ſerious converſion might bring the men to this, as having it in their power to live with one woman, if they pleas'd; yet it was, in many caſes, impracticable for the women to keep themſelves from the husbands of other women. For, as men, in *China*, bought their wives and concubines, and might ſell them to others, or uſe them as ſlaves, it was not eaſy to anſwer that objection to a poor woman, who was ſlave by the laws of the country. And the miſſionaries had no other means but to pray for a remedy to that evil, and to wait with patience 'till they could convert the husband, that ſo he might relinquiſh all his wives but one.

Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, Chriſtianity prevail'd ſo much, that in *Le Comte*'s time there were 200 churches and chapels in *China*. *Pekin*, *Nankin*, and *Macao* were made biſhops ſees, and biſhops were ſent thither by the king of *Portugal*'s nomination. The other provinces were under three apoſtolical vicars, one of which was an *Italian*, and the other two doctors of the *Sorbon* at *Paris*.

How they prevail'd with the emperor to grant them a formal toleration, which they had not before the year 1692, there is a full account given by our author, of which we ſhall here give a ſummary.

Troubles of the Jeſuites *at* Hamcheu.

A *Dominican* miſſionary in a village belonging to the province of *Chekiam*, having diſoblig'd the governor of the village, was, by him, forbidden all exerciſe of his office in his diſtrict. F. *Intorcetta*, a jeſuite miſſionary of the ſame province, applied to the vice-roy of the province, deſiring him to ſend his orders to this under officer to recall his interdict. But the deputy, having more intereſt with the vice-roy, and the chief Mandarins, than the father had, incens'd them ſo againſt *Intorcetta*, that he was order'd to leave the province. The father anſwer'd, *that he had been ſettled there for life by the* emperor*'s orders, and therefore the* vice-roy*'s ſentence of baniſhment being injurious to the* emperor's authority, *he would not ſtir without an order from* court. This reſolute anſwer ſurpriz'd the vice-roy ſo, that he durſt not attempt any thing againſt *Intorcetta*'s perſon; but reſolv'd to plague him with proceſſes.

The emperor was then in *Tartary*, whither F. *Garbillon* had accompanied him. *Intorcetta* wrote an account of his caſe to that father; but he not thinking it ſeaſonable to ſpeak of the matter to the emperor, prevail'd with prince *Soſan*, who was the miniſter in greateſt favour of any at court, to write to the vice-roy to deſiſt. But the vice-roy, inſtead of complying, ſeiz'd on the Chriſtian churches in his province, and gave them to the pagan prieſts. Prince *Soſan* wrote to him a ſecond time, reproaching him for having ſhew'd no conſideration to his recommendation. But the vice-roy, altho' he was ſorry he had proceeded ſo raſhly in the affair, yet thinking it diſhonourable to retract, the emperor being by that time return'd to *Pekin*, he ſent deputies to juſtify his conduct. But F. *Garbillon* conſulting with the reſt of the miſſion in or near *Pekin*, by prince *Soſan*'s advice, drew up a petition to the emperor, complaining of the hardſhips done their brethren at *Hamcheu*, and the other towns in *Chekiam*. This the emperor receiv'd graciouſly, by the favour of *Soſan*, who was, behind the curtain, their ſtaunch friend. He told them that he would ſecretly order reparation to be made for the paſt injury; but, that they might not be troubled for the future, he adviſ'd them to prefer a petition to the tribunes of the *Lypou*, or court of rites, to ſecure them.

Prince Soſan *eſpouſes their intereſt.*

*The em*peror *does the ſame.*

The fathers thank'd him with great ſubmiſſion, and withdrew; but not being willing to truſt the intereſt of their religion in the hands of the tribunes of the court of rites, who had always been enemies to them and it, they drew up a petition, but it was to the emperor himſelf, and they got it preſented privately. But the emperor thinking it not adapted to the *Chineſe* genius, was ſo great a favourer of the fathers, that he took the trouble to

He frames a petition for them.

draw up one himſelf, which he gave them leave to alter as they thought fit. It was to this effect.

" That they, the miſſionaries, having " been acquainted, by letters from F. " *Intorcetta*, of ſuch a date, that the vice-" roy at *Hamcheu* had order'd the Man-" darins to pull down the temples of the " Chriſtians in his province, and to de-" clare their doctrine falſe. They with " ſorrow and grief, throw themſelves at " his majeſty's feet, as before the common " father of the afflicted. They thank-" fully acknowledg'd the many teſtimo-" nies of favour and affection his majeſty " had ſhew'd (as being a lover of truth) " to the *European* miſſionaries; to requite " which, they had perform'd many ac-" ceptable ſervices to his majeſty, and " maintain'd conſtant loyalty to him, " which is the undoubted proof of true " religion. And therefore, ſince his ma-" jeſty vouchſaf'd to employ them, and " put ſuch confidence in them, they humb-" ly implor'd, he would eſpouſe their " cauſe. And if, upon a full examinati-" on, they ſhould be found innocent, they " begg'd he would let the whole empire " know, by a publick edict, what opi-" nion he had of their morals and doctrines, " which they would expect with fear and " entire ſubmiſſion. In the 30th year of " the reign of *Cham-hi*, the 10th day of " the 12th moon. "

This petition, which they had tranſcrib'd from the emperor's original, with little or no alteration, they preſented to him publickly upon *Candlemas Day*, with the uſual ſolemnities. The emperor having receiv'd it graciouſly, ſent it to the *Lypou*, ordering them to examine it, and to make report as ſoon as poſſible. But he was much troubled to receive in return, an order which they deſir'd him to ſign, " commanding all the vice-roys, " through the whole empire, to keep " cloſe to the former edicts, which forbid " the ſubjects of *China* to make any ſtep " towards encouraging the *European* doc-" trine. But at the ſame time ordering " the vice roy of *Hamcheu* to take care " of the church there, and not to confound " the Chriſtian religion with the ſeditious " ſects. "

The Lypou diſappoints the good intention of the emperor.

This unexpected edict diſturb'd both the emperor and the miſſionaries; but ſoon after prince *Soſan* prevail'd with the emperor to write a letter in behalf of the miſſionaries, and that it might be ſent to the great council, when he was preſent (for he was a *Calao*.) The emperor wrote the letter, ſetting forth the loyalty of the *Europeans*, and their quiet behaviour, and requiring them, in recompence of the ſervices they had done the crown to revoke any edicts of the *Lypou*, againſt them or their religion.

Upon the receipt of this letter *Soſan* made a ſpeech in favour of the miſſion, in which he commended the Chriſtian religion as not only agreeing with the beſt of their ancient laws in ſhewing obedience to parents and princes, but as teaching a more perfect morality, and ſuch as would make the empire happy, if its precepts were univerſally practis'd. Then he enlarg'd upon the ſervices the jeſuites had done the crown and country, without ever having any reward for it; and ſince they ask'd nothing but the liberty of their religion, he ſaid, he did not ſee how that could be refus'd them, ſince they tolerated the *Lames* of *Tartary*, the *Bonzi* of *China*, and the prieſts of *Mahomet*. This had ſuch an effect upon the council, eſpecially finding it was agreeable to the emperor's mind, that they drew up a petition to the emperor (which is their manner of preparing a law) ſetting forth the merit of the *Europeans*, and the excellency of their doctrine; " And therefore " they declare that it is their opinion that " they ought to have free liberty of their " religion, and that no perſon may be " troubled for frequenting their temples, " or for declaring himſelf a Chriſtian. " And that no ſubject of the empire ſhould " from that time, preſume to oppoſe " them. "

But the great council does the affair.

This inſtrument done the 30th year of *Cham-hi*, the 3d day of the 2d month, was ſign'd by *Heoupatai* preſident of the council, and by all the other *Calaos*, general officers and Mandarins.

The emperor was extremely pleas'd with this decree, which he ſign'd immediately, and ſent a copy of it, ſeal'd with the imperial ſeai, to the fathers, and order'd the *Lypou* to diſpatch it through the whole empire, which they could not refuſe after the grand council had approv'd of it. And thus was a publick toleration granted to the Chriſtian religion in *China*, to the unſpeakable joy, and, I muſt, in juſtice, ſay, to the immortal honour of that wiſe and ſagacious ſociety; but, at the ſame time, to the great mortification of the vice-roy at *Hamcheu*.

The emperor ſigns the toleration.

But as great deſigns are generally attended with proportionable difficulties, the jeſuite fathers were no ſooner in a fair way of converting the whole empire of *China*, but they met with unexpected rubs and impediments at home; it being objected to them, by the miſſionaries of the other orders, that they allow'd their converts in ſome ancient practices which were idolatrous; ſuch as the worſhipping *Confucius*, and their deceas'd anceſtors.

Objections againſt the jeſuites.

We ſhall not run through all the parts of this controverſy, which began 100 yeas ago, and has continued to this day. Any one who has a mind to ſee a detail of it,

it, may read Navarette's *account of the* Chineſe *learned ſect*, or the later accounts of the ſtate of Chriſtianity in *China*, written by the jeſuites, and their adverſaries, *pro* and *con*, ſince the beginning of this century. What we propoſe is only to lay down the matter of fact objected to them by the other orders of miſſionaries; to give their own repreſentation of it; and the judgment of their own church upon the queſtion fairly ſtated.

It is agreed upon, on all hands, that there was a conſtant cuſtom among the *Chineſes*, long before the *Europeans* were acquainted with them, and continues to this day, that they ſhew'd a particular veneration for *Confucius* (as he is generally call'd) as having been the maſter of their *learned ſect*. That they had temples, in ſeveral places, erected to his memory, in which they perform'd ſeveral acts of reſpect, which, at leaſt, ſeem'd to be religious worſhip; by ſacrificing a whole ſwine, a goat, candles, wine, flowers, &c. And this with all the ſigns and poſtures of devotion; and, as the *Dominican* and *Franciſcan* miſſionaries ſay, with an intention to thank their ſaid maſter for the good inſtructions he left them, and that they might obtain of him an encreaſe of wiſdom and underſtanding. *

The worſhip of Confucius.

* *See* Queſtions propos'd at *Rome, Anno* 1645, concerning the miſſion of *China*, No. 8.

This reſpect to *Confucius* was ſo univerſal among the learned, that from the emperor, down to the pooreſt batchelor of art sthoſe ceremonies were practis'd by the whole *Literati*, that is, by the moſt conſiderable part of the empire, upon ſome particular days, twice a year. Beſides which times, they who took degrees were oblig'd, in ſome ſhort time after their being admitted, to offer candles and ſweetmeats upon their knees at his altar.

Another cuſtom, more univerſal among the *Chineſes*, was to build temples, in moſt of their great towns, to ſome of their anceſtors, who were the moſt renown'd for virtue or courage, where all the deſcendants of that family met, at ſtated times, to offer ſolemn ſacrifices. At thoſe times, the image of the dead grandfather or great grandfather, was placed upon the altar, adorn'd with flowers, &c. and one of the family, acting the part of the prieſt, offers fleſh, wine, ſweets, &c. and proſtrating themſelves before the altar, they pray for health, long life, children, and ſuch other things as they moſt want. The ſame religious worſhip is ſhew'd to their progenitors images, in their own houſes, and at their ſepulchre; where they likewiſe have tablets with the names of their ſeveral anceſtors written upon them, which they call the ſeats of their ſouls. To theſe tablets they pray, and offer ſacrifices, expecting aſſiſtance from them. *

Of dead anceſtors.

* Ubi ſupra No. 11.

Theſe two cuſtoms the *Chineſes* are ſo tenacious of, that the jeſuites thinking it impractable to bring them off them, indulg'd them in the practice of them, and to engratiate themſelves the more with them, were not only preſent at the performance of both the ceremonies abovemention'd,; but upon the perſuaſion (as they ſay, tho' their adverſaries call it the pretence) of thoſe rights being only ſigns of civil reſpect to *Confucius*, and their dead anceſtors, they allow'd their converts to join in the ceremonies.

Allow'd by the jeſuites *as* civil *reſpect.*

This compliance of theirs gave great umbrage to the miſſionaries of the other orders, and indeed offended ſome ſcrupulous people of their own order. The matter was debated, to no purpoſe in *China*, and other parts of the *Eaſt Indies*, 'till at laſt it made an open rupture, and the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* would not abſolve penitents upon the ſame terms that the jeſuites did. At laſt, it was laid before the *Congregation* at Rome, *de propaganda fide*, in 1645, by F. *Jo. Baptiſt de Morales*, who went thither through *Perſia*, by order of the ſuperior of the *Franciſcans*, for that purpoſe.

This condemn'd at Rome *in* 1645.

The worſhip of *Confucius* and that of their dead anceſtors, were the chief articles, altho' there were ſeveral others, but not ſo material. The congregation abovemention'd refer'd the queſtion to the fathers of the *Inquiſition*, who declar'd their opinions directly in oppoſition to the practice of the *jeſuites*, which opinion of theirs being approv'd by the *Congregation for propagating the faith*, the pope (*Innocent* X) confirm'd it, and the decree was ſent to *China*, and to ſeveral parts of the *Eaſt Indies*.

But the *Jeſuite* fathers did not ſhew that regard to this *Decree* that was expected; for they continued their former practice, becauſe, as it appear'd to them, the ſtate of the caſe had been miſrepreſented to his *Holineſs*, and the *Congregation*, and that the decree had been *ſurreptitiouſly* obtain'd, without allowing the fathers of the *Society* an opportunity of anſwering for themſelves. This ſeems to have been reaſonable, whether the *Jeſuites* were in the right of the main queſtion or not. And therefore,

The pope's bull *not mindedly the* jeſuites *in* China.

In the year 1656, F. *Martin Martinez* applied himſelf to the ſacred *congregation*, to get the decree of 1645 revers'd, at leaſt with regard to four propoſitions, two of which were thoſe above-mention'd. For effecting this, he alledg'd, that they had been miſrepreſented by *Morales*. He therefore ſtated them as follows.

Father Martinez *repreſents the caſe in a new light*

Quær. 3. "Whether the Chriſtian *Li-*
"*terati*, or learned *Chineſes*, may per-
"form the ceremony of taking degrees in
"*Confucius*'s

" *Confucius*'s hall? For, no ſacrificer, or " miniſter of the *idolatrous* ſect, is con- " cern'd there. Nothing is perform'd " that has been inſtituted by *idolaters*: " But only the ſcholars and philoſophers " meet, acknowledging *Confucius* as their " *maſter*, with only *civil* and *political* " rites, inſtituted, from their very origi- " ginal, for mere *civil worſhip*." This he farther explain'd; but much to the ſame purpoſe.

Quær. 4. " Whether the ceremonies " paid to the *dead*, according to the " rules ſet by philoſophers, may be al- " low'd among *Chriſtians*, forbidding all " ſuperſtitious parts that have been added?

" Whether *Chriſtians* may perform " thoſe *lawful* ceremonies, in company " with their *Pagan* kindred? And

" Whether *Chriſtians* may be preſent, " eſpecially after making a *proteſtation* " of their *faith*, when the infidels per- " form the *ceremonial* part, they not " joining with, or encouraging them; on- " ly becauſe it would be a reflection to " be abſent, and would occaſion enmity " and hatred? The *Chineſes* aſſign no di- " vinity to the *ſouls* of the *dead*, neither " do they *hope* or *ask* any thing of " them."

Theſe *Quæres*, having been put in this light, were anſwer'd by the *congregation* as follows.

and proceures a different anſwer.

To the 3d *Quære*, " the holy congre- " gation judges, according to what has " been above propos'd, that the aforeſaid " *cermonies* may be allow'd the *Chineſes*, " becauſe the *worſhip* ſeems to be merely " *civil* and political."

To the 4th *Quære*, " that the convert- " ed *Chineſes* may be permitted to per- " form the ſaid *Ceremonies* towards the " dead, even among the *Infidels*; ſo that " ſuch as are *ſuperſtitious* be forborn. And " that, they may be only preſent among " the *Infidels*, when they perform the " ſuperſtitious part, eſpecially after ma- " king a *proteſtatiou* of their *faith*, and " there being no danger of their being per- " verted. And this, if enmity and hatred " cannot be otherwiſe avoided."

This paſs'd into a bull by pope *Alexander* VII. in *March*, 1656. But, as *Navarette* ſays, without repealing that of 1645.

This honeſt *Dominican* is at great pains to excuſe the *pope* and *congregation* for having given theſe two contradictory bulls in the ſpace of 11 yeears, and lays the fault entirely at *Martinez*'s door. For he ſays that four of the jeſuites ſociety then in *China*, two of which were prelates, did not approve of *Martinez*'s proceeding; nor would they ſuffer the bull to be publiſh'd in *China*.

Our author goes on to ſhew that the jeſuite had impos'd upon the pope and congregation, by miſrepreſenting the facts, and prevaricating in the terms. For, 1. Inſtead of repreſenting truly the worſhip paid to *Confucius*, he only took notice of the degrees taken in his hall, which had given no offence, nor was there any objection made to it. 2. He had ſaid, that *no ſacrificer, or prieſt of the idolatrous ſect, was preſent*, at their ceremonies. By which words the father had a mental reſervation, that none of the preſts of the idol *Fo* (which is call'd the idolatrous ſect, by way of eminency, in *China*) were preſent at the *Confucian* worſhip; and by this prevarication he trick'd the congregation. And the ſame ſecret reſerve he had in the following words, *nothing is done that was inſtituted by the idolaters*, where by *idolaters* he ſecretly meant the worſhippers of *Fo*, and not the *learned ſect*, who are idolaters, altho' not ſo groſs as the others. 3. He took for granted what he ought to have prov'd, *viz.* that the worſhip ſhew'd to *Confucius* was *civil* and *political only*, which our author ſays is moſt falſe, and refers to the repreſentation of *Morales* in 1645, and to the conſciences of the jeſuites in *China*, and to the known ſentiments of the *Chineſes*, whether Chriſtian or Pagan. 4. Our author ſhews that the worſhip as well of *Confucius* as of their dead anceſtors, was religious and ſuperſtitious, from two very plain circumſtances. 1. Their manner of trying the beaſts to be ſacrific'd, by pouring hot wine into their ears, and rejecting them as unwotthy if they did not move their ears. 2. Their frequent waſhing and purifications, their faſting, and abſtaining from the duties of the marriage bed for ſeven days before the feaſts appointed to be kept.

Navarette's reflections upon Martinez's proceeding.

As to the particular worſhip paid to the dead, our author ſhews it to be religious and ſuperſtitious upon ſeveral accounts too tedious to be repeated here, ſince we do not deſign to enter into any diſpute with the learned ſociety, but to ſhew the opinion of the pope and the congregation at *Rome*.

There was a third conſultation held there in 1669, upon the ſaid ſubject, and a fourth in 1674; in both which the worſhip of *Confucius*, and that of the dead, is condemn'd. In the laſt, of 1674, which was obtain'd by our author, F. *Navarette*, they confirm'd the decree of 1645. But, beſides the cenſuring the worſhip of *Confucius*, there is one thing in it I cannot omit taking notice of, *viz.*

Article I. It is ask'd, " Whether it " be lawful for *Mandarins*, who are " Chriſtians,

" Chriſtians, to be preſent at the feſtival " acclamations which the *Chineſes* uſe to " make with great noiſe and ſhouts to " the ſun and moon, during an eclipſe. " And the anſwer is, *It is not lawful.*

Article III. It is ask'd, " Whether " uſurpers, in caſe they deſire baptiſm, are " to be oblig'd to *reſtore* the crown to the " *lawful heir*, before they be admitted? " The anſwer is, *They are to be* ADVIS'D *to* RESTORE *what they have wrongfully taken, and if they* PROMISE *ſo to do, baptiſm is not to be deny'd them.*

Article IV. " The *Chineſes* unanimouſly agree, that the *Tartar*, now " reigning, is a TYRANT. Quære, Whether we may admit the *ſoldiers* and " *magiſtrates*, who ſerve him for pay in " civil and military employments, to " baptiſm, and, when baptis'd, adminiſter other ſacraments to them? Whether the ſaid emperor may be baptis'd? " *Item*, What anſwer we are to give to " the *Chineſes*, and what advice concerning the government of the *Tartars?* " The anſwer is, *Concerning the* emperor, *as in the 3d queſtion. As for thoſe who ſerve him, if they deſire to be baptiz'd, baptiſm* MUST NOT BE DENIED THEM *on this account, if they promiſe, that* WHEN THE PRINCE ASKS IT, *they will give him good, and juſt advice, and ſo other ſacraments may be afterwards adminiſter'd to to them, if they are well diſpos'd.*

A cenſure of the anſwers to the Quæres from China.

The obſervation I make upon the anſwers to theſe *Quæres* is, that here is a poſitive declaration of the unlawfulneſs of being preſent at an aſſembly which ſeems to have more of ridiculous folly and nonſence, than of idolatry or impiety in it, whereas in the anſwers to the 3d and 4th quæres, they mince the matter ſo, as that the miſſionaries are oblig'd to give all the ſacraments to uſurpers, and their abetters, upon a bare *promiſe* of *reſtitution*, without any real deſign in the one of giving the kingdom ſo uſurp'd, or obliging the others to renounce the ſervice of the uſurper, and to return to their allegiance to their LAWFUL SOVEREIGN. And that prevaricating condition of their *promiſing to give the uſurper good and juſt advice* WHEN HE ASKS IT OF THEM, is a barefac'd authoriſing of rebellion. For what uſurper will ever ask of thoſe traitors who have ſet him on the throne which is none of his, whether he ought in conſcience to keep it? For my own part, with all civility to the *pope* and *conſiſtory*, and with all regard to the *congregation de propaganda fide*, and that of the inquiſition, I do honeſtly declare that I would rather carry a drum or kettle at a dozen eclipſes of ſun or moon, and beat and bawl out to frighten the imaginary dragon, than once give the *ſacrament* to an *uſurper* or any of his *abetters*. I might be call'd a fool for the firſt, but I ſhould deſerve the name of villain for the other. But it ſeems the old complaint is true.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas.

The jeſuites and other orders went on in contradiction to one another after this conſultation, 'till the year 1700. And the jeſuites ſent a letter to the pope, ſhewing " their labour in planting the " goſpel, their grief in ſeeing their pains " in danger of coming to nothing, by " the unſeaſonable oppoſition made to " the worſhip of *Confucius* and of their " dead anceſtors. They tell his *Holineſs*, " that they write nothing to him of the " ceremonies us'd in *China*, but what " they have the emperor's authority for, " who is not only the head of the learned " ſect, but the ſole judge of the ſenſe of " the laws. They therefore beg his *Holineſs* not to liſten to the cavils of their " enemies, whom they repreſent as perſons of no credit or capacity, and as aſſerters of falſhood. " * Together with this letter, they ſent an explanation of the *Chineſe ceremonies*, and the emperor's approbation of it.

The jeſuites letter to Clement XI.

* See *Salmon's* empire of *China*, p. 119.

Explanation of the Chineſe ceremonies *mention'd in the* jeſuites *letter, to the* pope, Nov. 30, 1700.

" When the *Chineſes* honour *Confucius*, " they do it to ſhew their reſpect to him, " by reaſon of the doctrine which he left " among them. Having embrac'd this " doctrine from him, how can they better pay thoſe honours that are due to " him, than by falling upon their knees, " and touching the ground with their " heads? This is the true reaſon of thoſe " honours, becauſe the whole empire of " *China* look upon and revere *Confucius* " as their maſter.

Their repreſentation of the diſputed points.

" As for what concerns the libations, " and other ceremonies paid to their deceas'd parents, they practice them as a " mark of their love and reſpect to them, " and out of that acknowledgment which " is due to them, as being the heads of " their race and family: Nor did they " propoſe any other end in ſettling thoſe " ceremonies, than to ſhew the full extent of their affection for their kindred " and relations.

" As for the little pictures ſet up in " honour of their anceſtors and kindred, " we ſay, that the *Chineſes* do it not " that they believe the ſoul of the dead " reſides there, or that they come there " to receive any kindneſs: But they " ſet meat and preſents before thoſe little " pictures, to the end, that by ſhewing

" their love and reſpect to them, as if " they were alive and preſent, they may " make appear their continual ſorrow for " the loſs of the heads of their families.

" As for the ſacrifices which the anci- " ent kings and emperors were wont to " offer to heaven, they are ſuch as the " *Chineſe* philoſophers call *Kiao Che*, the " ſacrifices which are made to heaven " and earth, by which they ſay the " *Cham Ti*, or the *Sovereign Lord*, is " honoured. And it is for this reaſon " that the little pictures, before which " they offer thoſe ſacrifices, bear this in- " ſcription, *To the Cham Ti*, that is to " ſay, *To the Sovereign Lord.*

" From whence it is evident, that " they do not offer ſacrifice to the viſible " and material heaven, but only to the " Lord and Creator of heaven and earth. " And becauſe out of fear and reſpect, " they dare not call him by his proper " name, they invoke him under the ap- " pellation of *the ſupreme Heaven*, the " bountiful Heaven, the univerſal Hea- " ven.

The emperor of China*'s approbation of this* explanation.

" That which is contain'd in this writ- " ing is very right, and very conformable " to the grand doctrine. To pay our de- " voirs to Heaven, to our lords, to our " parents, to our maſters and our anceſtors, " is a law common over all the world. " The things that are contain'd in this " writing are very true, and there is no- " thing to amend. "

But this had not the effect at *Rome* which the fathers of the ſociety propos'd; for *Clement* XI. being rais'd to the chair, the jeſuites letter and their explanation were taken into conſideration, and the worſhip and ſacrifices offer'd to heaven, the planets, and to inventers of arts, were poſitively condemn'd, as likewiſe the worſhip of *Confucius* and their dead anceſtors, and the miſſionaries, as well jeſuites as others, are ſtrictly enjoyn'd to follow the directions given from *Rome* to that purpoſe. This bull was publiſh'd by cardinal *De Tournon*, the pope's vicar in *China*. His orders, purſuant to the bull, bear date, at *Nankin*, *Jan.* 28, 1707.

But neither did this determine the controverſy; for there have been frequent complaints, ſince that, of the fathers of the ſociety tolerating the worſhip and ceremonies ſo often condemn'd at *Rome*. And this is not only ſaid of them by *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, but by ſome of their own order, who were ſcandaliz'd at the practice. And I have often ſeen father *Fouquet*, a *French* jeſuite, at *Rome*, who was ſaid to have been ſent for by the pope, to give an account of affairs in *China*; and I was inform'd that he had his holineſs's promiſe, that he ſhould not be oblig'd to lodge in a jeſuite convent; and he did ſtay in the *Propaganda* all my time.

Having thus given a ſhort account of the planting Chriſtianity in *China* by the labours of the miſſionaries, and particularly of the jeſuites, we ſhall make an end of this chapter, and the affairs of this great empire, by treating of their marriages and buryings, which we ſhall conſider as a part of their religion, without making a diſtinct ſection of it; having been longer upon the other articles than we at firſt deſign'd.

Navarette, in his account of the empire of *China*, treating of marriage ceremonies, obſerves, that the contract is diſſolv'd, among the *Chineſes*, for ſix reaſons. 1. If the wife talks too much. 2. If ſhe is diſobedient to the father and mother of her husband. 3. If ſhe ſteals any thing in the houſe. 4. If ſhe turns leprous after marriage. 5. If ſhe is barren. 6. If ſhe is jealous.

Men's authority over the women.

He tells us farther, that the men have abſolute authority over the women, that they ſell them, pawn them, or lend them, as they pleaſe. But, notwithſtanding that their laws allow them more wives than one, or, if you will, concubines, yet the ordinary ſort, who are by much the majority, content themſelves with one. The reaſon ſeems to be, the men's being oblig'd to buy their wives, ſo that it is too chargeable for a poor man to buy more than one. In this, the ordinary women have the advantage of the great ones, becauſe they have, each of them, a husband to themſelves, whereas the rich are forced to ſhare theirs with a ſcore, or (if the husband has a mind) with 100 other women.

Neither man nor woman marries in *China* without the conſent of their parents, to whom they ſhew the greateſt obedience. But as the women are kept recluſe with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, the man who buys her buys a pig in a poke, for he never ſees her, 'till ſhe is brought home to his houſe as his wife. But here the caſe is very unequal between them; for, the woman is pin'd down to the husband her parents have choſen for her, however diſagreeable he may be to her when ſhe ſees him; whereas, he may ſend her back if he does not like her at firſt ſight. But if he once receives her, he ſeldom puts her away without a fault.

The common people eaſier to be converted, becauſe they have but one wife.

The common people in *China* having but one wife, makes it eaſier for the miſſionaries to bring them over to the Chriſtian religion than the *Mandarins*, who

who will not be perſuaded to abandon their luſt; and therefore *Navarette* ſays, that one of the fathers of the ſociety told him, there was a propoſal made by one of their order, that the pope ſhould be addreſs'd, to give a diſpenſation to the *Chineſe* Chriſtians to have ſeveral wives. And he tells us, they have allow'd their converts often to divorce their wives, and to marry others.

When a propoſal is made by the parents, of marrying their children, they repair to the temple of their anceſtors, and acquaint them that their grandſon or great grandſon N. of ſuch an age, propoſes to marry M. of ſuch a family, and there they beg his aſſiſtance. The woman's parents do the ſame on their ſide. Then the man ſends the preſents uſual upon ſuch an occaſion, in great ſtate, to the woman's father, with muſick playing before thoſe who carry them. Thoſe preſents are great or ſmall according to the condition of the perſons.

The ceremonies of marriage

When the preſents are ſent and accepted, they ſend to the *Mandarin* who is preſident of the college of mathematicians to point out a lucky day for the marriage. This poſt has been more than once fill'd by the fathers of the ſociety, without any ſcruple. When the day is fix'd, they notify it to their dead anceſtors, and when it comes, the bridegroom's friends ſend ſome grave relations to receive the bride, who is carried on a cloſe chair or ſedan, ſo as ſhe can be ſeen by no body, with drums and other muſick before her, and her relations following her. She is receiv'd by the bridegroom at the door of his houſe, where he waits her coming in his beſt apparel. As ſoon as ſhe arrives, he opens the ſedan, and takes her into the houſe, where ſhe is convey'd by his father and mother (if alive) to the inner part of the houſe, and there left among the women who were invited to keep the marriage feaſt, whilſt the bridegroom holds the ſolemnity with the men in another part of the houſe. This having been the firſt time they have ſeen each other, it's odds but one or other is diſappointed. But, as we have ſaid, the woman has no remedy, and if the man ſends her back the preſents are forfeited, and he muſt be at new charge for another wife. Altho' the father and ſon live in one houſe, the father never ſees his daughter-in-law, but that day, whilſt ſhe lives, and the more exalted their quality is, the greater diſtance they keep between the men and women.

The common age for men to marry is at 20, and the women from 12. Parents take the firſt opportunity, after thoſe ages, to marry their children. But we are told an odd circumſtance, in ſome marriages, that the women have it inſerted in their marriage articles, that they ſhall have liberty to keep a gallant. But *Le Comte* ſays, the children of ſuch ladies are incapable of being Mandarins. I can ſcarcely believe that ſuch a ridiculous liberty can be granted in a country where the women are generally kept with ſuch care and ſtrictneſs.

Another ſtrange account we have of a barbarous cuſtom among them, of killing, or at leaſt expoſing in the ſtreets, their infant daughters, if they have more than they are able to maintain. The baptizing of whom thus expos'd, is a great merit with the miſſionaries, altho' it turns to no advantage to religion, unleſs they could ſave their lives, and inſtruct them in Chriſtianity. The women who cannot get men to purchaſe them, whilſt their fathers are alive, are maintain'd by their brothers.

The *Chineſe* men are ſaid to have 3 names. The firſt is that of the family, the ſecond a proper name, and the third peculiar to his office or buſineſs, and if one embraces a new ſect, he takes a name from that. The women have only the family name, and are call'd the firſt, ſecond, or third, according to their age.

There is the leaſt diverſity in the authors I have conſulted, with reſpect to the funeral ceremonies us'd in *China*, that I have met with in any part of their hiſtories, and therefore I ſhall take all that is neceſſary upon this ſubject, from *Navarette*, who is the fulleſt that I have ſeen upon the funeral rites. *Funerals.*

He ſays, the *Tartars* continued the cuſtom of having one of their wives hang herſelf to bear her husband company in the other world, 'till the year 1668, that a *Tartar* of note dying in *Pekin*, his beloved wife, being a woman of good birth, and being only 17 years old, was to have fulfill'd the cuſtom, but the emperor, at the deſire of her relations, not only exempted her from the barbarous ceremony, but quite aboliſh'd the practice.

When any *Chineſe* is dangerouſly ſick, the *Bonzo* is call'd for, who comes with bells or baſons, and make a noiſe, which they think eaſes the ſick perſon. And when they die, they carry their drums and bells into the fields to ſearch for the wandring ſoul, and if they light upon a bee, or a waſp, they bring it into the houſe; but to what purpoſe he does not ſay.

When a perſon dies they put a ſtick between his teeth to keep his mouth open, to receive gold and ſilver, and other things which they think will be uſeful to him in the other world.

Then one of the friends take the garment of the deceas'd, and ſpreading it on the top of the houſe, calls the ſoul to come

come back. After which proclamation, they caſt the ſame garment over the corps, waiting the return of the ſoul for three days; after which they waſh the body with great ceremony, and dreſſing it in the beſt apparel he had, they put the corpſe in a coffin prepar'd long before his death, as is the cuſtom Thoſe coffins are of different value, from 6 to 100 crowns. They put in proviſions for them to eat, and ſciſſars to cut their nails.

After the corpſe is put into the coffin, and it is nail'd up, they ſet it upon ſtools, and make an altar of it, placing a board, within a tabernacle, upon the middle of the coffin; upon the board is written or carv'd the name of the deceas'd, round about which are candles, burning perfumes, and flowers.

Before this tabernacle, thus dreſs'd out, all who go into the room kneel, and, after the eaſtern cuſtom of homage, knock their heads againſt the ground. This ceremony, our author ſays, moſt of the fathers of the ſociety perform'd, but the miſſionaries of the other orders refus'd to compliment the infidels, by complying with it, which was one great occaſion of the diſpute between them, and has made a great noiſe in *Europe*, as we obſerv'd before.

The time for the interrment of the corpſe is not limited; ſome keeping their relations ſeveral weeks, others months, and ſome years, obſerving the ſame devotions and ceremonies; all the room being hung with white.

When the day is fix'd for the interrment there is a ſolemn proceſſion, with ſeveral Inſtruments of muſick; the relations are all clad in white, which is their colour for mourning.

Their tombs are without their cities, whither the corpſe is carry'd upon men's ſhoulders, attended with mourners, who make a hideous howling all the way, not unlike the Iriſh women at buryings, but not ſo tuneful. When the corpſe is interr'd, a new alter is erected, and lights and perfumes placed upon it, with meat, wine, &c. And for a long time after, at certain ſeaſons, they go there to offer their ſacrifices and devotions to the dead.

The time of mourning for a father or mother is three years, during which time, the ſons, whatever poſt they are in, except in the army, and whatever diſtance they live at, give up their employment for thoſe 3 years, and go to their father's houſe, where they live retir'd, 'till that time is expir'd, and then they are generally preferr'd to other offices. Wives have the ſame term of mourning for their husbands; but one year's time is ſufficient mourning for a wife.

Mr. *Salmon* tells us of particular honours paid to the emperor by people after their death; particularly to *F. Verbieſt*, a Jeſuite, whom he had made a *Mandarin*. He made a Panegyric upon him, and made it be cut upon his tomb-ſtone. One part of it was, that *Whilſt he had been preſident of the Mathematicks, his Predictions had never fail'd, but exactly agreed with the Motions of the Heavens.* By which it appears the good father was no enemy to judicial aſtrology, and could tell fortunes. The account of the mixture of pagan and Chriſtian rites, perform'd at that *Mandarin Father's* funeral, may be ſeen in the place quoted in the margin. *

* *Salm. preſ. ſtate of China, p.* 137.

Having thus given as ſuccinct an account as we could, from the materials before us, of the moſt material things, with regard to this great empire of *China*, in its preſent ſtate; we ſhall conclude this long chapter, wiſhing the miſſionaries there, and elſewhere, in heathen countries, good ſucceſs, and the bleſſing of GOD, in as far as they endeavour, with a pious zeal, to convert idolaters from their ſuperſtition, and preach the goſpel with true apoſtolick purity.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tributary Kingdoms to China.

WE obſerv'd in the preceding Chapter, upon the authority of *Le Comte* and Mr. *Salmon*, that the emperor of *China* had ſeveral kingdoms tributary to him; not to mention Eaſtern *Tartary*, which is govern'd by his viceroys, and was antiently his proper dominion. Thoſe tributary kingdoms, we ſaid, are *Corea*, *Formoſa*, *Tonquin*, and *Siam*. Of *Corea* and *Formoſa*, we obſerv'd before, there are but lame accounts, and therefore we did not give them diſtinct chapters or ſections, having ſaid all that we had any tolerable ground for, and more, (as we obſerv'd with regard to *Formoſa*) under the title of the Empire of *China*: But with regard to *Tonquin* and *Siam*, as they are not ſubject to *China*, after the ſame manner as the former, and likewiſe becauſe we have more certain accounts

counts of them, we ſhall in this chapter treat more fully of them.

Mr. *Tavernier*, who had ſpent many years in ſeveral parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and from whom we had ſeveral things mention'd in our accounts of *Perſia*, *Indoſtan*, and other countries in *Aſia*, had viſited this kingdom of *Tonquin*, and being expert in the *Malay* language, and being a great trader in all the curioſities of the eaſt, became acquainted at court by means of ſome preſents well beſtow'd, and having been introduced to the king, and by his pleaſant converſation, and a genteel preſent made to his majeſty, (as was the cuſtom through all *Aſia*) got into favour, he made a conſiderable ſtay in that country, at different times, and, as he had done at other places, collected memoirs of the moſt material things relating to it. But he not living to perfect them, as he had done thoſe of *Perſia* and *India*, his memoirs fell into his brothers hands, who was likewiſe a traveller. He put them in order, and, as he ſays, inform'd himſelf of ſeveral particulars of the country, by his converſation with ſeveral *Tonquineſes* at *Bantam* and *Batavia*. From him we ſhall, for the moſt part, take the following account, not omitting to add what Mr. *Dampier* has, which the other wants.

SECT. I.

Of the kingdom of Tonquin.

IN former times, *Tonquin* was reckon'd a part of *China*, and, to this day, the natives are very much of the temper of that people; their good opinion of themſelves making them, for a long time, ſlight others as barbarous, ſo that they had, like the *Chineſes*, little or no communication with other nations. But after they came to be acquainted with the *Europeans*, they found that there were people of ſenſe, and who underſtood what good government and learning were, beſides the *Chineſes* and themſelves; ſo that in a ſhort time they came to converſe freely, and aſſociate themſelves with the different nations of *Europe*, as they had occaſion.

The ſituation of Tonquin

Tonquin is bounded by the province of *Quantum* (which *Tavernier* calls *Canton*, from its capital) on the eaſt; by *Cochinchina* on the ſouth, by the kingdom of *Laos* (*Tavernier* ſays *Brama*, but it is a miſtake, for *Laos* is between them) on the weſt; and by the two *Chineſe* provinces of *Yunan* and *Quamſi* on the north. It lies (according to Mr. *Salmon*) between the 17th degree of north latitude and 23 and an half; ſo that it is about 400 miles in length, and and in the broadeſt part of it, it is 150 miles.

The air is ſo mild and temperate, that *Tavernier* ſays, the whole year is like a continual ſpring. The north and ſouth winds divide the year between them. The ſouth wind begins in *January*, and continues till *July*, and then the north wind takes its place 'till the next *Jannary*. But one inconvenience they have in this country, and eſpecially in the bay of *Tonquin*, and in all the ſea between that and *Japan*, and that is, the *Typhon*, which is a kind of circular hurricane, that comes now and then in the ſummer months; ſo that *Varenius* ſays, Typhons *dreadful.*

* "It breaks out violently from the "weſtern point, and turning round the "horizon with a rapid force, performs "the revolution in 20 hours, ſtill growing "ſtronger and ſtronger, raiſing thoſe ſeas, "with its ſtrong whirling about, to a "great heighth, every 10th wave riſing "above the reſt, which daſhing againſt "one another with great force, the "ſeamen loſe all hopes of their lives. "For which, and other ſtorms, ſailing "from *India* to *Japan* is very dangerous; "ſo that, if one ſhip of three get ſafe, it "is counted a proſperous voyage." * *Var.* geogr. ch. 21. prop. 12.

Nor are theſe *Typhons* more favourable at land; for they tear up trees, break down houſes, and bring terrible deſolation where they happen. Mr. *Tavernier* ſays they come but once in ſeven years; but others are of opinion that they are more frequent.

The diviſion of Tonquin

Tonquin is divided into 8 provinces, (according to Mr. *Salmon*) *viz.* 1. *Tenan.* 2. The *eaſt province.* 3. The *ſouth province.* 4. *Tenhoa.* 5. *Ngeam.* 6. The *weſt province.* 7. The *north province*, and 8. The province of *Cachao.* This diviſion he takes from *Dampier*, from whom his maps have taken the ſame names, not knowing thoſe by which the *Tonquineſes* call them; but the Atlas ſays nothing of them, except *Cachao*, which it calls *Kechio.*

1. The province of *Tenan* has *Canton* on the eaſt, the bay of *Tonquin* on the ſouth, the *ſouth province* on the weſt, and the *eaſt province* on the north.

2. The *eaſt province* ſtretches from *Tenan* to the *north province*, along the weſt of *China*; ſo that it has *China* on the eaſt, the *ſouth province* on the ſouth, *Cachao* on the weſt, and the *north province* on the north. *Hean* is the capital of this province, and the ſeat of the governor.

3. The *ſouth province* lies on the bay of *Tonquin*, and is a triangular iſland, made by the ſea and the rivers *Domea* and *Rockbo.*

4. *Tenhoa* has *Rockbo* river and part of the bay of *Tonquin* on the eaſt, *weſt province* on the north, *Ngeam* on the ſouth.

5. *Ngeam* has the bay of *Tonquin* on the eaſt, *Cochinchina* on the ſouth and weſt, and *Tenhoa* on the north; and being the frontier towards *Cochinchina*, has always a body of troops.

6. *Weſt province* has *Tenhoa* on the ſouth, the kingdom of *Laos* on the weſt, the province of *Cachao* on the eaſt, and the north province on the north.

7. *North province* goes quite croſs the kingdom on the north part, having *Laos* on the weſt, *China* on the north and eaſt, and *eaſt province*, *Cachao*, and *weſt province*, on the ſouth.

8. *Cachao* is in the heart of the kingdom, being ſurrounded by the provinces which take their names from the four cardinal points.

The country is for the moſt part low and level, with ſome hills towards the north. It is water'd by ſeveral rivers, (the chief of which are thoſe mention'd, the *Domea* and *Rockbo*) which run in canals thro' the country, and carry gallies of good burthen, and large ſhallops for trade. But altho' this kingdom is reckon'd a good plentiful country, *Tavernier* ſays, they have neither corn nor wine in it, becauſe they have no rain, except in *June* or *July*. The chief ſuſtenance of the inhabitants is rice, of which they make both bread and drink.

But this account of rain only for two months does not agree to *Dampier*'s, who ſays, that the wet ſeaſon begins in *May*, and continues 'till *September*, but during that time they have intervals of fair weather, eſpecially in *Auguſt*.

The natives. The natives of *Tonquin*, as *Dampier* obſerves, are clean-limb'd and middle-ſiz'd; their faces are flat, but their noſe and mouth ſhap'd like the *Europeans*. Their complexion not ſo tawny as the other *Indians*; their hair black, thin and lank. Black teeth being a great ornament, they dye them carefully from the time that they are 10 years old.

Their temper. They are naturally mild and peaceable, civil to ſtrangers, and the traders of this country are fair dealers; they are faithful and diligent in ſervice, and very ſubmiſſive to their maſters.

Habit. Their habit is grave and modeſt, being a long robe hanging down to their heels, tied about their waiſt with a ſaſh; nor can you diſtinguiſh between men and women by their robe. The gentry wear ſilk, or *Engliſh* cloth, red or green, and their caps are of the ſame ſtuff with their clothes. The inferior people wear cotton of a dark colour; the ſoldiers wear the ſame, but their robe only reaches to the knee, and under it they have breeches which come down to the mid leg, without ſhoes or ſtockings.

There are few cities in *Tonquin*, but a world of villages. The capital of the kingdom is *Cachao*, which is almoſt in the centre of it, and gives the name to the 8th province, mention'd in the diviſion of the kingdom.

Cachao. This city is ſituated upon the river *Domea*, about 80 miles from the ſea. It conſiſts of about 20,000 houſes, but all low, the walls mud, and the roofs cover'd with thatch. Their partitions are of cane, ſo that they are very ſubject to fire, and therefore every houſe has a back yard, in which they have a large building, in the ſhape of an oven, made of brick, about ſix foot high, to ſecure their goods in caſe of fire. The ſtreets are wide, but ill pav'd with ſmall ſtones.

Palaces. This being the reſidence of their kings, there are three palaces in the city, but all built of wood. Two of them are very poor, but the third is reckon'd very magnificent in that country. It is enclos'd within a wall of three leagues in compaſs, 16 foot high, and of equal thickneſs, faced with brick on both ſides. Within this encloſure, there is not only the apartment for the king, and places for his women and officers, but large courts for the ſoldiers to draw up in, and large ſtables for his horſes and elephants, of the firſt ſort he keeps 300, and 200 of the latter, fit for war. As alſo large gardens.

In one of the other palaces lives the *Choua*, or general, of whom we ſhall ſpeak, when we come to give an account of the government of the kingdom.

The other buildings of the city are not worth ſpeaking of; only the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* factories are convenient, but not magnificent; probably the reaſon may have been, becauſe they would not affront the government by putting it in any one's power to ſay, that the merchants had a better houſe than the king.

Hean. About 20 miles ſouth-eaſt from *Cachao*, upon the ſame river nearer the ſea, ſtands the city of *Hean*, conſiſting of about 2000 houſes, built after the ſame manner as thoſe of *Cachao*. The *French* had a factory there, and made it a biſhop's ſee. It is likewiſe the reſidence of an *Indian* governor, without whoſe licence, no boat, or other veſſel, can go down or up the river.

The villages in this kingdom are without number. They conſiſt of 30 or 40 houſes a-piece, and ſtand very thick all the country over; beſides many villages of boats, where families live upon the water. And indeed we may imagine, that they muſt be very numerous, when a kingdom no bigger than

than *Tonquin*, where there are few cities, and no market towns, us'd to ſend 500,000 men to the field in time of war. And their ordinary rendezvouz is 12000 horſe, and 300,000 foot, with 2000 elephants, and 300 gallies.

The manner of living in Tonquin.

This country is ſo well provided of all ſorts of eatables, that proviſions are not dear. They eat beef, buffaloes, goats, hogs, horſes, elephants, and great variety of fowls, with ſtore of fiſh. But the moſt common food of the generality is boil'd rice, and ſmall pieces of pork roaſted. They ſinge their cows like hogs, and having cut ſlices off the meat, they ſteep them in vinegar, and ſo eat them.

We are told of a way they have of keeping their eggs whole years together, by cruſting them over with a paſte, made up with ſalt, brine, and aſhes, and put into an earthen veſſel cloſe ſtop'd. Theſe they eat with their rice, eſpecially upon the water.

The natives are a healthy people, and have good ſtomachs, and they think, not without reaſon, that people are not in good health, when their appetite fails them. And therefore, in their ſalutations, they do not ask how any one does, but how he has eaten his rice; that is, how he has his ſtomach.

Their drink.

Their drink is, for the moſt part, tea, which the women ſell in the market, and either with the tea, or after it, they drink arrack, but it is the worſt that is made any where; but to rectify it, they infuſe ſnake or ſcorpion oyl in it, and this they believe (as it is very probable) is an antidote againſt poiſon.

Betel leaves.

But the firſt thing they preſent a viſiter with, is the *Betel* leaf, with ſlices of the *Ark* nut in it, which they chew as we do tobacco. It is a ſort of opiat, and not very toothſome to ſtrangers who are not us'd to it. When any perſon of diſtinction makes a viſit to another, he is preſented with a box of *Betel*. And thoſe boxes are a part of the preſent the *Tonquineſes* ſend to the women they deſign to marry. Mr. *Tavernier* ſays, he ſaw ſome of them very rich, thoſe ſent by princes being adorn'd with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and emeralds.

Their poſture.

Their manner of ſitting is croſs-leg'd, but, inſtead of carpets, they uſe fine mats, made of little reeds, for coolneſs, and to keep out the bugs. Thoſe reeds are ſo nicely ſew'd together, that the mat looks of one reed, and is even and ſmooth like velvet. They coſt more than an *Indian* carpet. Upon thoſe mats, laid upon couches, they lay a cuſhion, for their gueſts of quality, who ſit all round the room, with another cuſhion at their back.

Entertainments.

Their entertainments conſiſt of a great number of ſmall diſhes, or rather plates, which are brought up in great order in a large lacker'd voider, about 12 plates in a voider. The meat is all cut ſmall, of the bigneſs of a nut, which the company put in their mouths with two ſticks, as we ſaid elſewhere. They are generally ſilent at meals; but if any one ſpeaks, it is one advanc'd in years.

During the entertainment, which, for the moſt part, are at night, they have a comedy repreſented, which they do to great perfection.

Animals.

We have already obſerv'd, that they have good ſtore of beeves, hogs, &c. But they have neither aſſes nor ſheep. There are no lions in that country, but abundance of tygers, red deer, and apes. Their rats and mice are large, and troubleſome, but they have a brood of dogs very dexterous at killing them. They are peſter'd with gnats, which they endeavour to drive away by burning the chaff of rice in their houſes; but, in ſpite of all their care, they are plagued with their bites.

But there is a white piſmire in this country, with teeth ſo ſharp, that a parcel of them will cut through a wooden poſt in a very ſhort time; and in 24 hours they will eat through a bale of ſilk as if it had been cut with a ſaw.

Rere-mice.

They have, beſides ducks, hens, &c. a ſort of fowl as big a pullet, which is call'd rere-mice, which harbour in the *Spreading-tree*. But they do not perch upon it, like other birds, but hang upon the branches by the claws, with their heads down, as our parrots upon the rings in their cages. And, which is more extraordinary, they have 7 claws, or hooks, upon every wing, ſo that they do not fall to the ground when they are ſhot in a tree, but hang there 'till they are taken down. Theſe are delicate feeding. There is another ſort of bird in the iſlands of the bay of *Tonquin*, about the bigneſs of a ſwallow, whoſe neſts are built with ſeveral coats, one within another, like an onion; but of ſuch aromaticks, that the natives pull them down, and ſteeping them in warm water, mix them up in all their ſauces, either for fiſh or fleſh. They make the ſauce taſte as if it were made of all the ſpices in the *Indies*.

Strange neſts.

Trees.

This country abounds in fruits, many of which are very different from ours. The *Palm-tree* has a nut as big as a man's head, in the ſhape of a cocoa nut, and the meat and liquor within the ſhell not unlike the cocoa. The *Gogavier* is like our lawrel, and is of two ſorts. The one bears a fruit like a plumb, green without and red within; but the other is yellow without and white within, with a top like a noſegay. The pulp is full of ſmall kernels, like a pomgranate. If this fruit is eaten

Palm-tree.

Goga-vier.

before

before it be ripe, it is very binding, but when full ripe has the contrary quality. It was brought into this kingdom by the *Portugueſes*. The *Papager* has a fruit not unlike a ſmall melon. The *Arager* grows like the maſt of a ſhip, and has no branches but at the top; its fruit is like a nutmeg. The *Tonquineſes* bruiſe the nut, to mix with *Betel*, to rub their teeth, to dye their lips red, and to ſweeten the breath. They have one ſort of fig like ours, but another of a finger's length, which the *Europeans* call *Adam's figs*. The *Jamber* tree grows very high, has a fruit as big as a citron, and full of kernels, but very cooling and delicate. But the oddeſt ſort of tree is that which is call'd the *Powder tree*, the coal made of the wood of it ſerving for gunpowder. There is likewiſe the *Spreading tree*, formerly deſcrib'd.

Papager.
Arager.
Jamber.
Powder tree.

As for flowers, they have none except the *Bange*, which grows like a large noſegay, the branches of the ſhrub creeping along the ground.

Bange.

The chief riches of *Tonquin* conſiſt in the vaſt quantity of ſilk, which they ſell to foreigners, eſpecially to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and in their *Lignum Aloes*, of which they have at very different prices, ſome of it being ſold at 1000 crowns the pound weight; that of this price is ſo oily, that the bigneſs of a pea caſt into a chaffing-diſh of coals, will perfume a whole room. That which is dry and light is ſold for 3 crowns a pound. One of the chief preſents ſent by the *Portugueſe* colony at *Goa* to the emperor of *Japan*, was a piece of this wood ſix foot long, and 8 inches diameter, which was valued at above 12,000 crowns.

The trade of Tonquin.
Silk.
Lignum Aloes.

Another commodity of *Tonquin* is lacker'd ware, which, next to that in *Japan*, is the beſt in the world. Mr. *Dampier* ſays, the lacker is a gummy liquor which iſſues both from the trunk and branches of the trees.

Gum Lacker.

They likewiſe deal in earthen ware, but it is much coarſer than the *China*. They have rhubarb and other drugs, alſo red wood, like log wood, for dying.

But Mr. *Salmon* obſerves, that, by reaſon of the tyranny of their government the trade is miſmanag'd. The inferior people not being able to manufacture their ſilk without having money by advance, from thoſe who buy a quantity. This is the reaſon that merchants are oblig'd to wait ſeveral months before their bargain can be made good to them. But the glorious *Dutch*, who never have any qualms of conſcience, if intereſt is in view, have found out an expedient. For, they make temporary marriages with the women of the country, whom they employ to buy up the ſilk at the dead time of the year, and to give it out to the poor workmen, when work is cheap; ſo that their goods are always ready againſt their ſhips arrive.

Trade ill manag'd, and why.

Dutch cunning.

The *Tonquineſes* make no long voyages, nor is their ſhipping fit for it, ſo that moſt of their commodities are bought and exported in foreign bottoms. In exchange for their goods, they get ſalt petre, ſulphur, broad cloth, cloth raſhes, pepper, and other ſpices, lead, great guns, and but little gold or ſilver; but what they have is in bars from *Japan*, or *Spaniſh* money.

Having given an hint of the tyrranny of their government, we ſhall inquire particularly into the nature of it.

The government of Tonquin

Whatever was the origine of the kingdom of *Tonquin*, of which we have no account, it is agreed that it was, (about 700 years ago) a province of *China*; but that about that time, a famous *Tonquineſe* robber, call'd *Din*, put himſelf at the head of ſuch as groan'd under the oppreſſion of their foreign tyrant, and had courage to venture their lives to free their country; and with them he gain'd ſeveral bloody battles, and expell'd the *Chineſe* oppreſſors; after which he took poſſeſſion of the throne, changing *Tonquin* from a *Chineſe* province into a noble kingdom.

Din *reſcues it from being a province of* China.

Din being ſlain in a battle againſt ſome who revolted from him, and his two ſons reigning but a ſhort time after him, by agreement of the Mandarins, with the concurrence of the *Chineſes*, who had been again call'd in during the civil war, the crown was beſtow'd upon one of the family of *Lelequel*. This king enjoying peace, and being a vertuous prince, regulated all affairs with great wiſdom, and built a magnificent palace. But he being ſucceeded by his daughter, ſhe was betrayed and put to death, the uſurper, taking poſſeſſion of the throne, kept it but a few years, and then was kill'd by thoſe ſubjects over whom he had uſurp'd authority. After this, they became a province of *China* again, for 20 years, and then expell'd their oppreſſors, ſetting him up for their king who had been their general in expelling the *Chineſes*. This king was of the family of *Le*, to whom and his heirs the whole kingdom ſubmitted for 80 years without a competitor, 'till one of the family, then on the throne, having us'd one of the lords ill, he took arms againſt the king, and took poſſeſſion of the throne. But neither did he long enjoy it, for he was defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death, by the ſon of another family. But this youth, after he had got the better of the king *de facto*, and might have taken his place, either out of cunning and policy, or from a principle of honour and loyalty, he made it be

be proclaim'd, that if there were any prince of the family of *Le* in being, he ſhould ſhew himſelf, giving a ſolemn aſſurance, upon his honour, to ſuch a prince, that he would ſet him upon the throne.

There happen'd to be one of the family of their old kings, who having been forc'd to *abſcond* to ſave his life, *during the uſurpation*, liv'd in the outskirts of the kingdom, in the habit of a private ſoldier, who, upon this proclamation, diſcover'd himſelf, and ſent to the general an account of his being there. The general having inform'd himſelf of his pretenſions, and found them juſt, ſent him a royal equipage, and diſpatch'd orders to all the provinces, thro' which he was to paſs, to receive him as their king. The general, at the head of the army, march'd two days journey from *Cochao* to meet him, and brought him with great pomp to that capital, where he was crown'd with great ſolemnity.

Two kings at Tonquin.

But, whether it was from the weakneſs of the king, or the ambition of the general, the former had all the pomp and ſhew of royal authority, was ſeated in the royal palace, and receiv'd the outward homage of his ſubjects, whilſt the latter kept the army in his own power, with a ſufficient part of the revenue to pay the ſoldiers and ſupport his own grandeur. So that, from that time (above 100 years ago) it may be ſaid there were two kings at a time in *Tonquin*; the firſt is call'd *Boua*, and has all the enſigns of royalty, and receives ambaſſadors in great ſtate; but the general, who is call'd *Choua*, has, in effect, the ſupreme power; and altho' there is a particular day in the year, in which he goes to pay his mock obedience to the *Boua*, he manages all affairs of the kingdom, and no body has acceſs to the king at any time, without his permiſſion.

Both theſe offices, of king and general, are hereditary; but the king is not always ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon; for, if he has more than one, the *Choua* obliges him to chuſe one, to whom all the Mandarins, and the *Choua* himſelf, ſwear to crown him after his father's death; and all the other ſons are ſhut up in the palace, and only allow'd to go abroad 4 times a year, with ſuch a guard as the general thinks fit. Every time they go out, they may ſtay ſix days. The firſt is ſpent in the temples, the 2d and 3d in hunting; and the three laſt upon the water, in magnificent gallies.

The *Boua* is likewiſe permitted to come abroad upon certain days, at which times he is carried through the ſtreets like an image, attended with a royal train, but his guards are of the *Choua*'s appointing; and all people ſhew him great reſpect. He likewiſe ſigns edicts, but they are firſt approv'd by the *Choua*. He has 32 counſellors of ſtate, and 100 judges of appeals; but all theſe are appointed by the general. So that it may be ſaid, that the *Boua* is the *puppet of ſtate*, whilſt the *Choua* is *king*.

The general having thus got the forces and the revenue into his hands, made that office hereditary in his own family, and the whole power of managing all affairs continues to this day in his deſcendants. To maintain this power, he keeps 30,000 men conſtantly at *Cochao*, and 70,000 diſpers'd through other parts of the kingdom.

The Forces of Tonquin

But as the *Tonquin* kingdom had been long ſubject to the emperor of *China*, and that, upon every diſturbance which happen'd in it, they were liable to be invaded by their old maſter; the general made a compromiſe with the *Chineſe* emperor, that the king of *Tonquin* ſhould ſend an ambaſſador every year to *Pekin* to do homage in his name, and make that emperor a preſent; but it ſhould not be call'd tribute. That in conſideration of this, *Tonquin* ſhall be govern'd only by its own laws, and that no *Chineſe* ſhall have any part of the adminiſtration. So that *Tonquin* ſeems at preſent to be ſubject to *China* much after the ſame manner that *Naples* is to the *Pope*; but whether his *Chineſe* majeſty is at as great a loſs about the perſon to whom he is to give the inveſtiture, our accounts do not ſay.

Tonquin tributary to China.

As to the adminiſtration of juſtice, it is done by the governors and their deputies in their ſeveral diſtricts; for there are no courts of judicature in the kingdom. And yet *Tavernier* ſays they obſerve an exact order and regulation of juſtice and policy all over the kingdom, ſo that few of the beſt regulated kingdoms exceed them.

Adminiſtration of juſtice.

The puniſhments inflicted upon offenders are little different from thoſe in *China*, beheading being the moſt opprobrious death. A woman convicted of adultery is thrown to an elephant to be trodden to death.

Moſt of the Mandarins in *Tonquin* are eunuchs, and, as they are abſolute in the provinces, they are ſaid to be very covetous, and conſequently great oppreſſors: But this is the leſs enquir'd into, becauſe all their wealth comes into the exchequer when they die.

Altho' the king, as we have ſaid, has little more than the bare title, yet his coronation is very ſolemn. The third day after the king dies, the *Choua*, accompanied with his chief officers, and the Mandarins of *Cochao*, goes to the apartment of that prince whom the king in his life time had nam'd for his ſucceſſor,

The king's coronation.

and having put a *Chineſe* habit upon him, he is brought into one of the great courts of the palace, and, mounted upon an elephant, rides round it, and then having diſmounted, he aſcends a magnificent throne plac'd there for the purpoſe, where he receives the homage of all the great people with the utmoſt ſigns of ſubmiſſion, and oaths of obedience. The king is furniſh'd, from the exchequer, with gold and ſilver to make preſents to all the nobility upon this occaſion; ſo that every Mandarin receives 4 panes of gold, and ſix bars of ſilver. But to ſhew his particular reſpect to the *Choua*, he gives him 20 panes of gold and 40 bars of ſilver. Then the army of 30,000 horſe and foot, upon a ſignal given from the palace, make ſeveral diſcharges, accompany'd with ſeveral pieces of ordnance. After this the new king gets into a rich palaquin, which is carried by 8 military Mandarins, and 8 lords of council. The *Choua* riding before him, accompanied with the reſt of the council, and ſuch governors of provinces as happen to be there, all on fine horſes. In this manner he is carried to the apartment of the deceaſed king, where they leave him among the eunuchs; and then the ladies of the court, and the wives of the nobility, are admitted to congratulate his acceſſion to the throne. When the ladies are retir'd, the nobles return, and are entertain'd at a magnificent feaſt, which is concluded with fire-works without doors, and comedies within, which laſt all night. The next day, the army is drawn up in order in a large plain, where they wait the king's coming, who being carried thither in his palaquin, as before, mounts an elephant bred to war, and the army, changing their poſition, turn themſelves into a ſquare, with the king and his retinue in the middle. There he makes preſents to the officers according to their rank, and to every ſoldier is given a month's pay. Upon this the whole army diſcharges three volleys, and then the king retiring to a wooden palace handſomely fitted up, an entertainment is ſerv'd for him and the lords, and the whole army has hutts built for them, where they are provided of meat and drink ſufficient for that day and night, which are ſpent in feaſting, dancing, comedies, and fire-works; the king ſtaying in his wooden palace 'till next day. As ſoon as he is gone, the ſoldiers ſet fire to it, and likewiſe burn their own hutts, and ſo return to the city.

When the king returns to his palace, he orders gratuities to be made to the comedians, dancers, &c. and being ſeated on the throne, receives the commiſſioners from the merchants and handy craftſmen, who come in the names of their conſtituents to pay their homage; to both which he gives a magnificent preſent. So that all ſorts of people having, either by themſelves or their repreſentatives, had the honour to kiſs the king's hand, there is nothing but mirth and jollity for a week together. And, beſides all the preſents the king makes at that time, which amount to a vaſt ſum, he releaſes all taxes for a certain time, *viz.* for a whole year, to ſuch as, for time immemorial, had continued loyal to the crown, and for 6 months to others. And he diſcharges all priſoners for debt, after the preſident of the council has made a compoſition with the creditors for half the ſum, which the king pays.

Beſides all this expence, he is profuſe in his ſacrifices to the idols, and gives rich preſents to the prieſts, and for adorning the *Pagods*. And every new king builds a new temple, to be the place of his conſtant worſhip.

A part of this ſolemnity of inauguration is perform'd upon the water, where there are ſplendid galleys fitted up for the king and the nobles. One thing is obſervable in the galleys, that all the rowers are free men and ſoldiers, and for their encouragement, they have better pay than the land forces. Their galleys are not ſo large as thoſe in *Europe*, but they are well made, and cut the water better. The king ſpends ſome days among the galleys, and is entertain'd with matches of rowing all the day, and very artful fire-works at night, and ſpends a vaſt ſum in preſents to the officers and ſoldiers belonging to the fleet. After this he returns to his palace, where he is ſhut up for the reſt of his life, with his women and eunuchs, except, as we obſerv'd before, when he is brought for faſhion's ſake to be ſhew'd to the people, to receive an ambaſſador, or to pay his devotion.

The religion of Tonquin.

As to the religion of *Tonquin*, it has much affinity with that of *China*. The better ſort of people have a great value for *Confucius*, and perform the worſhip to their deceas'd anceſtors much after the ſame manner as the *Chineſes* do. Others again believe the tranſmigration of ſouls; and a third ſort have idols of different kinds, and under different names; have the ſame opinions with the idolaters who follow the doctrines of the *Chineſe Fo*. Some adore the heavens, ſome the ſun, moon, and ſtars, as the learned ſect in *China* does. Some worſhip trees, elephants, horſes, &c. And others are ſaid to worſhip the Devil: But I think they ſhould leave this laſt worſhip to the *Europeans*, who ſeem to be better acquainted with him, and more obſequious to his commands.

As

As ignorance is always the mother of ſuperſtition, the *Tonquineſes*, eſpecially the meaner ſort, are ſuperſtitious to the laſt degree. Omens and preſages are much taken notice of; and their aſtrologers take care to cultivate that notion in them, becauſe they make a good harveſt of it. And *Tavernier* ſays they have two chief magicians, and one magicianeſs, who are believ'd as oracles. How they impoſe upon thoſe poor people is no more ridiculous and extravagant than our fortune-tellers method at home, nor perhaps are there fewer people in *Europe* cheated than in the *Indies* by impoſtors of different kinds. The author laſt nam'd tells us farther, that they are ſuperſtitious with regard to the hours of the day, which, with the *Chineſes*, they divide into twelve parts, every one of which they name by ſome living creature, as a lion, bear, tyger, &c. And as they calculate a child's birth, they obſerve the beaſt which was the predominant in the hour he was born, and by (I do not know what) philoſophy, they think that creature his enemy. Thus one of their kings having been born in that hour of the day which is nam'd *the horſe*, would never ſtir abroad nor ſpeak to mortal in that hour. And it was well he had a general to fight for him, becauſe, I ſuppoſe, he would have been as much afraid of the horſes of his enemies as of their ſwords.

The jeſuites in Tonquin

Mr. *Dampier* ſays, the jeſuites at *Hean* told him of the great progreſs they had made in converting the *Tonquineſes* to Chriſtianity. But he was afterwards inform'd, that their proſelites were all of the poorer ſort, who follow'd the fathers only *for the loaves*. For, rice being very ſcarce in *Tonquin*, at a certain time, the jeſuites, who had a magazine of it, gave liberally to the poor people who declar'd themſelves Chriſtians: But as ſoon as the dearth was over, and the rice became cheap, they went back to their idols. He ſays likewiſe that the jeſuites in that country paſs for merchants and mathematicians rather than miſſionaries, the great people ſhewing no inclination to Chriſtianity. Our author viſited the *French* biſhop at *Hean*, and was civilly entertain'd by him.

Their learning.

I do not find any material difference between the learning of the *Tonquineſes* and that of the *Chineſes*; they both apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the *Chineſe* language, the laws of their country, mathematicks, eſpecially the knowlege of the celeſtial globe, and likewiſe of poetry and muſick. They have, like the *Chineſes*, three degrees in learning, which *Tavernier* calls *Synde*, *Doucan*, and *Tanſi*; to obtain which they muſt ſtudy hard, and paſs examinations as ſtrict as thoſe formerly mention'd in our deſcription of *China*; and, as it is there, after they take the laſt degree, they are qualified for any poſt in the ſtate.

Phyſicians.

The phyſicians are much the ſame, as to knowlege, with thoſe in *China*, dealing only in ſimples, and finding out all diſtempers by the pulſe in different parts of the body. They are ſaid to have good recipes againſt the falling-ſickneſs, and ſuch like diſeaſes, reckon'd incurable in *Europe*. It is pity that Mr. *Tavernier* did not bring the receipt over with him, which is ſo much wanted in our part of the world.

Severe puniſhment of a princeſs for a ſecret amour.

There is as little difference about their marriages and burials from thoſe in *China*. We have ſaid already that adultery is puniſh'd by death; but Mr. *Tavernier* relates a ſtory of a ſevere puniſhment of a prince and princeſs, who had a criminal correſpondence, only after her husband was dead. It being the cuſtom in moſt, if not all the eaſt, to ſhut up the women belonging to deceas'd princes, in the moſt private part of their husband's palace, where their meat is ſent them through the garden, it happen'd that a beautiful young princeſs, thus ſhut up, after the king her husband's death, was, by ſome chance or other, ſeen by one of the princes of the blood, who falling in love with her, and having no acceſs to her, ſuborn'd thoſe who carried her meat from the kitchen, to put him into the iron cheſt in which they us'd to carry her dinner. The contrivance was put in execution, and the poor impriſon'd princeſs not having a heart hard enough to occaſion, by diſcovering him, the death of a prince who had ſhew'd the greatneſs of his love by the hazard he had run to make it known to her, entertain'd him, according to his deſire. But he had not long enjoy'd the happineſs of her company, but the matter was diſcover'd by ſome blab, either male or female, and the unhappy lovers being ſurpriz'd together, the unfortunate widow was ſhut up in a room upon the top of a tower, which being uncover'd to let the ſun in upon her, and neither meat nor drink allow'd her, ſhe died in a few days. The prince was chain'd and manacled, and, in that condition, expos'd every day for 5 months, and then ſhut up in priſon, where he lay 7 years; and then was releas'd at the coronation of a new king; but he was oblig'd to ſerve upon the frontiers as a common ſoldier.

Funeral of the king.

When the king dies, he lies in ſtate 65 days, during which time he is ſerv'd in the ſame manner as in his life time; his meals are brought in the ſame order, and when the meat has ſtood on the table the uſual time, it is taken away, and divided between the *Bonzi* and the poor.

As

As ſoon as he breathes his laſt, the *Choua* ſends expreſſes to the *Mandarins* of the provinces, with orders for regulating their mourning, which continues three years, unleſs the king gave ſome extraordinary diſguſt to his people in his lifetime. The king's houſhold mourn 9 months, the nobility 6, and the commons only 3. During which time, all diverſions ceaſe, except at the coronation of the new king, during the ſolemnity of which the mourning is ſuſpended for 8 days.

Whilſt the body lies in ſtate, the new king, and the princes of the blood and counſellors of ſtate cut their hair, and wear ſtraw bonnets, 'till the corps be put into the galley to be carried to the burying-place; and the third day after the king dies, the nobility go to court to expreſs their ſorrow; and after 10 days the people are admitted in their turns.

When the 65 days are expir'd, the way from the palace to the galley is cover'd with calicoe of a violet colour, and the corps is carried in ſolemn proceſſion, which takes up 17 days, tho' it might be perform'd in two; but the king and all the court marching a-foot, they go very ſlowly, after the following manner.

The order of the proceſſion

Two uſhers of the king's bed-chamber go firſt, with maces, the bowls of which are full of artificial fire-works. Theſe proclaim aloud the name of the deceaſed king. After them follow 12 officers of the galley, which waits to receive the body; theſe attend the tomb drawn upon wheels, having the king's name written upon it. Next to that comes the grand 'ſquire, or maſter of horſe, on horſeback, attended by two others. Then follow 12 led horſes by two and two, ſix of which have their bridles inlaid with thin plates of gold, and the ſaddles and houſings richly embroider'd all in the ſame manner; and the other ſix as rich as they, but in a different way. Each of of theſe horſes is led by two grooms. Next come 12 elephants, four of which carry each of them one officer with a ſtandard; four others have towers with ſix men a-piece, ſome with fire-arms and ſome with lances. The laſt four, being thoſe on which the king rode in his expeditions, carry thoſe cages in which he ſate, ſome being of glaſs before and on the ſides, and others letticed. Then follow'd the hearſe, drawn by 8 horſes, ſome ſay by ſtags, each of which was led by a captain of the guard. After the hearſe follow'd the new king, and the princes of the blood, a-foot, all in robes of white ſatin, which is the mourning colour. After them came the nobility, and Mandarins, ſome a-foot, and ſome on horſeback, according to their offices. Then go two chariots with 8 horſes each; in thoſe chariots are coffers full of bars of gold, and other riches, for his majeſty's uſe in the other world. Our author ſays nothing of the *Choua*'s attending this proceſſion, but to be ſure he does, and therefore I ſuppoſe he is at the head of the army.

In the deſcription of one of the plates in *Tavernier* we have an account of ſix princeſſes in white ſatin, each of them attended by two ladies of honour in purple. Their buſineſs is to carry meat and drink for the deceaſed king. But whether this be genuine or not I ſhall not determine.

Having thus given as full an account of *Tonquin* as we judg'd to be neceſſary, we ſhould proceed to *Siam*. But *Cochin China* having once belong'd to it, and perhaps ſtill depends as much upon *Tonquin*, as *Tonquin* does upon *China*, and having no large account to give of it, but what would be a repetition of our account of *Tonquin*, their manners and way of living being much the ſame, we chuſe to treat of it as an appendage of *Tonquin*, or, as *Purchas* makes it, a province of *China*, rather than to give it a chapter by itſelf.

The kingdom of Cochin China.

The deſcription of Cochin China.

AS *Cochin China* runs along the coaſt of the bay of *Tonquin*, taking in *Chiampa*, which is ſaid to be ſubject to it, it lies between the 8th degree of n. lat. (according to *Salmon*, but the 10th by our maps) and the 17th deg. ſo that it is much about the ſame extent with *Tonquin*. It has *Tonquin* on the north, the bay of *Tonquin* on the eaſt, the *Indian* ocean on the ſouth, and *Cambodia* with the mountains of *Kemois* towards the weſt.

The climate is ſaid to be more temperate than that of *Tonquin*, which, if true, can proceed from nothing but its being more ſurrounded with the ſea, and conſequently fan'd with more ſea breezes, or from the ſprings which, flowing from the mountains of *Kemois*, cover the country, and ſo refreſh it; for, we are told, the nature of the ſoil in both kingdoms is the ſame. There is ſo little difference in the ſtature, ſhape, manner of living, and temper of the natives, in their manner of building, dreſſing, marrying, and burying, in the produce and manufactures, trade and commerce, (as far as we are acquainted with them) from what we have deſcrib'd in our account of *Tonquin*, that it would be abuſing the reader to repeat them. And therefore having nothing new to divert any one, we ſhall only ſay that this kingdom is divided into 5 provinces, viz. *Sinuva*, *Cachiam*, *Quamgim*, *Pulocambi*, and *Renan*. The capital city is in *Sinuva*, but whether it takes the name of

of the province, or has any other, I don't know. *Chiampa* is the capital of the province of *Chiampa*, and lies upon the coaſt ſouth of *Cochin China*. *Cochin China* has two ſorts of timber not known to grow in *Tonquin*; the one* is ſo heavy that they make uſe of it for anchors, and the other ſo ſtrong a perfume that it may be ſmelt altho' buried a yard and an half under ground. What elſe is in that kingdom is in common with *Tonquin*.

SECT. II.

Of the kingdom of Siam.

THE next kingdom tributary to *China* is *Siam*, of which we made mention in Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s expedition, * where we took notice, from that author, with whom *Purchas* and *Salmon* agree, that *Malacca*, *Cambodia*, and *Laos*, are ſubject to the king of *Siam*. But here we ſhall (from the jeſuites ſent by *Louis* XIV. to the *Indies* in 1685, and from Mr. *De la Louber*, *French* envoy to *Siam* in 1687, and Mr. *Salmon*) give a more particular account of that kingdom, with its appendages.

* See p. 547.

We took notice, in the place refer'd to in the margin, that *Siam*, comprehending *Malacca*, *Cambodia*, and *Laos*, lies between the degrees of 1 and 25 n. lat. ſo that it is 1440 miles in length, the breadth is very different. Theſe kingdoms, taken together, are bounded (as has been obſerv'd before) on the north by *Pegu* and *Ava*, on the weſt by part of *Pegu* and the bay of *Bengal*; on the ſouth by the *Indian* ocean and the equinoctial line, and on the eaſt by *Cochin China* and *Tonquin*. But, to give them ſeparately.

The diviſion of Siam.

Siam is divided into *upper* and *lower*. *Upper Siam* contains 7 provinces, which either receive their names from, or give them to, the ſeveral capital cities, *viz.* *Proſelouc*, (or, as it ought to be call'd, *Pitſanouloc*) *Sangueloue*, *Lacontai*, *Campengpet*, *Coconrepina*, *Pecheboune*, and *Pitchia*. Each of theſe is ſubdivided into different diſtricts, accountable to the governor of the provinces; beſides ſome counties, exempted from their juriſdiction, as being only ſubject to the metropolis of the kingdom. But it is pretty odd, that the authors from whom this diviſion is taken, and Mr. *Salmon*, who follows them, ſhould ſpeak much of the city and province of *Siam*, and yet give it no place in the diviſion; for, without doubt, it muſt be in the *Upper Siam*, and I ſuppoſe the chief province of it, ſince that city is allow'd to be the capital of the kingdom. If any of the provinces above nam'd, is *Siam* under another name, they ſhould have told us ſo.

The *Lower Siam* has likewiſe 7 provinces, *viz.* *Jor*, *Patana*, *Ligor*, *Tenaſſerim*, *Petelong*, or *Bordelong*, and *Tchiai*. From this diſtribution of the provinces, it appears that the *Lower Siam* is the ſame with the peninſula of *Malacca*.

Cambodia.

Cambodia, as diſtinct from *Siam*, lies between the 8th and 15th degree of n. latitude, and has *Cochin China* and *Chiampa* on the eaſt, the *Indian* ocean on the ſouth, the gulph of *Siam* on the weſt, and *Laos* on north. Its capital bears the ſame name, and ſtands upon the river *Mecon*, in 12 deg. lat.

Laos.

Laos joins to *Cambodia* northwards, beginning in 15 deg. and runs to 25. But as there are few *European* travellers who have ſurvey'd that country towards the north, the account of its north boundaries is very uncertain. It is known to be bounded on the eaſt by *Tonquin*, on the ſouth by *Cambodia*, and by proper *Siam* and part of *Pegu* on the weſt. But there being but little of certainty in any travels thro' that country, we muſt let it be ſwallowed up in *Siam*, to whom it is ſaid to be tributary, till future travellers give us more authentick deſcriptions of it.

Rivers in Siam.

To return therefore to *Siam*. We are told there are ſeveral rivers which run thro' it; the principal of which are *Mecon* and *Menan*. *Mecon* is ſaid to take its riſe in *Tartary*, and runs, in a ſoutherly courſe, thro' *Laos* and *Cambodia*, in which laſt it divides into two branches, and falls into the *Indian* ocean almoſt over againſt *Pulo Candor*; the eaſtern branch in *Moll*'s map is call'd *Tapange*, and the weſtern *Oubequaume*. The river *Menan* likewiſe ſprings from *Tartary*, and running in a ſoutherly courſe upon the weſt of *Laos*, paſſes through *Siam* proper, and falls into the gulph of *Siam* in 14 deg. of n. latitude. Theſe two great rivers are fed by many ſmall rivers and brooks, ſo that they are both navigable at a good diſtance from the ſea. There is another river to the weſtward of *Menan*, call'd *Tenaſſerim*, which, paſſing through *Siam* proper, diſcharges itſelf at ſeveral mouths into the bay of *Bengal*, making an iſland near the gulph, on the n. w. point of which ſtands the city of *Merguy*, which has the moſt commodious harbour in all *India*.

Cities in upper Siam.

The moſt remarkable cities in the *upper* and *lower Siam* are theſe, as they are rank'd by Mr. *Salmon*, beginning from the north. 1. *Menanfang*, in 22 deg. 2. *Lacontai*, 21 deg. 3. *Porſelouc*, 20 deg. 4. *Campengpet*, 18 deg. 5. *Prabat*, 16 deg. 6. *Louvo*, 15 deg. and an half. 7. *Siam*, 15 deg. 8. *Bancock*, at the mouth of the river. All theſe towns lie upon the *Menan*, except *Louvo*, which

lies upon a ſmall river eaſtward of the *Menan*, in a country proper for hunting, that city being the place of the king's reſidence during the hunting ſeaſon. *Bancock* is the ſea port of *Siam*, where all ſhips have their permits at their arrival, and cockets when they depart.

Cities in lower Siam.

The cities in *lower Siam* are upon the coaſt of the bay of *Bengal*, or that of *Siam*. 1. *Martaban*, ſituated at the mouth of the river of *Pegu*, but on the *Siam* ſide in 16 deg. 2. *Merguy*, on an iſland at the mouth of *Tenaſſerim*, as was ſaid above. 3. *Tenaſſerim*, on the ſide of the river of the ſame name, upon the coaſt in 13 deg. 4. *Ligor*, on the ſame coaſt, in 8 deg. 5. *Liam*, on the eaſt ſide of the gulph of *Siam*, in 12 deg. 6. *Patana*, upon the oppoſite ſide of the ſame gulph, in 6 deg. 7. *Queda*, on the bay of *Bengal*, in 7 deg. 8. MALACCA, which gives the name to the whole *Peninſula*, which we call commonly, not lower *Siam*, but the peninſula of *Malacca*. It lies in 2 deg. and an half. This city was a place of great trade whilſt it continued in the hands of the *Portugueſes*; but the *Dutch*, having taken it from them in 1640, in a ſhort time remov'd the trade to *Batavia* in *Java* iſland. It is at preſent only inhabited by two or three hundred families of *Dutch*, *Moors*, *Portugueſes*, and *Chineſes*, with ſome *Malays*, who live in the ſuburbs; and the *Dutch* keep a garriſon in it of 300 ſoldiers. 9. *Sincapora* lies ſouth eaſt of *Malacca*, upon the ſame coaſt, in one degree north latitude, and gives the name to the ſtreights between the peninſula of *Malacca* and the iſland of *Sumatra*. 10. *Jhor* lies oppoſite to *Sincapora*, upon the eaſt coaſt of the peninſula. This city, and the territory belonging to it, ſhook off their dependance upon the king of *Siam*, but are kept in awe by the *Dutch*. Theſe are the moſt conſiderable cities of both the *Siams*. There are others, but of uncertain ſituation.

Their houſes.

The cities of *Siam* are but meanly built, being for the moſt part of *Bambou*, on this faſhion. Having driven ſtakes of *Bambou* cane, about the bigneſs of a man's leg, into the ground, ſo that there remains about 13 foot above ground. Thoſe ſtakes at equal diſtances, like pillars of an equal heighth, are the foundation of all their houſes. Over them they lay a floor of ſplit bambous, to which they aſcend by a ſtair on the outſide, ſo that one may walk under every houſe as under piazza's. From the floor they raiſe the walls of their houſes to the heighth of one ſtory, of the ſame bambou; ſo that all the walls, partitions, floors, and roof, are nothing elſe but bambou cane; it may therefore be eaſily imagined, that a little fire would ſoon conſume a whole city. But, to prevent that inconvenience, their houſes are not built contiguous to one another, every one having a convenient circle of ground about his houſe, which he encloſes with a bambou palliſade. Beſides, to prevent fire, they never light any in their houſes, but in the court, for all uſes; nor have they ſo much occaſion for fire as the other countries farther from the line. Their houſes are but one ſtory high; but, as they go farther back, the floor of every room, in great people's houſes, riſes perhaps three foot higher than another; ſo that altho' no part of the houſe is above one ſtory high, the inner room is conſiderably higher than the firſt apartment, which has a very good effect upon the appearance without, making the roof look like a handſome ſtair, which, when painted, as they commonly do, make a beautiful ſhow.

But at *Bancock*, *Louvo*, and eſpecially at *Siam*, they have ſome brick houſes, but, for the moſt part, thoſe are built either by *Europeans*, *Moors*, or *Chineſes*; in imitation of which the king's palace at *Siam* is built, but only one ſtory high, of brick; and, becauſe a great number of ſuch rooms are neceſſary for holding all the royal family, the palace is like a town conſiſting of different houſes, within a triple incloſure, every houſe having a ſtair leading up to the firſt apartment, and then 3 ſteps higher leads to the 2d, and ſo on to the number of 7, every apartment riſing in the roof in the proportion it does in the floor, and being cover'd with ſhining tiles, look very magnificent.

Of the city of Siam.

But, to give ſome account of the capital city, *Siam*; we are told, that this city, whoſe ſituation we have already given, is three leagues in circumference, and ſurrounded with a wall, fortified by towers. But the town does not take up above a ſixth part of the ground within the walls: The reſt contains the king's palace and gardens, towards the eaſt, and above 200 temples and pagods, with a convent of *Talapoins* for each temple. Who thoſe *Talapoins* are ſhall be ſhew'd in due place. There are likewiſe many burying-places round the temples, which take up much ground. So that the houſes not being above one ſtory, and not very cloſe, it may be reaſonably conjectur'd that the inhabitants of *Siam* are not very numerous.

Siam is built almoſt upon an iſland, except towards the eaſt, from whence there is a cauſey towards the country, without paſſing the river. The ſtreets are large and ſtrait, and every houſe is pal'd in; ſo that every maſter of a family is within his own incloſure. The people of condition do not live under one roof,

for

for all the houſes, except the palace, having only 3 aſcents, the apartments are too few for a large family, and it being eaſier to rear a diſtinct houſe of 3 apartments than to encreaſe that already built to ſix; or, perhaps, being reſtrain'd from coming too near the grandeur of the king's palace, they chuſe to build ſeveral ſmall houſes within one incloſure. Their ſtables and other office houſes are rais'd as high above ground as their dwelling-houſes, for their horſes and cattle go up ſtairs to bed, having hurdles of cane laid over the ſtairs for their conveniency. The building their houſes on this faſhion, throughout the whole kingdom, is ſaid to be for ſafety againſt the overflowings of the rivers in their wet ſeaſon.

The principal apartment in their houſes and palaces is the higheſt, and fartheſt remov'd from the firſt ſtair, and the king and his women lodge under the 6th or 7th roof; but as there is no acceſs to any other part of the palace except the firſt or ſecond apartments, at publick audiences, there is nothing ſaid about it.

Their furniture. The furniture of their houſes is very plain, but neat and clean. Their beds are cover'd with a mat, but they have only curtains before the door of the room they ſleep in; for all the people of faſhion have a chamber apart, and only call their wives at certain times. There are no carpets us'd, but only by thoſe to whom the king has beſtow'd them. The reſt ſit upon mats of bulruſh, coarſer or finer, according to their condition, and every one has a little varniſh'd table to eat upon, without table-cloth or napkin. Nor have they occaſion for knives, and they uſe two ſticks, as other *Indians* do, inſtead of forks. Their veſſels are either of porcelane or copper. They commonly ſerve up their fiſh in a copper diſh, their rice in porcelane, and they drink out of copper or cocoa. Every houſe has a parcel of tools; ſuch as a cleaver for an ax, a chizzel, a ſaw, a plane; ſo that there ſeems to be no coſtly furniture, generally ſpeaking, in that country.

Nor is there any great difference in the king's furniture, but only that he has thoſe things of ſilver which others have of braſs. The walls of that part of his palace where it is lawful to enter, are wainſcotted and painted red, and the floors are cover'd with carpets. The hall and council chamber at *Louvo*, his hunting ſeat, are adorn'd with looking-glaſſes, and a *Sopha*, whoſe bottom and poſts are gold; it is cover'd with a carpet, whereupon the king ſits, leaning upon cuſhions pil'd upon one another. In the hall where he gives audience, there is a chair of ſtate, made of wood, and gilded. He is always ſerv'd in plate at his table.

The ſhape of the inhabitants. The natives of this kingdom of *Siam* are generally of a middle ſize, rather inclin'd to ſmall; but they are well proportion'd, which our ladies will ſcarcely believe, when we tell them, that the *Siameſe* children are never ſwaddled. It were not indeed amiſs that the married women ſhould wear ſtays, for it is not an agreeable ſight to ſee great breaſts hanging down to the navel; but, as the men are us'd to it, it is no eye-ſore to them. Both women and men have their faces none of the moſt beautiful. Their complexion is a mixture of coarſe brown and red. Their faces broad, their cheek bones very high, which makes them look thinner jaw'd than they really are: Their foreheads terminate in a point, as if they had got a knock upon them. Their eyes are ſmall, and ſlit a little upwards, the mouth large, lips thick, and their teeth black. But this laſt circumſtance is of their own procuring.

Their habits. The men paint their bodies, beginning from their ancles, according to their quality, the meaner ſort only their ancles, the better and richer ſort their whole leg, and the prince his thighs, and as far up as his navel. Both men and women cut their hair to their ears, for the moſt part; but ſome women only cut what grows upon the crown, letting the reſt hang upon their ſhoulders.

The men's. They are us'd to go almoſt naked from their infancy, having only a piece of painted calicoe about their loins, to cover their nakedneſs; but the better ſort have it of ſilk. The Mandarins, beſides this, (which the *Portugueſes* call *Pagne*) wear a muſlin ſhirt, open at neck and wriſts, but, which is very comical, if they meet a perſon of higher quality, they pull off their ſhirt, and wrap it about their middle (for they wear them above the *Pagne*) to ſhew how ready they are to ſerve him. In winter, they put about their ſhoulders a breadth of ſtuff, or painted calicoe, and wind the ends of it about their arms. But the king, and thoſe he is pleas'd to give it to, wear a veſt of brocaded ſatin over their ſhirt in winter, which they adorn with lace.

When the king goes to the field, either for hunting, or to war, he and all his army wear red muſlin ſhirts, or veſts, reaching to the knee. This they alſo wear upon ſtate days. They ſeldom wear any thing either upon head or feet, except upon days of audience, that the king and his officers wear white and painted caps; the king's having a circle of jewels round it, and thoſe of his officers one of gold or ſilver. The Moors have likewiſe introduced the cuſtom of wearing ſlippers; but they have no notion of ſtockings.

The

The women's.

The women have the *Pagne*, but whereas the men have theirs brought up between their legs, like breeches, the women let theirs hang down quite round to their mid leg. Nor do the women wear ſmocks, but the people of condition wear a ſcarf, which ſome throw over their breaſt before, and tying it behind, let the ends hang down.

Altho' they go half naked, they are ſo modeſt that they will not lay aſide their *Pagne* among themſelves when they bath. Nor will they bear any immodeſt pictures, or hear any indecent expreſſions. They wear as many rings on the 3 laſt fingers of each hand as they will hold, and pendants in their ears, and the children have bracelets upon their legs and arms 'till they are 7 years old, but no longer.

The temper of the people of Siam.

The *Siameſes* ſeem to have as many good qualities, and to be as fit for a ſocial life as any people in *Aſia*. They are temperate and modeſt, civil to ſtrangers, and ready to make friendſhip with deſerving perſons. They have an averſion to cruelty, and eſpecially to ſhedding of blood. But if they ſhould be provok'd to reſent an injury, they are much of the temper of the *Italians*, who laugh at other nations as fools for duelling; becauſe they have no notion of inviting a perſon, who has already affronted them, to do them the favour to run them thro' the body: And therefore poiſon or the ſtiletto is practis'd in thoſe caſes, but rarely in the kingdom of *Siam*.

A great help to the good temper of the *Siameſes* is their early care of the education of their children, and their breeding them with a view to trading with foreigners. And this is ſo ſtrictly enjoin'd by their kings, that any miſcarriage towards ſtrangers is not only puniſh'd in the young man who is guilty, but, we are told, the father, if alive, is alſo puniſh'd for not having bred his ſon better; for the ſons are bred with an entire ſubmiſſion to their fathers commands.

Free men and ſlaves

The people of *Siam* are divided into free men and ſlaves. Slaves are either ſuch as are born ſo, or ſuch as become ſlaves by being taken in war, or voluntarily ſelling themſelves, or being reduc'd to do ſo for debt. All ſuch, during their ſlavery, forfeit the children that are born to them, altho' they themſelves are free when their debt is paid, by their ſervice. The maſter has an abſolute power over his ſlaves in every thing except life: But, as the maſter does not maintain his ſlaves, they are, by law, allow'd ſuch a portion of time to work for their ſubſiſtence, by making things for ſale. The freemen are all ſoldiers, but are diſtinguiſh'd into the nobility and commons. The firſt of which are only ſuch as are in publick office, there being no hereditary nobles here more than in *China*: So that the ſon of a Mandarin, nay a Mandarin out of his office, may be reduced to a brown muſquet or an oar. All thoſe who are not actually employ'd in poſts, are oblig'd to ſerve half the year in ſuch work as the king puts them to, whether in the army, or other buſineſs, which is an intolerable ſlavery, for, all that time, they are oblig'd to ſupport themſelves.

Cowards.

But we are told, that the *Siameſes* are great cowards, which ſome attribute to the climate, but Mr. *Salmon*, with more reaſon, aſcribes it to want of diſcipline, and their not being us'd to war. For, no doubt, the climate of *Rome* is the ſame it was 2000 years ago, but the difference of the then *Romans* and thoſe who now inhabit that city, as to courage, is as great as can be imagin'd; and I don't doubt but two or three *Scipios* or *Cæſars*, and one or two ſuch enemies as *Carthage* and *Gaul*, would, in proceſs of time, make the *Romans* good ſoldiers again.

The *Siameſes* are very complaiſant to the ladies, and one piece of civility is much practic'd, *viz.* calling every woman *young*, be her age what it will. For in all their epithets they add the word *young*, as *young diamond*, *young flower*, *young gold*, *young chryſtal*, in ſpeaking to ladies; ſo unpolite it is to call a woman *old*.

Nor is it only to the ladies that they are complaiſant. For they ſhew a great reſpect to all their ſuperiors; their ſigns of it are much the ſame as in *China*.

Diet.

As to their eating and drinking they are very temperate. Rice and fiſh are their moſt common food. They have plenty of ſmall oyſters, tortoiſes, and lobſters, (beſides other fiſh, of ſeveral ſorts, unknown to us) in their ſeas. They have likewiſe good river fiſh, eſpecially eels. But they have a peculiar taſte in eating them, for, they are not valu'd 'till they ſtink. Their ſawces are not chargeable, being made of garlick, onions, ſweet herbs, with a little ſpices; but their moſt valued ſauce is craw-fiſh corrupted. They eat little fleſh, but when they do, it is the guts. They have a great deal of buffalo's milk, which gives more cream than that of cows, altho' they make no butter nor cheeſe.

Their drink is commonly water, which, for want of ſprings, they have from the rivers, and they perfume it before they drink it. But they likewiſe make uſe of tea, and arrack, which laſt ſeems to be neceſſary to recruit the ſpirits in that hot country.

Carriage.

When they ride in ſedans, they are carried upon men's ſhoulders, and the number

number of the carriers denotes the quality of the perſon, the leaſt having four. It is like an arm'd chair, where the Mandarin ſits croſs-legg'd, and the carriers are reliev'd if they have far to go.

By land. Another way of travelling is upon elephants or buffaloes, for they have no mules, and are not acquainted with the managing of horſes, having none but what they get from *Batavia*.

By water. But as the overflowing of the low ground makes travelling by land impracticable at ſome ſeaſons of the year, the moſt ordinary way of going from one place to another is by water; and every family has their *balon* or boat. Thoſe of the ordinary ſort have a cabion of bambou, in the middle where the whole family can ſit, and two rowers before, to manage the boat. But the *balons* of ſtate are finely painted and gilded, and ſeveral rowers before like our barges.

Their diverſions. The *Siameſes* uſe ſeveral Diverſions, of which the chief are theſe following: The catching of elephants, fighting of elephants, cock-fighting, comedies, with rope-dancing and tumbling, and ſeveral other dances, races of oxen, wagers of rowing, and playing at cheſs.

Catching of elephants. The manner of catching the elephants is thus: The king ſends 20 or 30,000 men to make a ſort of paleſade round a wood where the elephants are, about which incloſure they kindle fires the night before the hunting, and all night they fire ſome field-pieces to hinder the elephants from breaking out of the incloſure. As ſoon as the king arrives with his retinue, 100 tame elephants bred to the war, are poſted round the pales at thoſe places where they are weakeſt, and ſome are ſent within the incloſure, with two men upon each of them. Thoſe men have ropes with running nooſes, which they ſo dextrouſly throw where the elephants croſs their way, that they ſeldom miſs catching them by the legs. As ſoon as they are caught, they put a wild elephant between two tame ones ty'd together by ropes, and in a fortnight's time it becomes as gentle as they.

Another way of catching elephants is by ſending a tame female into the woods, who decoys her wild lover into a narrow place (where he cannot turn himſelf) prepar'd for catching ſuch as follow the female; thoſe who watch there ſeize him, and having caught him, they tame him as we ſaid before.

Fight of elephants To breed their elephants to war, they have ſham fights, between two elephants, with each a man on his neck, to encourage them to the combat; and they will ſometimes make the ſplinters of their teeth fly about; but they never ſuffer them to be ſo enrag'd as to endanger the life either of man or beaſt for diverſion; and ſurely they judge well. After they have encounter'd 5 or 6 times, they draw them back by ropes faſt to their feet, or elſe they ſend females among them, who ſoon make their fury give way to a more gentle paſſion.

But the fight between elephants and tygers is not ſo fair. For they not only arm the elephants with breaſt-plates, whereas the tyger has only his natural armour; but they let three elephants looſe upon one tyger, and even then, the poor ſavage is ſo ty'd, that he cannot exert his ſtrength, before he has receiv'd two or three ſevere blows, or is toſs'd once or twice in the Air, by the trunks of the elephants: the ſpectators having a mind to make themſelves ſport at the expence of the tyger, without risking any of their elephants, which indeed are more uſeful to them.

Cock-fighting. They were much given to cock-fighting long ago in *Siam*, but as there was generally one or more cocks kill'd in thoſe diverſions, the *Talapoins* murmur'd ſo much againſt it, that the king forbad the practice.

Dances. They deal much in the diverſions of the ſtage, and have their comedies which are not amiſs. But the greateſt part of the entertainment conſiſts in dancing, of which they have three ſorts. 1. The *Cone*, is a ſort of warlike repreſentation, in a dance of arm'd men, with muſick. 2. *Laycone* is a ſort of dramatic performance, wherein ſomething of hiſtory is repreſented by actors who ſing their verſes accompany'd with dancing; but all the performers are men. 3. The *Rabam* is a mix'd dance of men and women, in the way of gallantry. But there is one circumſtance they tell us, *viz.* that all the actors in this have long nails of copper, but ſince they don't tell us any uſe made of this piece of ornament, I was thinking of leaving it out, leſt the reader ſhould put the queſtion which king *Edward* VI. is ſaid to have put to a gentleman who ſaid that *St.* GEORGE *drew his ſword and kill'd the dragon with his ſpear. Pray*, ſaid the king, *what did he do with his ſword?* I cannot anſwer what the *Rabam* actors did with their copper nails, but perhaps our jeſuits might, if they were now alive.

Tumbling The *Siameſes* are the rareſt tumblers in the world. We are told, that they will mount to the top of a bambou 100 foot high, and there ſtand upon one foot, with the other ſtretch'd at full length, for an hour together, and then put their head in the place where their foot was, with their feet upright in the air. Other things they ſay of them which I have not Faith to believe. One of theſe nimble gentle-

men gave ſo much ſatisfaction to a king of *Siam*, that he made him a Mandarin, and gave him an apartment in the palace. *Lords have been made for as glorious deeds, in other countries.*

We ſhall not trouble the readers with puppet ſhows, and playing at cheſs, and wagers of rowing, becauſe we are acquainted with all theſe at home; only to tell him, that altho' they do not play at games of chance, they are ſo eager at other games, that they play their wives and children, and ſometimes their own liberty.

Ox races. They have races of oxen, ſometimes of ſingle ox againſt ox, and at other times a yoke of oxen faſt to a plough, againſt another of the ſame kind: but there are men who run after them, holding up the plough.

The produce of Siam. The kingdom of *Siam* owes more to nature than to art; for being full of woods, it is in a great meaſure uncultivated. In

Trees. thoſe woods they have ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſome barren, and ſome for fruit, but both of great uſe to the inhabitants.

Bambou. The *Bambou* tree, which they call *Maipai*, is tall and ſtrait like a poplar, but few leaves grow upon it, and thoſe long and narrow, and of a pale colour. It grows hollow like a reed, but becomes vaſtly large, and ſo hard that it is not an eaſy matter to cut it, but it ſplits eaſily. When the ſhoots of it are green, they pickle them as we do cucumbers; but when they are come to their full growth, they make uſe of them not only to ſupport their houſes, as we obſerv'd before, but for making the walls and roofs. They have knots at almoſt equal diſtances, and we have many of the young ſhoots of them in *England*, which ſerve for canes. The *Siameſes* ſtrike fire with this wood as we do with flint and ſteel.

Caipai. The *Caipai* ſeems to be the *ſpreading tree*, mention'd more than once; and is ſaid to have the quality of driving away the gnats and other inſects by the ſmell of it; and therefore they put pieces of this wood in their beds.

Capoc. The *Cotton* tree is in great plenty in *Siam*, but has been deſcrib'd before. Another tree yields them *Capoc*, which is a ſort of cotton, but ſo ſhort that they cannot ſpin it, but it ſerves to fill beds.

Oil trees. They have ſeveral oils from trees, ſome

Gum. of which they mix with plaiſter, and the walls cover'd with that plaiſter are as white, and take a poliſh as well as marble. Their gum trees produce that famous varniſh, commonly known by the name of *Japanning*, becauſe it was firſt known to the *Europeans* from *Japan*. Some call this gum *Cheyram*.

Ton-coi is the tree whoſe bark pounded makes their paper, but it ſeems it is not of that ſubſtance and evenneſs as ours, perhaps, for not being ſo well made as the paper in *China*.

They have likewiſe trees fit for the ſides of ſhips, and others proper for maſts. Wood Mary. One tree they have, which *Europeans* call *Wood Mary*, excellent for ribs of ſhips, becauſe it will not cleave, nor a ſplinter fly from it, if you put never ſo many wedges in it. Other trees they have, out of one log of which they can make a *Baton* 16, ſome 20 fathoms in length, making it hollow with fire.

Their *Cinamon* trees are the beſt of any in the *Indies*, except thoſe of *Ceylon*. And their *Aquila* or *Alloes* tree is only out-done by thoſe of *Cochinchina*.

Nor is there any ſcarcity of fruit-trees in *Siam*. Their *Melons* are the fruit of a *Fruit trees.* tree, and are call'd *Melons* by the *Europeans* for their reſemblance to ours in ſhape or taſte. They have two ſorts of *Figs*, but they call them by hard names which ſignify *Elephants Trunk* and *Elephants Tooth*. They are call'd figs for the Goyaye. ſame reaſon as the melons.

The *Goyaye* or *Louc-kiac* is a fruit like a grey pear, of the ſhape of an apple, and taſtes like a ſtrawberry, but leaves a bitterneſs upon the palate. The *Canown* or *Jackes* are of the ſhape of a large melon, within which are ſeveral ſtones about the bigneſs of a pigeon's egg, the kernels of which, boil'd or broil'd, taſte *Other fruits.* like a cheſnut, but are a more delicate fruit. There are likewiſe the *Mouſſida*, like a plumb; the *Mancout*, like an ox heart, which contains a ſort of white cream agreeable to the taſte; the *Durion*, which, under a prickly coat, hides three or more ſtones as big as eggs, in which is an agreeable fruit. The *Mango* is about the bigneſs of a child's head, it has the flavour of a peach, but ſtronger; another ſort of it is call'd the *Moguſtan*, which is thought the beſt. The *Tamarind* has a ſhell like an almond, and is good to quench *The Areca tree.* thirſt.

The *Areca* tree is very much eſteem'd, and of as common uſe as tobacco is in the *Indies*. It has no branches, but long leaves at the top, and bears a fruit, which in *Siam* is call'd *Plou*; which, when ripe, is yellow and hard. This nut they cut in pieces, and putting one of them in a *Betel* leaf, they chew it, and believe it *The Betel* ſtrengthens the gums, and is very good for the ſtomach. The *Betel* tree is but ſmall, and bears nuts, and a leaf five or ſix foot long.

The king of *Siam* made 100,000 pepper trees to be planted in the laſt century, ſo that there is little doubt by they have good ſtore of pepper by this time, if care has been taken of them. They have likewiſe ſugar canes; *Anana's*, which taſte like peaches; and *Cocoas* and *Gen-*

ſing. But

But the *Siameſes* do not truſt entirely to nature for the fruits of the earth. They plough and ſow their rice, after the water leaves their fields, and they ſow and dreſs their gardens, in which they have *Garden ſtuff.* ſeveral roots and pulſe which we have, beſides ſeveral others unknown to us. They have potatoes, garlick, and radiſhes, but no carrots, turnips, nor onions, no kind of herbs which we uſe in ſallads, nor coleworts or lettuce.

But *Siam* is richer under ground than above. There are rich mines in this king- *Mines.* dom of different ſorts of metal, altho' either the ignorance or want of encouragement of the natives, hinders them from making the moſt of them.

That they had formerly rich gold mines, appears from the vaſt numbers of ſtatues of that metal in their idol temples, beſides many ornaments of gold both upon the walls and roofs of their ancient places of worſhip. But at preſent, there is little or nothing of that kind known, altho' they tell us that Mr. *Vincent*, a *French* phyſician, having been employ'd by the king of *Siam*, towards the end of the laſt century, to diſcover mines in the mountains, had found out a rich gold mine, but would not inform the king of it. Why he ſhould conceal it, when there was no poſſibility of making any advantage of it privately, I do not know. However, they had good mines of copper, mix'd with gold and ſilver, of which they compos'd the metal which is call'd *Tambac.* They have alſo mines of tin and lead, of which they make great advantage.

In a mountain near *Louvo*, there is great ſtore of loadſtone. And in other hills they find precious ſtones of different kinds; but the country people, beleiving that the king would claim the property of thoſe, and give them no proportionable encouragement for their labour, make no haſte to find them out. But Mr. *Vincent* found a ſteel mine in one mountain, and a chriſtal rock in another, beſides others of antimony, and marble.

Animals. This country abounds with animals both wild and tame. Elephants are in great eſteem among them, eſpecially the white elephant, who is attended with great ſtate, and the woods abound with tygers, deer, and other wild beaſts; but as they eat but little fleſh, they make no uſe of ſuch creatures as are much valued here, but only to get their skins, which they ſell to the *Dutch*, and they ſend them to *Japan*. They have few horſes, and thoſe they do not know how to manage. Nor have they many ſheep or goats. They till their land with oxen and buffaloes, but ſeldom eat beef of any kind. They have hogs, but rarely eat them full grown, altho' their pigs are excellent, and much eaten, eſpecially by ſick people.

They have variety of birds in *Siam*, *Fowls.* but it is obſervable, that although they are beautiful to the eye, by the ſhape and variety of their feathers, yet they are very diſagreeable to the ear, their wild notes having no harmony, which our authors ſay is a common misfortune to very hot countries. Of tame fowl, ducks and hens are moſt common; ſo that one may buy good ducks for a crown a dozen. Wild fowl multiply exceedingly; for they are never kill'd by the natives, and what the *Moors* and *Europeans* deſtroy are ſo inconſiderable, in proportion to the great numbers that breed in this hot climate, that they are not miſs'd. Our authors mention one fowl, which they call *Criel Heron*, of which the trees are full, ſo that they look at a diſtance like ſo many cluſters of bloſſoms, their feathers being white as a ſwan. They are ſhap'd like a heron, but much ſmaller, with agreeable tufts upon the head, back, and breaſt; theſe white birds ſitting in flocks upon the green branches, make the moſt delightful proſpect.

This country is ſo often overflow'd, that inſtinct teaches creatures to perch upon the trees here, which in other countries, live upon the ground. Thus not only patridges and ſnipes do ſo, but even piſmires build their neſts and carry their magazines up into trees.

They have ſeveral kinds of inſects in *Siam*; the moſt common are the *Maringouins*, or *Moſchetto*, whoſe ſting is ſo ſtrong, that it will ſtrike through one's cloaths, and leave a mark in the skin which does not quickly go off. The *Lizard*, which they call *Toquai*; which has ſomething very particular, if it be true, but I will not vouch it. We are told, that the lizard finding its liver grow too big, (which it ſeems is a diſeaſe the creature is ſubject to) cries out for ſome *A cure for liver-growing.* time, which brings a ſmall creature to its aſſiſtance, who enters in at the lizard's mouth, and eats away the ſuperfluous part of its liver, and comes out the ſame way it went in. Who it was that ſaw the little ſurgeon perform the operation I do not know; but it is a compendious way to cure liver-growing. Other inſects they have, which are common in other countries.

The next thing we ſhall conſider, with *Trade of Siam.* regard to *Siam*, is their trade and manufactures; but of this there is little in this country; not that *Siam* is not as well ſituated for trade as any country in *Aſia*, but there are ſeveral occaſional impediments which hinder them from giving their minds to it, or from having a proſpect of being

being the better for it, if they ſhould. For,

The hindrances of it.

Every one's being oblig'd to work 6 months in the year, at their own charge, for the king, is an intolerable draw-back upon induſtry. And the danger they are in of being conſtantly detain'd in that ſlavery, if they are very expert in any handicraft, keeps them from applying to any one ſort of buſineſs, ſo much as they would do, if the profit were to be their own. This is the reaſon why there are no joyners, carpenters, ſmiths, &c. but the ſame man works at all thoſe trades, which can never ſuffer them to be maſters of any one.

Another reaſon of the decay of trade and induſtry in *Siam* is, that the king is the greateſt merchant in his dominions, and buys and ſells, not only in groſs, to foreigners, but by retale, to his own ſubjects, having his factors in every town, who keep ſhops for his advantage. He has places appointed through the whole kingdom, where his manufactures are ſtill going on. He ſells cotton cloth, which is the common wear, to all his ſubjects, at his own price, and obliges them to give him the firſt offer of every thing they have to ſell. He claims a property in all the ſalt-petre, lead, and *Japan* wood, and obliges his people to ſell all their ivory, arrack, and other commodities to him, and then he deals with foreigners; ſo that no *Siameſe* dares ſell any thing 'till he has dispos'd of all his wares.

But, worſe than all this, the riches they ſhould get by trade would only expoſe them to be plunder'd by the government. For if any one is known to have money, the government is ſo arbitrary and tyrannical, that no man can call his money his own, unleſs he hides it in a ſure place.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, there is ſtill ſome trade among them; and all ſorts of ſugar and ambergreaſe the king does not interfere with. They deal likewiſe in other goods by retale among themſelves. And they are ſo juſt in their dealings, that the buyer is not at the pains to count the goods he gets by tale, nor the ſeller the money he receives.

Their meaſures

They have no meaſure for their linnen cloth, but buy it by the piece, and the poor, who are not able to buy ſo much, buy by the meaſure of their arm from their finger's end to the elbow. For grain and liquor they uſe a cocoa nutſhell for a meaſure, which being of uncertain bigneſs, it is but gueſs work at beſt. But to bring it near juſt, they meaſure the nut by a *Cori*, which is a little ſhell that ſerves for ſmall money in *Siam*. And for large quantities of corn, they have a ſort of a buſhel made of twiſted bambou, which they call *Sat*.

Weights.

Their weights are pieces of money, which are ſometimes falſe by the lightneſs of them, as they are new or worn. The word *Ding* ſerves for money and weights equally.

Coin.

Their coin is a piece of ſilver bow'd together till the two ends meet, with figures upon it. It is call'd *Tical*, and is in value half a crown, or 3 ſhillings. The *Cori's*, which paſs for ſmall money, are ſmall ſhells brought from the *Maldivia* iſlands, and ſerve for the ſame uſe in moſt places upon the coaſt of the *Indian* ocean, eſpecially towards the eaſt. At *Siam* 800 of theſe *Cori's* go for the value of a penny.

But when we ſpeak of the decay of trade in *Siam*, *Malacca* would ſeem to be out of the queſtion, for, there they drive a conſiderable trade; but that is owing to the *Europeans*, to the *Portugueſes* firſt, and then the *Dutch*, who took *Malacca* from the *Portugueſes* in 1640, altho' this place is more conſiderable, as it commands a part of the ſtreights, than for its trade; for, the iſlands of *Sumatra* and *Java* are much more remarkable for traffick. The *Engliſh* ſend ſeveral ſhips to *Malacca*, every year, from the bay of *Bengal*, and eſpecially from *Cormandel*, with ſilks, caliooes, opium, &c. which they exchange for canes, rattans, benjamin, long pepper, ſugar, *Japan* wood, and ſometimes gold.

The *Dutch* have indeed engroſs'd the chief trade of the *Eaſt Indies*, and have fortified and placed garriſons in the moſt convenient places; and where they have not done ſo, they have factories, and often pretend that they have bought up all the pepper and other commodities of ſuch a place, to hinder other *Europeans* from having any ſhare in the trade of that country; and, under pretence of guarding the *Maiay* coaſt from pyrates, they lie before the ports of the ſpice iſlands, to hinder the natives from dealing with other *Europeans*; ſo that, by the force of their ſhipping, they oblige ſome of the moſt powerful *Indian* princes to let them have the bulk of the trade. But, notwithſtanding all their art, the *Engliſh* make a ſhift to carry on a conſiderable trade, either with the *Dutch* themſelves, or with ſuch kingdoms as are not ſo much under *Dutch* influence; and when *England* conſults its own intereſt, perhaps the *Eaſt India* trade may be freer.

Malacca deſcrib'd.

Captain *Dampier* ſays, the city of *Malacca* is inhabited by 2 or 300 families of *Dutch* and *Portugueſes*, as we obſerv'd before; beſides the *Malayans* and *Chineſes*, who live in the ſuburbs. The ſtreets are ſpacious, but not pav'd, and the houſes ſome of ſtone, (as the *Dutch* houſes are for the moſt part) others of *Bambou*,

Bambou, as deſcrib'd above. At the N. W. end of the town, there is a wall, with a ſmall fort hard by the gate. There is a rivulet upon the eaſt ſide of the town, which will bear boats at high tides. Upon the ſide of this river, about 100 paces from the ſea, there is a ſtrong fort, between which and the town, there is a communication by a draw-bridge croſs the river. The fort is built at the foot of a ſmall hill, to humour the ſhape of which it is of the form of a creſcent, the foundation of it is rocky, and the walls thick and ſtrong, and are waſh'd by the ſea at every tide. Upon the oppoſite ſide of the hill a canal is cut from the ſea to the river above, ſo that both hill and fort are in an iſland, and all acceſs to it is cut off, (except by the draw-bridge) by a ſtockade of great trees. The *Dutch* church is on the top of the hill, and it may be ſuppos'd the *Portugueſes* have theirs too; *For the* Dutch *forbid nothing but* Trade *to any of* Adam's *race.*

Beſides the advantage of *Malacca*'s being a proper harbour for commanding the ſtreights, it is likewiſe very convenient for the more eaſtern trade; for the *Dutch* being poſſeſs'd of this and *Batavia*, that is, the ſtreights of *Malacca* and *Sunda*, (which are the only two entries to the coaſt of *China* and *Japan*, without taking a ſtrange round) they may hinder all the world from trading to the eaſtward, till they can be diſpoſſeſs'd, with more juſtice, than they us'd either towards the *Portugueſes* or the *Engliſh*, on the continent or in the ſpice iſlands. This ſhall ſuffice for the trade of *Siam*. We proceed to

The learning of Siam.

The learning, arts and ſciences of the country. The *Talapoins* or prieſts (of whom we ſhall give a more particular Account by and by) are they that have the education of their youth. All the boys, after they come to 7 or 8 years of age, are ſent to their convents, where they learn reading, writing and arithmetick, to fit them for buſineſs; and while they continue there, they wear the habit of the *Talapoins*. In thoſe convents they are inſtructed likewiſe in the *Baly* tongue, which is the court language, and is different from the vulgar.

The language.

The *Siameſe* and *Baly* languages are very different from the *Chineſe*, in many reſpects, particularly in this, that they have an alphabet, which the *Chineſe* has not. The *Siameſe* tongue has 37 letters, and the *Baly* 33. But they are all conſonants; and they have particular characters for vowels and dipthongs, ſomewhat like the *Hebrew* points, the placing of which, before, or after, above, or below a letter, alters the ſound of it. But ſtill the pronunciation of the *Siameſe* is hard, becauſe it depends, like the *Chineſe*, upon the accent.

Writing.

Their way of writing is quite different from the *Chineſe*, for they begin at the left ſide of the paper, and write juſt as we do; and ſome are of opinion that, at firſt, they wrote as the *Jews* did, without points, which they ſuppoſe was a later invention in *Siam*, both for their common and court languages. However that may be, it is certain that both thoſe languages having a determin'd alphabet, as we have ſaid, are much eaſier learn'd than the *Chineſe* for the reaſons given in our account of it.

Arithmetic.

Their arithmetic has ten diſtinct characters to expreſs numbers by, as ours has, and proceeds by units, tens, hundreds, &c. and our authors ſay, that the *Siameſe* merchants are very expeditious at the moſt difficult parts of that ſcience, without any knowledge of Algebra.

Aſtronomy.

As to other branches of learning they know little about them, except aſtronomy, which moſt of the eaſtern nations are fond of, altho' they have but imperfect knowledge of it, and abuſe it to ſuperſtitious purpoſes. They have no right notion of the figure of the earth, or of another hemiſphere; for they believe the earth to be a ſquare, and that the heavens like a cover, reſt upon it; and their obſervations of the ſtars ſerve only to amuſe themſelves, and cheat their neighbours with ridiculous fortune-telling, which a thouſand times being deceiv'd in, is not capable of opening their eyes.

Poetry.

But there are many natural poets in *Siam*, whoſe verſes are thought tolerable, but we are told their way of thinking is ſo different from ours, that they cannot be tranſlated. But I ſhould, for that reaſon, have an indifferent opinion of their poetry; for ſurely true wit and genuine nature will bear to be told in all languages.

Medicine.

They are ſtrangers to philoſophy; and their phyſicians are only mechanical, having a ſort of receipts handed down from father to ſon, which they do not ſeek to vary nor improve. Anatomy they know nothing of, and if at any time they open dead bodies, it is not to find out the ſtructure of the parts to improve their skill, but to impoſe upon the vulgar by lies and ſtories of ſtrange things found in the ſtomachs of ſuch as they could not cure, which they pretend came there by witchcraft. Sweating is frequently preſcrib'd, and ſometimes purging; but bleeding and vomiting they do not underſtand. But one preſcription they give, which is certainly good, *viz.* that the patient ſhould eat nothing but water-gruel of rice during his ſickneſs.

Diſeaſes. The common diſeaſe among them is the flux, which perhaps is occaſion'd by the inundation of the country: but they have neither gout, ſtone, ague, ſcurvy nor dropſy. Indeed the ſmall pox cuts them off like the plague, and thoſe who die of it are bury'd by themſelves to prevent infection; and after three years the bodies are dug up to be burnt.

Their Æra's. They have two regulations of their kalendar, one laid to be 2200 years ago from the tranſlation of *Sommona Codam* into heaven, of whom we ſhall give ſome account anon; and the other about 1100 years ago; and they have tables to calculate their years by, ſomething like our epacts.

Their year has only three ſeaſons; 1. *Nanaou*, or *the beginning of cold*, which comprehends *December* and *January*; 2. *Naron*, i. e. *the beginning of heat*, *viz. February*, *March* and *April*; 3. *Naron-yai*, *the beginning of great heat*, which takes in all the other months. They have no names for their months, but reckon them as our Quakers do by firſt, ſecond, &c. and the days of the week are ſeven, and call'd by the names of the planets as ours are. Their winter is dry, and the ſummer wet; and the wind perpetually blowing from the one pole when the ſun is in the oppoſite ſide of the equator, makes the torrid zone habitable, according to our authors. But we have elſewhere given better reaſon for it.

The *Siameſes* do not ſtudy the laws of their country before they enter into offices, and then a copy of all the laws, as far as they concern his buſineſs, is given to every one in employment.

The government of Siam. The government of *Siam* is in the hands of an arbitrary monarch, who exerciſes an abſolute authority over all perſons without diſtinction, within what is properly his own kingdom, but allows *Malacca*, *Laos*, and *Cambodia* to be govern'd by their own princes under him, and *Patana*, a part of lower *Siam*, has a woman always for their head, ſubject to the great monarch.

As terrrible as arbitrary government ſeems to be, and really is when in bad hands, the kings of *Siam* have always had that regard for the good of their ſubjects, that they never tax'd the neceſſaries of life, ſo that eating and drinking is very cheap in that country.

But it has undergone ſeveral revolutions; and the king who was reigning when *Loubiere* was there, was the ſon of an uſurper, who had dethron'd the lawful king, becauſe as he pretended he had *abdicated* the government by deſerting his palace, when the traitor was at the gates, with an arm'd force, ready to enter it. This ſucceſsful villain uſurp'd the government; and when he was ſettled upon the throne, cut off many of the moſt conſiderable families; and as a juſt judgment upon ſuch as had ſhewed the greateſt zeal in lifting him up to the throne, or keeping him there, by an ingratitude not to be juſtify'd in him, he treated them as felons and traitors. And they were right ſerv'd, but not for his reaſon *. The ſon of this uſurper did not immediately ſucceed to his father, for his uncle ſeiz'd the throne, but he was ſhot, by a *Portugueſe* as he rode out of the palace upon an elephant, and then the ſon ſucceeded. Whether the ſame family continues poſſeſſion to this day I cannot tell, for my lateſt accounts from thence are dated in 1688, and then the uſurpation was in full force.

* *See* Salmon's *Preſent State of* Siam. P. 300.

The king has a council of ſtate to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration. This council ſits twice a day; where, upon thoſe diets when the king is not preſent, any member to whom the king has recommended any buſineſs, reads his inſtructions, and gives an account of what he has done in it, and gets the opinion of the council upon it, which is reported to his majeſty the next time he appears in council, and he determines what he thinks fit in the matter.

The council.

But the king's rewarding good advice, and puniſhing thoſe who give him bad, altho' it may ſound well, yet, ſince the advice is counted good or bad according as he likes or diſlikes it, this practice cramps the members ſo that they adviſe rather what they think will pleaſe, than what they believe for the true intereſt either of king or country.

Bad advice puniſh'd.

Jealouſy of the government. As the king appoints all miniſters of ſtate by his own authority, who are the only nobility in the kingdom, ſo he takes care to inſpect into their behaviour, having ſpies in all places to inform him of it. And to prevent all cabals, no great officer is allow'd to viſit another, or to meet any where, except at weddings and funerals, and then only to converſe in publick. But (ſuch is the contradiction of tyranny) it is dangerous for the informers to bring him bad news; for if he does not think fit to believe it, he orders the informer to the tygers or elephants, without farther trial: and ſometimes both the accuſer and the accuſed are ſerv'd the ſame way, for as ſoon as one is charg'd with a crime, the king judges him guilty, and ſo he is condemn'd; but if the informer fails in his proof, he goes to pot as well as the other. This I ſhould think excellent juſtice, becauſe it would deter villains from impeaching honeſt men; but it is a horrid impiety to condemn people, upon the impeachment of wicked men, when they cannot bring ſufficient evidence of the crimes charg'd upon them. But what will not blind heathens do!

By

The officers of ſtate.

By the law, we are told, all offices of ſtate are hereditary; but it is not ſo in fact: for the king puts in and turns out his mandarins as he pleaſes; and as he confers an office upon any one, he gives him a new name, as a mark of honour. But it is very remarkable, that in the city of *Siam*, where the court reſides, no officer of ſtate has either ſalary or penſion belonging to his poſt. The king gives them houſes, and beſtows horſes, arms, and ſome other preſents upon them as he affects them, but their principal gain conſiſts in bribery and extortion.

As the king is the ſole judge, he deputes a preſident to judge cauſes civil and criminal. Perhaps there may alſo be under officers like our juſtices of the peace to manage inferior cauſes, and there lies an appeal from the preſident to the king and his council.

But becauſe it would not be practicable to govern a large kingdom without judges in the ſeveral parts of it. The manner of their government in the provinces is more diſtinctly ſet down by our authors, *viz.*

Governors of provinces and their officers.

Every province has a governor, who was call'd Lord of the province in their language, *Tchaou Meuang*, whilſt thoſe offices were hereditary; but now they are only triennial governors, and call'd *Pouran*, which is leſs than lord. However, they have all the juriſdiction of the other, but not all the profits. For, the lord of the province had a ſtated land tax, the confiſcations, cuſtoms, a power of laying on taxes, and the taking the beſt fiſh (for their own uſe only) out of all ponds that were empty'd within their province; but the *Pourans* have only ſuch parts of theſe as the king is pleas'd to allow them at his naming them to the office.

Under theſe governors there are many other officers, whoſe hard names might be apt to teach the reader to ſtutter, and therefore I ſhall paſs them over; but their buſineſs is to plead cauſes like our attorney-general; to be a ſpy upon the governor; to command the garriſon under the governor; to provide for the army; to keep an exact muſter-roll of all the people in the province; to govern the city (where the *Pouran* reſides) as the mayors do; to keep the law-books as a maſter of the rolls; to take care of the king's revenues, and to ſell his commodities in their own name; to take cognizance of all foreigners, to protect them if they behave well, and to accuſe them to the *Pouran*, if they deſerve it; to execute the ſentence of the governor upon criminals, (this officer is always arm'd with a ſabre, and pointed arms;) to take care of the priſons; to look after the elephants, which is a place of no ſmall truſt and honour; and laſtly, to read the *Tara*, (that is the king's orders from time to time to the governor) which muſt be carefully laid up in a place appointed for that purpoſe. There are, beſides theſe, ſeveral others who ſerve as clerks, &c. But all theſe have a good correſpondence with the governor, and they connive at one another's pillage.

Law ſuits.

In the adminiſtration of juſtice, all proceſſes muſt be in writing, and deliver'd to the counſellor whom the plaintiff deſigns to employ, who is oblig'd to ſhew it to the governor, and if he thinks it a litigious ſuit, he rejects it, and puniſhes the plaintiff. If he thinks it juſt, he ſigns it, and it is referr'd to council, who give their opinions of it in their own hall, which are taken in writing, and brought before the governor's council, where he does not appear before they have given their opinions, beginning at the youngeſt. The proceſs thus prepar'd is laid before the governor, who after hearing all the opinions read, gives his own, which is pronounced aloud by one appointed for that office. But if the ſentence is flagrantly unjuſt, the attorney-general or *Jockebat* ſends an information to the council of *Siam*, altho' he cannot oppoſe the execution of it in the province.

Strange ways to prove facts.

When ordinary proof is wanting in matters of fact, they uſe ſuch as our forefathers are ſaid to have done by fire and water, to which they add vomiting, that is, both parties ſwallow pills prepar'd by the *Talapoins* and accompany'd with dreadful imprecations, and he who has the ſtrongeſt ſtomach is the moſt innocent in their opinion. If theſe proofs fail of determining, they are both thrown to tygers, and he that has the good luck to eſcape is innocent; but this cannot be done without the king's ſpecial commiſſion.

Puniſhments.

The puniſhments inflicted by law are in ſome meaſure adapted to their crimes, as far as they can; for inſtance, he who out of covetouſneſs has robb'd the treaſury or been guilty of extortion, has melted gold or ſilver pour'd down his throat. A liar has his mouth ſewed up, &c. But ſuch as are puniſh'd by the arbitrary will of the prince, are put to death as his caprice enjoyns. Puniſhments ſhort of death are ſuch as would be thought very diſgraceful in *Europe*, ſuch as hanging boards about their necks, and expoſing them for ſeveral days; ſetting them into the earth up to the ſhoulders, and being buffeted about the head by the executioner, or, which is a greater ignominy, by a woman. But the diſgrace laſts no longer than the execution, and thoſe puniſhments are call'd fatherly corrections. So that the ſame man that ſtood in the pillo-

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ry to day, may be a miniſter of ſtate to-morrow.

Forces. The forces of this kingdom amount to many hundred thouſands; but then it muſt be obſerv'd, that they reckon them by their muſter-rolls, which comprehend all the men in the kingdom, except the *Talapoins*. But all that great number would do but little ſervice, if the kingdom ſhould be invaded by a much ſmaller number of diſciplin'd troops. For, we are told, that their orders are to fire over the heads of their enemies, the deſign being not to kill but diſperſe them, and which ever ſide is firſt ſeiz'd with a panic fear, they fly to the woods, and the conqueror keeps the field as long as the army can be ſubſiſted; but they do not purſue the routed army, but, contenting themſelves with the honour, return home in triumph. Thus, as far as I can ſee, many battles may be fought without having a man kill'd or wounded of either ſide. But ſometimes there is miſchief done by the elephants, when neither ſide will yield by the force of firing; altho' it often happens that the hurt falls to that army to whom they belong. For, as they are ſtrong, and unmanageable in their fury, if they happen to be wounded, they turn againſt their own ſide, and ſometimes perform what the fire-arms could not, making them fly to the woods to get out of the way of their own elephants, and ſo give the victory to their enemies with little difficulty.

Out of this confus'd multitude of militia, rather than ſoldiers, there is a certain number choſen for the king's guards, of which he has both horſe and foot; but they do not attend arm'd, but have arms given them when there is occaſion.

Officers of the palace. The captains of the different kinds of guards are in great eſteem, as are likewiſe thoſe who have the command of the *Balons*. The maſter of the horſe has the privilege to ſpeak to the king. But there is one officer who only is exempted from the duty of proſtrating himſelf to the king, and whoſe buſineſs is conſtantly to watch his motions, and to deliver the orders, which the king gives him by ſigns, after the ſame manner to the proper officers, who are concern'd in the execution of them.

All the officers of the king's houſe are only concern'd in the outward apartments, for no man enters the inner rooms, except himſelf. Women and eunuchs perform all the ſervice there. But, altho' they dreſs and undreſs the king, they dare not touch his head; ſo that he puts on and off his bonnet himſelf.

The proviſions for his table are brought by the purveyors to the eunuchs, and by them deliver'd to the women to be prepared for the king's uſe, and that of the ladies.

There is one circumſtance which ſhews their ſuperſtition, *viz.* that the king's name is carefully conceal'd, or, as others ſay, the king has no name, 'till he is dead, and the next ſucceſſor gives him a name, by which he is known in hiſtory. The reaſon for this is, leſt enchantments ſhould be us'd againſt his perſon, if his name were known.

The king generally marries his ſiſter, or ſome near relation, becauſe no woman who is not of the blood royal is thought good enough to be his wife. And our authors tell us, that he who was king in 1688 married his own ſiſter. This, who is reckon'd the queen conſort, has the government of the reſt of the women, and puniſhes them at her pleaſure. But if his majeſty has a favourite miſtreſs, he takes her out of the ſeraglio, that ſhe may not be abus'd by the queen.

Succeſſion But altho' the queen's children are look'd upon with more reſpect than thoſe of the other women, yet if they have ſons by the king before the queen brings him one, the eldeſt ſon is capable of ſucceeding, if the king ſhall be pleas'd to name him, which frequently happens, if the queen's ſon is under age at the king's death.

The queen is never ſeen but by her women and eunuchs, altho' ſhe has her own officers and elephants when ſhe goes abroad, and her own *Balons* when ſhe takes her pleaſure upon the water. But in both theſe caſes ſhe is cag'd up, that no body can ſee her, altho' ſhe ſees them. Beſides that all who happen to be in the ſtreet as ſhe paſſes, are oblig'd to turn their backs, and proſtrate themſelves 'till ſhe is gone by. She has likewiſe the privilege of her treaſury, magazine, and trade, and has her own ſhips and and factors, who are only accountable to her.

Revenues of the crown. The revenues of the crown of *Siam* are not eaſily computed, becauſe they depend upon precarious events. But the ſtated branches of the revenue are, 1. 9 *d.* a-year for every 40 fathom ſquare arable land in the kingdom, but as this is divided between the king and the governors of provinces, the king's receivers join with the governors to cheat the crown. 2. Three ſhillings, or a *Ticol*, for every fathom in length of a *Balon* or boat, and and if the boat is 6 cubits broad, it pays 6 *Ticols*, or 1 *l.* 16 *s.* 3. Cuſtoms on all goods exported or imported, beſides a certain duty laid upon all foreign ſhips, according to their bulk and capacity. 4. Six ſhillings a year for every ſtill where they make arrack, and one *Ticol* from every one who retales it, or ſells it by wholeſale.

wholeſale. 5. An annual tax upon all fruit trees, and the *Botel* and *Areck* trees. 6. The demeſne lands belonging to the crown in every province, which being cultivated by the ſix months ſervice of the ſubjects, is a great revenue. But, as he compounds with the rich people, to exempt them from this ſervice, becauſe he has hands enow without them. 7. The compoſition money is a good article in the exchequer. Add to theſe, 8. The many preſents he gets from his ſubjects. 9. The confiſcations and fines of criminals. Alſo 10. His being heir to all his officers; and above all, 11. His being the greateſt merchant in *Siam*. The whole revenue was computed in former times to have been 2 millions of crowns in ſpecie, which (conſidering the product of his demeſne land, and that neither his civil nor military officers have any ſallary) is a handſome ſum. When any ambaſſadors come to *Siam*, he levies a new tax for their maintenance.

Ambaſſadors. Having mention'd ambaſſadors, we ſhall take notice of the manner of treating them in *Siam*. They look upon an ambaſſador from any king, but as a meſſenger, or courier, and therefore they ſhew much greater reſpect to the letter an ambaſſador brings, than to himſelf; ſo that we are told that when the *French* ambaſſador was brought to *Siam* in an ordinary veſſel, the king's letter which he had brought with him was carried in great ſtate on board a royal barge.

When any ambaſſador arrives on the frontiers, he is ſtop'd there, 'till they ſend an account of his arrival to the king, and have receiv'd his inſtructions how to treat him. At his arrival in *Siam*, there is a time appointed for his audience, and then all the guards are in arms, and the horſes and elephants in their beſt harneſs. In every audience the king ſpeaks firſt, and asks ſuch queſtions as he thinks fit. To which the ambaſſador anſwers by addreſſing himſelf to the *Barcalon*, or officer appointed for that purpoſe. After the king has done asking queſtions, and that the ambaſſador has anſwer'd, the king ſends him arrack, betel, and a veſt; and ſometimes a ſabre and a gold chain, all which he puts on in the king's preſence. If the ambaſſadors make any preſents to the king, he ſhews reſpect to the prince from whom it comes by putting it to immediate uſe. Thus if it be any thing for wearing, he puts it on, if a horſe, he orders a new ſtable to be built for him, &c. Whilſt the ambaſſador ſtays at *Siam*, he may traffick at pleaſure, but he muſt be gone as ſoon as he gets his audience of leave. When the ambaſſador is to take leave, the king gives him a receipt of his having deliver'd his maſter's letter to him; but if he thinks fit to anſwer it, he does that by meſſengers of his own, who are always three in number, whereof the firſt has the title of *Rayja Toul*, *i. e.* Royal Meſſenger, the other two are as witneſſes and accompany him, but are commanded by him.

Religion. As to the religion of the *Siameſes*, it is altogether heatheniſh. Moſt of them believe the tranſmigration of ſouls, and place future happineſs and miſery in the nature of the bodies they are to animate after they depart out of the preſent. But this doctrine has not the ſame effect upon them all; for ſome in conſequence of it, abſtain not only from taking away any man's life, but likewiſe from deſtroying any living creature. Others carry this doctrine ſo high, that they believe all vegetables have a ſoul, and therefore will eat nothing 'till it is dead; but, ſince they cannot live without eating, they make their ſlaves boil their rice, or cook their fruit, which they imagine ſeparates the ſoul from the body, and then they eat without ſcruple; as if it were not equally criminal to make another, over whom they have abſolute authority, commit murder, and to do it themſelves; for, if there is any immorality in boyling rice, &c. he is as guilty who orders it to be done, as the perſon who executes the order. But others leſs ſcrupulous than theſe eat fiſh and fleſh when it is kill'd, but will have no hand in the murder. Others again take more liberty, and kill and eat without diſtinction both fiſh and fleſh.

In their opinion the ſoul, altho' it is material, yet it is immortal, and ſhall always ſubſiſt in a perpetual ſucceſſion of animating a new body, as it leaves the old one. Others affirm, that the higheſt felicity of a ſoul is not to be oblig'd to animate any body, but to continue in eternal repoſe, and they reckon nine different places above the clouds, for the rewarding thoſe ſouls who have been vertuous in the different bodies they have liv'd in, and thoſe different receptacles are higher or lower according to the greater or leſs degrees of vertue with which the ſouls were endowed in their different bodies. On the other hand there are 9 degrees of puniſhment in ſo many places under the earth, for ſouls who have been vicious in their different bodies.

The Talapoins. But, to give a clearer account of their religion, we ſhall deſcribe their prieſts, whom they call *Talapoins*, and are equivalent to the *Bramins* and *Bonzi* in other countries of *Aſia* already mention'd. They are a ſort of religious perſons who retire from the world, and live in cells rang'd within an incloſure of bambou, like a convent. In the mid-

dle of this inclosure ſtands the temple, which, in their language, is call'd *Piban*, but better known by the name of *Pagode*, which the *Portugueſes* gave both to the idols and the temples in which they were kept, from the corruption of the *Perſian* word *Poutghide*.

In ſome of there incloſures there are cells for religious women, who live among the *Talapoins* without any ſcandal, being all old women, and oblig'd to the rules of the convent, and are call'd, at leaſt by the *Engliſh*, *Talapoineſſes*.

Every convent has a ſuperior, call'd *Tchaou-Vat*. And, of theſe ſuperiors, ſome are more eminent, and are known by the name of *Sancrats*; theſe may be term'd the biſhops of the *Talapoins*, becauſe they make them, as ours do prieſts; but every *Vat* is lord of his own convent. The *Sancrats* are much reſpected by the king; for he gives them a name, which is a conſiderable mark of honour, as alſo he ſends each of them an umbrello, and a ſedan, with men to carry it. But the *Sancrats* are ſo humble and ſelf-denied, that they never make uſe of thoſe vehicles, but when they go to wait upon the king.

Convents and their ſuperiors

The buſineſs of the *Talapoins* is religion, and the education of children, and therefore their convent is always round a temple, in which they perform their devotions, and mortify themſelves for the ſins of the people; and for the education of children, every one of them has 3 or 4 boys in his cell, whom he inſtructs in reading, writing, and arithmetick, and likewiſe in the principles of religion and morality.

They eat altogether in a common refectory, but have nothing to ſubſiſt them but the charity of the people. Notwithſtanding which they are well ſupplied, and are very hoſpitable, keeping a ſpare bed in every cell for ſtrangers. They are oblig'd to celibacy, whilſt they continue religious; but they may return to the world, and marry when they pleaſe, being then no longer *Talapoins*.

They preach every month to the people thro' the year; but when the floods come they preach every day, about 11 hours a day, relieving one another, and having great confluences of people to hear them; upon which occaſions they get a great deal of money in charity.

They make profeſſion of great auſterity, and the king takes care that they ſhew it to the people, to deter them from turning *Talapoins*. For they having great privileges, and being exempted from the ſix months ſervice, there would be danger of great numbers embracing that profeſſion, if the ſeverity of their diſcipline did not reſtrain them. Beſides, the king has them examin'd as to their learning, and, if they are found ignorant, they return to their lay ſtate again. This examination is perform'd by an officer of ſtate, but the *Talapoins* think this an impoſition upon them, and not without reaſon.

The people have a vaſt opinion of their ſanctity, and pretend that a tyger will not hurt a ſleeping *Talapoin*, but will lick his hands and feet. And if at any time they have demonſtration to the contrary, by finding the remains of a body half devour'd, they either pretend it is no *Talapoin*, or that he had tranſgreſs'd the rules of his order. For they believe a wild beaſt could find out a ſaint, as a presbyterian teacher in my country was ſaid to know a witch, by the ſmell.

Their habit.

The *Talapoins* are diſtinguiſh'd by their dreſs, which is, the *Pagne* of yellow, that being the king's colour; the *Angſa*, or ſhoulder-belt, of the ſame colour, croſſing the body from the left ſhoulder, and buttoning on the right hip; the *Paſchivow*, or patch'd garment, over the belt, and hanging to the ground before and behind; the *Ra-pat*, being a ſort of jacket hanging to the navel, and as low behind; and the *Rapaad*, or yellow girdle, which keeps all tight. They wear nothing either upon head or feet, and have their hair cloſe ſhav'd, even that of their eye-brows. Their razors are of copper, and no inferior dares touch the head of a ſuperior, which is the reaſon that the *Sancrats* and *Vats* are forced to ſhave themſelves, and inferiors too.

When the people bring offerings to the temples, they give them into the hands of the *Talapoins*, who preſent them to their idols, and after they have continued in the temple ſome time, they carry them to their cells, for their own uſe. They never offer any bloody ſacrifice, becauſe their religion forbids killing any creature. But they receive live cattle, and let them die in their incloſure, and eat them afterwards; as if it were a greater ſin to cut the throat of a beaſt, than to kill it by keeping from it the neceſſaries of life.

Their idols are repreſented to us in the ſhape of men ſitting croſs-leg'd. They waſh and perfume them, all but the head, upon the full moon of the 5th month; and then they waſh the *Sancrats* and *Vats* before the people, as alſo all the *Talapoins*. And in private houſes the children waſh their parents at that time, without regard to age or ſex, which ſeems to be a contradiction to the common modeſty of the *Siameſes*, and nothing but ſome out of the way whim in religion could bring them to ſubmit to ſuch indecency.

Their

Their hours of devotion are by break of day, and about sun-setting; at each time they sing hymns for 2 hours. The people being present. After morning prayers the *Talapoins* go into the city to beg. But they never ask any thing, only they stand a minute or two at the door of any house, and if they do not give them in that time, they walk on. They are accompanied with lay brothers, cloth'd in the *Talapoin* manner, but all white; these carry what is given them in charity, especially money, which the *Talapoins* can't touch, like the *Franciscans* in the *Romish* church.

But neither the principles nor practice of the *Talapoins* is the same thro' all the kingdom of *Siam*, for in some places they both marry and kill beasts, which I suppose is in the tributary kingdoms and provinces, which keep their own customs, altho' the transmigration is the common doctrine.

When a *Vat* dies, the convent elects either the oldest *Talapoin* in his stead, or the most learned. But when any man builds a temple, he names a *Vat* for the first time, and incloses a convent with a cell for the superior; and the other cells are built as *Talapoins* are admitted. The way of admitting them is thus.

The candidate applies to the *Vat*, who must approve of him if he has sufficient learning: Then he is recommended to the *Sancrat*, and it is reckon'd a sin to reject any from the service of religion. Nor are their parents and relations against it, for, since they may become seculars when they please, they often turn *Talapoins* to grow rich. It is true, they do not touch money, but the lay brothers bring it to their cells, and they dispose of it to the use of themselves or relations, as they please; and the king cannot touch it.

If a *Talapoin* is convicted of having criminal correspondence with a woman, he is burnt without mercy. But a *Talapoiness*, for being caught with a man, is only deliver'd to her relations to be beaten.

As one part of their devotion consists in their regard to the dead, so their funerals are very whimsical. For, altho' the doctrine above-mention'd hinders them from putting any thing to death, yet their notion of their deces'd friends having occasion for the services of their wives and slaves, and for several other things, makes them paint these things upon paper, and burn them with the body, imagining, say our authors, that the picture of a wife thus burnt shall become a real wife to the husband in the other world.

Their notion of the dead.

If any expects that I should pretend to reconcile this principle and these ridiculous pranks consequent to it, with the former doctrine of transmigration, they must excuse me. For, I confess, I can't see the consistency of sending either a wife of paper or of flesh to a man who is suppos'd to be turn'd into a mouse or an elephant before she can get at him, and he will find wives enow more agreeable to him in his new shape than his paper wife would be, if she should find him out, which would be a hard task. All that I shall say of these contradictory opinions is that, *without revelation*, the wisest of men are, and always were, fools, and their principles and practices inconsistent with themselves, and that those wise gentlemen in their own conceit, who labour so hard to turn revelation out of the world, might come, in time, to burn paper wives, with the *Siameses*, or to do something more ridiculous, as their heads are more prolific of error and nonsence than the wildest *Indians* we have yet met with. But I hope a time shall come, when their senseless books shall be burnt by the proper hand, and a young gentleman's shewing signs of approving them, be sufficient to spoil his preferment either at court or among the ladies, which are the two greatest mortifications I can wish them, since they would laugh at me to endeavour to bring down their noble courage by saying any thing of hell or the devil. But I can tell them, that all their assurance and pretty turns of bold wit will not kill the devil, nor annihilate hell, and there will come a time, when they who now laugh at a future state shall find that there is one, and a wretched one too, to such as slight vertue and despise revelation.

Necessity of revelation.

But, before we leave the subject of religion, it is necessary to say something of *Sommona-Codam*, who is, at present, their chief, some some say their only, idol. The story they have of him in their books is very fabulous; the substance of which is as follows;

Sommona-Codam.

That he was miraculously born, and at his very birth, without any instructor, he knew perfectly every thing in heaven and earth, and was intimately acquainted with all the secrets of nature, and remember'd all that had ever happen'd to himself in the different bodies he had been in from the beginning. He had, by a constant practice of vertue, acquir'd the power (as a reward of his piety) of transporting himself to any place in an instant. That he made use of this gift for the benefit of mankind, teaching morality wherever he appear'd, and shewing in himself the greatest example of self-denial and mortification.

The doctrines he taught were the same which the *Talapoins* of the wood, who

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are the ſtricteſt ſect of their prieſts, obſerve to this day, *viz. Not to kill*; *not to ſteal*; *to commit no impurity*; *not to lye, nor deceive any man*; *not to drink wine nor any intoxicating liquor*; *to adore GOD, his word, and thoſe who imitate his virtues*; *to faſt on holy days, and not to labour on thoſe days.* They ſay, that *Sommona Codam* taught theſe rules, and left them in writing, together with many other divine and moral precepts, which the *Talapoins* keep very carefully as their ſcripture. *Sommona Codam*'s life was one continued ſeries of piety and devotion. He beſtow'd all his eſtate in alms, and when he had nothing elſe left to give, he gave away his wife and children in charity. It was he who inſtituted the *Talapoins*, giving ſome of his diſciples that name, and delivering to them the book or ſcripture which he had compos'd in the *Baly* tongue, which was to be their guide to a perfect life.

Having thus ſpent 82 years in inſtructing the world by preaching and living, he gave orders to build temples to him after his departure, telling them that he was never to animate another body, but to enjoy perpetual repoſe in the 8th heaven. He appointed ſtated days for worſhipping him, and order'd his picture to be taken after his death, that they might ſtill have a remembrance of him among them. After having given them theſe inſtructions, he dy'd of a colick at the age above mention'd, and has ever ſince been worſhip'd as a God.

I ſhall not mention the fooliſh ſtories told by our authors of a brother of *Codam*'s call'd *Thevetat*, who aſpiring to divinity, altho' inferior in vertue to his brother, he thwarted him ſo much that he was puniſh'd as much as *Codam* was rewarded, and was ſunk as deep in hell as his brother was rais'd in heaven. Our authors ſay that the puniſhment of *Thevetat* has ſo much reſemblance with the ſuffering of our Saviour (for they repreſent him as being nail'd to a croſs and crown'd with thorns) that the *Siameſes* believing the chriſtians to be the diſciples of *Thevetat* is one of the greateſt obſtructions to their belief of the goſpel. However that be, *Sommona Codam* keeps his poſt upon their altars, where he is their chief idol, having the ſtatues of two of his moſt eminent diſciples, on each hand, to whom they pay divine honours next to him. As to Mr. *Salmon*'s conjecture, that by *Sommona Codam*'s miraculous birth, and his mother's name, may be meant the incarnation of our Saviour, altho' mix'd with fable, I ſhall neither approve nor condemn it, but leave every body to their liberty.

Thevetat.

All that now remains with regard to *Siam*, is to give ſome account of their marriages and burials.

Marriages.

As it is not the cuſtom in *Siam*, any more than in other parts of *Aſia*, for young men and women to converſe together, marriages are made by proxy, as in other places. When the young man or his parents deſign to match into ſuch a family, they employ ſome woman come to years, of a good reputation, to propoſe the affair to the young lady's parents. If they approve of it, and that their daughter is 12 years old or near it, they return a civil anſwer to the friends of the man; after which both parties apply to cunning men, to know, by conjuring, whether the match will prove fortunate, and whether they be rich; for, people are at great pains to conceal their riches, leſt the king ſhould long for the money. Upon a favourable anſwer to both theſe queſtions, which is generally obtain'd, the young man may viſit her, and preſent her with *Betel* and fruit. At his third viſit the relations of both ſides meet, and the bride's portion is paid, and the couple go to bed without farther ceremony, it being unlawful for the *Talapoins* to be preſent at a wedding; but ſome days after ſome of them go the houſe, where the young couple is, and there ſprinkle them with holy water, and pray for their ſucceſs.

The wedding is kept at the bride's father's, where the bridegroom fits up an apartment for himſelf and his wife; and there they ſtay two or three months, and then go to a houſe of their own. A woman with 5000 crowns is a great portion in *Siam*, and the man's fortune muſt be proportionable.

Inceſt forbidden to all but the king.

By their law the ſame degrees of conſanguinity are forbidden in marriage as with us; but, as we have ſaid, the king does not mind that law, and Mr. *Salmon* ſays, the king who reign'd about 20 years ago, firſt married his ſiſter, and, after her death, his own daughter, being the only child he had by the ſiſter.

The *Siameſes* may have more wives than one, but the wife who brings a portion into the family is call'd *the great wife*, and her children only call their father by that title, without any other addition. The other *little wives* (if he has any) are inferiors, whom he purchaſes for money; and their children add the appellation of *lord*, to that of *father*, and both the *little wives* and their children may be ſold by the ſon of the *great wife*, nor have they any ſhare of the inheritance, but what the father gives them in his life-time.

Mar-

Happy marriages. Marriages are ſaid to be very happy in *Siam*, from the mutual affection between men and their wives, and the great obedience of children towards their parents. And indeed, the men have the greateſt reaſon in the world to ſhew a particular regard to their wives; for, when they are preſs'd to the 6 months ſervice for the king, their wives maintain them by their induſtry; keeping their ſlaves at work, and labouring themſelves in tilling and ſowing the ground, and keeping the markets, where they manage all parts of trade to the beſt advantage; ſo that when the men return home, they find every thing done as it ſhould be, and they generally make the work they have done for the king ſerve them for the whole year, and thus are kept idle by their wives all the reſt of the time.

Divorces. If divorces happen, which are but rare, the husband reſtores the portion, and the children are divided; the odd ones fall to the wife's ſhare, and the even numbers to the husband; thus, if there be five children, the mother takes three with her, and both parties may ſell their ſhare if they pleaſe, and both may marry again. But all his *little wives* a man may ſell like other goods. Widows may ſell their children, but muſt have the conſent of the husband's relations in diſpoſing of the even number'd children.

Temporary marriages. There are temporary marriages at *Siam*; but thoſe are not frequently *Siameſe* women, but *Peguans*, whom they hire to *Europeans* for a month or longer; and we are told that the *Indian* women are pleas'd to be with child to white men, nor is it any reproach to them, if they are ſingle. But the *Siameſe* women are more reſerv'd, and keep themſelves from Strangers. And thoſe that are married are ſo jealous of the honour of their husbands, which is their own, that altho' the women have more liberty in that country, than in any other in *Aſia*, they ſeldom or never give them occaſion to be jealous of them. If there be exceptions to this rule, it is among thoſe unhappy ladies who are choſen by princes and great lords rather for ſhow, and ſtate, than for conjugal duties. But I pity the fate of thoſe poor women if they are diſcover'd. We now proceed to

Funerals. The manner of burying the dead. Soon after any one dies, they put the corpſe into a coffin either of wood or lead, according to the condition of the family, and place this coffin upon a high pedeſtal in ſome room of the houſe, where it remains till every thing is provided for the funeral ſolemnity. During its being in the houſe they burn perfumes about it, and have the room enlightned with torches; and the *Talapoins* ſtand round the walls ſinging ſongs proper for the occaſion, and teaching the deceas'd the way to heaven; for which they are well entertain'd and rewarded according to the quality and generoſity of the heir.

If there is a burying-place of the family (which is always near ſome temple) they erect a funeral pile near it of bambou, mix'd with aloes wood and other perfumes, according to the circumſtances of the family. When the day appointed for the burying comes, the corpſe is carried out in the morning, the family of the deceaſed marching next the coffin, all in white, with all ſorts of muſical inſtruments. As ſoon as they come to the pile, they take the body out of the coffin, and lay it upon the pile, and the relations retiring at ſome diſtance, with great ſigns of grief, the *Talapoins* of the neareſt convent ſing over it a quarter of an hour, and then retire to their convent, becauſe it is not lawful for them to be preſent at the *Cone* and *Rabam*, which are next perform'd. At noon a *Talapoin* or lay brother of the convent ſets fire to the pile, which burns two hours. If the deceas'd was a prince of the blood, or the king's favourite, the king himſelf ſets fire to it. Altho' the body is ſuppos'd to be conſum'd in the two hours time, it is little more than roaſted, and ſo is put into the coffin, and then into the ſepulchre under a pyramid, whereof there are ſeveral round every temple; ſome of which are built by particular perſons for tombs appropriated to their families. With the corpſe they often bury gold and jewels, and the tombs are counted ſo ſacred, that five wretches were roaſted at a ſlow fire for robbing one of them. Whilſt the pile is burning, the pictures we ſpoke of, repreſenting the wife, *&c.* are burnt with the body, but we are told the *Talapoins* ſometimes ſteal a painted wife or ſlave to ſell at the next funeral. After all is over at the tomb, the heir of the deceas'd entertains the company at his houſe. And gives alms, that day, to thoſe who ſung over the corpſe; the day after to the whole convent; and the third day to the temple.

But the obſequies of a *Talapoin* are much more magnificent. For the pile is built upon four pillars of gilded wood, upon which reſts one pyramid in the middle, and one upon every corner, all which with the towers between them are full of fire-works; and *Talapoins* from all the adjacent convents attend the corpſe.

The poor who cannot be at the expences of a funeral, nor of hiring the *Talapoins* to attend, place the corpſe of the deceas'd upon a ſcaffold on ſome eminence in the open fields, to be devour'd by birds of prey.

There is no ſuch thing as hiring mourners; for there is generally ſo great love among near relations, that they mourn in earneſt.

CHAP. X.

A Deſcription of JAPAN.

HAVING given as full an account of the great empire of *China*, with all the kingdoms and ſtates, which have any dependance upon it, as our deſigned brevity would admit; we come now to the moſt eaſtern part of the world known to our geographers, (except the ſmall iſland call'd the *States Iſland* to the eaſt of *Jeſſo*) *viz.* the iſland of *Japan* with what is diſcover'd of *Jeſſo*, which is tributary to *Japan*. Our accounts of which we ſhall take from *Purchas*, *Tavernier*, *Varenius*, *Salmon*, and others, as they come in our way.

Whether this iſland of *Japan* was firſt peopled from *China* or *Tartary*, it is not very material to inſiſt upon, being a diſpute not eaſily determin'd; ſome holding the one, and ſome the other; but neither of their arguments are ſufficient to found a certain belief. Not to trouble our readers, therefore, with unneceſſary debates, we ſhall give the beſt deſcription we can of it, as it has been diſcover'd by *Europeans*.

Japan, which, in the language of the country, is call'd *Hippon*, is compos'd of ſeveral iſlands, which *Varenius* divides into three claſſes. *Chicock*, *Saycock*, and proper *Japan*. But Mr. *Salmon*, beginning with the largeſt, reckons *Japan*, otherwiſe call'd *Niphon*; *Saycock*, or *Bongo*; and *Tonſa* or *Tokoſai*, which is the ſame with *Chicock* or *Xicock*. There are many other iſlands ſubject to *Japan*, but we are not well acquainted with them, and it is probable that our ſailors or chart-makers have ſet them down at random.

Taking theſe three iſlands together, they lye from ſouth weſt to north eaſt, between 30 and 40 degrees north latitude, ſo that from the ſouthmoſt point of *Bongo* to the ſtreights of *Sangar*, which divide *Japan* from *Jeſſo*, would make 600 miles in a ſtrait line from ſouth to north; but as the country lies, it muſt be more. The breadth of it is uncertain, being in ſome places not 100 miles broad, in others 150.

The ſituation of Japan.

Saycock, or *Bongo* is reckon'd 160 leagues in circuit, and *Chicock* little leſs. The whole kingdom of *Japan* has the ſea of *Coria* and a part of *China* on the weſt; the land of *Jeſſo* on the ſouth; the *Pacifick Ocean*, between that and *California* on the eaſt; and the *Indian Ocean* on the ſouth.

Varenius, upon *Maffei's* authority, compares *Japan* to *Zeland*, which conſiſts of ſeven iſles, and is call'd in *Dutch Gebrocken Land*. For the whole empire is interſpers'd with iſlands ſome greater and ſome ſmaller.

Its diviſion.

Japan is reckon'd to contain 55, ſome ſay 66 provinces, or rather kingdoms, for they are govern'd by hereditary kings of their own; but all vaſſals to the emperor of *Japan* properly ſo call'd, at leaſt by *Europeans*. But *Albert de Mandolſloe* ſays, every one of thoſe kings or lords are oblig'd to keep a ſecretary of the emperor's nomination; that ſo he may be inform'd of any intrigues againſt his government; with which *Varenius* agrees.

Niphon or proper *Japan*, which is ſaid to contain 35 kingdoms, is now commonly divided into five parts, which *Tavernier*, beginning from the ſouth weſt, calls *Jamaiſort*, *Jetſen*, *Jetſeſen*, *Quanto* and *Ochio*. Theſe, he ſays, are ſubdivided into different provinces, which he names in his map; but ſince he has not told us to which of his great diviſions every place there nam'd belongs, we ſhall not pretend to range them in order.

The chief cities in this iſland are, 1. *Meaco*, which was the metropolis and ſeat of their kings when the *Dayri* were emperors of *Japan*, but ſince that family were turn'd out of the government, and have only been truſted with the papacy or government in ſpirituals, this city has gone much to decay: and to mend the matter, one of their kings, in 1571, burnt 9000 houſes in it. It is ſaid to have been 21 miles in length, and 9 in breadth, and the jeſuites ſay there are ſtill in this city 180,000 houſes. This city ſtands upon a pleaſant river, which runs thro' it, and falls into the *Indian* ocean about 60 miles ſouth from *Meaco*. It is in the eaſtmoſt part of the diſtrict of *Jamaiſoit*, and that part of it which is on the eaſt of the river, ſeems to be in that of *Jetſen*; for if *Tavernier*'s map be right, the river ſeems to be the boundary between *Jamaiſort* and *Jetſen*.

2. *Saccai*,

Saccai. 2. *Saccai* is a large city upon the ſouth coaſt, whoſe walls on one ſide are waſh'd by the *Indian* ocean, and ſecur'd towards the land ſide by a deep ditch.

Jeddo. 3. The city of greateſt note at preſent, as being the reſidence of their emperors, is *Jeddo*, which ſtands at the head of a bay which runs a conſiderable way into the land. This city, ſince it became the royal ſeat, is much enlarg'd. In *Tavernier*'s time, it was ſaid to be 3 leagues in length, and very little leſs in breadth, and the houſes very cloſe together.

There are many other towns and cities in *Japan*, of which we ſhall mention only ſuch as come in our way for any thing remarkable.

The buildings. The building in *Japan* is generally of wood, and only one ſtory high; but they are much more convenient, and likewiſe more magnificent than in any other part of *Aſia*, or perhaps in the world. Their partitions are ſo contriv'd that they fold like a ſcreen; ſo that, upon any ſolemn occaſion, they can turn ſeveral rooms into one, for the more commodious entertaining their company. The nobility have their houſes wainſcotted with cedar, the floors pav'd and cover'd with mats; the cielings painted and gilt, and the doors finely varniſh'd.

The emperor's palace at Jeddo. The emperor has a great number of fine palaces and caſtles in his dominions, there being no leſs than 20 between *Meaco* and *Jeddo*, in the ſpace of 300 miles. But his palace at *Jeddo* is the moſt magnificent. It is in the middle of the city, incloſed by three walls, the outward of which is 5 miles in compaſs, and a deep ditch cut out of a ſolid rock, and is always full of water, which has a paſſage to another ditch within the wall, and from thence to a third: In the ſpace of about 300 yards, towards the front, there are 9 gates, in juſt proportion, thro' which they enter by draw-bridges over the ditches, both within and without the walls.

As ſoon as you paſs thoſe bridges, there is a level way to the next wall, and then you aſcend by ſtone ſteps to the next court, the entry of which is by gates anſwering to thoſe of the firſt. Within this court, an army might be drawn up. And the roads from bridge to bridge are like large ſtreets, and well pav'd. By the ſide of the ſecond wall on both ſides are magnificent houſes of the nobility and officers of ſtate. Between the 2d and 3d wall, on both ſides, are the palaces of the kings who are vaſſals of the empire; for they being all oblig'd to ſpend ſix months in every year at *Jeddo*, there are conſtantly half the kings of the iſland inhabiting this incloſure.

The entry to the third wall is by two large gates of wood, grated with iron bars of an inch diameter, and above, between the gates, is a large guard houſe, fit to lodge 300 men. Within this third wall is the king's own palace, which is a magnificent ſtructure, where he has all his court, and his women conveniently lodg'd, and the roof of it is cover'd with plates of gold; ſo that, to ſee it at a diſtance from a hill near the city, it looks like a gold mountain in the centre of *Jeddo*. Round this palace, within the 3d wall, are gardens, handſomely laid out, with fiſh-ponds, graſs-plots, and other ornaments for pleaſure and health.

Nor are the other palaces mention'd within the two outward walls without their beauties; for as the emperor would not bear to have any thing mean within that incloſure, the kings and lords pique themſelves upon beſtowing a good deal of money upon adorning their houſes, which are in his view, as he comes in and goes out of his palace, and they make a merit of it to him, and riſe in his favour by adding ſome new beauty to their houſes.

Their furniture. The furniture of the houſes of the moſt ordinary people are cabinets, ſcreens, *China*-ware, and ſwords, which laſt they hang up in their beſt rooms, the clay walls of which are cover'd with painted papers, and ſuch pictures as they uſe in that country, pretty much upon the caricature, as in *China*. They have no uſe for tables, beds, nor chairs, becauſe they ſit upon mats all day, and ſleep upon them at night.

The climate. Altho' the climate in which *Japan* lies ſhould make it proof againſt piercing cold, yet we are told that a great many places of it are cover'd with ſnow ſo long that they are thereby render'd barren, and *Varenius* quotes ſeveral paſſages out of the letters of jeſuites, which give but an indifferent account of the fruitfulneſs of the country. But he ſays at the ſame time, that thoſe fathers happen'd to be there at a time when *Japan* was engag'd in a civil war, and conſequently the tilling of the ground, and all things tending to plenty, were neglected. For the country of itſelf is fertile enough, and has neither too much nor too little ſun. There falls, in the high land of it, a good deal of ſnow, in the winter, but that does not hinder plenty of corn to grow there more than it does in other countries, which are white with ſnow in winter, and yellow with grain in ſummer.

Nor is the whole kingdom of *Japan* the ſame, but differs according to the climate, the nature of the ſoil, or the modification of the air. By the teſtimony of ſeveral authors of credit, quoted by *Varenius*, *Japan* not only has ſtore

of

Plenty of corn. of all neceſſaries ſufficient for its own natives, but us'd every year to ſend corn to the *Philippine Iſlands*, and very often to *Java*. And the hills of that country are full of trees, among whom the cedars are in great plenty, and ſo high as to be maſts to their ſhips; they bear alſo very long graſs.

Animals. Nor is this kingdom deſtitute of animals of all ſorts, oxen, deer, hogs, ſheep, boars, bears, wolves, rabbits, dogs, cats, &c. But of all others they have greateſt plenty of horſes. Fowls likewiſe and birds of the ſame kinds as in *Europe*, or other countries in *Aſia*. But it is obſervable, that they never keep any fowl, nor other eatable animal to feed them about their houſes, but let them all go wild, and kill them as they have occaſion, as we do game. There is alſo abundance of fiſh, both in rivers and in the ſea, eſpecially trouts in the freſh water, and ſmall whales in the ſea, which have not above 7 inches of fat, of which they make oyl, having neither butter nor oyl olive in *Japan*.

Mines. But the moſt valuable produce of the country are their mines, of gold, ſilver, braſs, iron, tin, and lead, of all which they have great plenty, which has made ſo many ſtrangers fond of going to *Japan*. The country abounds in rivers and ſprings, hot and cold baths, good for ſome diſeaſes. There are ſeveral *Volcano's* in theſe iſlands, and particularly one as great as *Ætna*.

Temper of the Japaneſes. We have very different accounts of the temper and genius of the *Japaneſes*. By ſome they are repreſented as the moſt courteous, juſt, generous, grateful, and merciful people that are to be found; by others that they are the rudeſt, unjuſteſt, cruel, ungrateful ſet of men upon the earth. They are repreſented by ſome writers as the moſt ſerious and diſintereſted enquirers after truth that can be, and the readieſt to embrace it, when found. Whereas others tell us, that they are ſo tenacious of their old errors, that they will not ſo much as lend an ear to inſtruction, and to prove this, they tell us of the dreadful perſecution of the Chriſtians, which happen'd there about 100 years ago.

But, as theſe different accounts are given at different times, perhaps the inclinations of the people may be vertuous according to the firſt repreſentation of them; and their ſearch after truth, and ready embracing it, ſeems to appear from the great number of Chriſtians baptiz'd there in a few years, more by the induſtry and labour of the natives themſelves, than by that of the miſſionaries, who were unacquainted with their language. And, if the emperor, who is an arbitrary prince, rais'd a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, and great cruelties were exercis'd, as well againſt the natives as foreigners, we may thank our good friends the *Dutch* for that perſecution, as I ſhall ſhew from *Tavernier*, when I come to ſpeak of the trade of *Japan*.

To ſay no more, therefore, of the genius of the people, which will better appear when we come to treat of their learning and ſtudies, we may apply the old obſervation to them, that *there are good and bad in all countries*.

The habit of the *Japaneſes* is little different from that of the neighbouring kingdoms upon the continent, in the ſame latitude, particularly *China*. The better ſort uſe fans and umbrellas, becauſe they wear nothing on their heads, which are generally cloſe ſhav'd. They wear a criſe or dagger in their girdle, and a heavy ſcimetar on the right ſide.

They are ſaid to have ſome manners different from thoſe of all other nations. The left hand is the place of honour; they wear black at their feaſts, and white at their funerals; they put on their cloaks at home, and lay them aſide when they go abroad; they go before the corps at funerals; they lie upon mats, with pillows of ſtone; if their fathers-in-law offer them any portion with their wives, they refuſe it, and if it is ſent to their houſes, they return it; they eat no fleſh of what we call tame creatures, but all wild animals; they put the name of their family before the proper name, ſaying that the moſt honourable name ſhould be put firſt; and they change their proper names according to the different ſtages of life; they mount their horſes on the right ſide; ſalute by taking their foot out of the ſlipper, but ſtand ſtiff up; and if they are ſtanding when any one comes, they clap down to ſhew reſpect. They are very hoſpitable; for, whatever houſe one goes to, they will civilly deſire the ſtranger to walk in and ſit down, and tobacco and tea are brought, and ſometimes wine.

Their food. As to their food, they commonly eat boil'd rice, which in this country is the faireſt of any in the *Indies*. The *Portugueſes* taught them to grind it, and make it into bread, and there are many hand-mills among them to this day. With their rice they eat herbs and fruit; and when they make a feaſt, wheat is an ingredient in it. They do not ſeem fond of fleſh, but when they do eat it, it is always that of wild beaſts and wild fowl, which they take great delight in killing either with weapons or hawks. They alſo eat fiſh, which, as we have ſaid, they have ſtore of. But *Varenius* ſays, that in a ſhip which came from *Japan* to the *Philippine Iſlands*, they had, among other merchant's goods, a great number of gammons of bacon. They

They ſit upon mats at their meals, and every one has a board upon his lap, without cloth, ſpoon or knife, but as we have ſaid in other parts, they uſe the two ſticks dexterouſly, that they never foul their fingers, nor let any part of their victuals fall. In the houſes of quality, the boards are of cedar or pine, finely japan'd and gilded; and a new table to every different diſh. They bring, at entertainments, fowls whole, ſtanding on fine *China* diſhes, with their beak and feet gilded.

Drink. Their drink is, for the moſt part, warm water, and their wine is arrack. They drink much tea, as in *China*, and make it as we do.

Diverſions. Their diverſions are much the ſame as thoſe we have mention'd in *China*, having plays and dances: Only here the great men of the kingdom are the actors, and the king is often preſent at them. They encourage all manly exerciſes, and have matches of ſhooting, running, &c. where the king gives prizes.

Trade. They had once a conſiderable trade in *Japan*, and ſent a number of ſhips to *China* every year, and there was, for ſome time, a good correſpondence between the two emperors; and many of the ſubjects of *Japan* ſettled in *China* for carrying on trade; but the *Japaneſes* having become very powerful in one of the trading towns, they took arms, upon ſome quarrel, and having maſſacred all the men who ſtaid in the town, and forced (without diſtinction) both wives and maids, they kept the place, 'till the other cities taking the alarm, by information of ſuch as had eſcap'd the ſlaughter, the governor of the province march'd againſt them, and paid them in their own coin, deſtroying all that they could lay hands upon.

Their commerce with China interrupted, and how. The emperor of *China* finding, by ſo bold an attempt in ſo populous a country as his, that the *Japaneſes* were capable of any enterprize, iſſued an edict, commanding them all out of his dominions, never to return, under the penalty of their heads. And, as a memorial of their cruelty and his juſt revenge, he had a large ſtone pillar ſet up, with the account of their wickedneſs and his edict againſt the whole nation, cut in letters of gold, upon the pillar. He likewiſe forbad his own ſubjects to go to *Japan*.

But the *Japaneſe* emperor did not reſent this ſevere edict, nor the putting his ſubjects to death in *China*, becauſe he knew they had juſtly deſerv'd it by their barbarity. On the contrary, he order'd all the *Chineſes* who durſt venture clandeſtinely to *Japan* to be us'd with the utmoſt civility. After ſome time the *Japaneſes* went openly to *Cambodia*, *Siam*, and the other places contiguous to, and depending upon *China*, and by degrees to *China* itſelf.

As alſo that with the Portugueſes. This trade was augmented by the *Portugueſes* acquaintance with *Japan*, but afterwards deſtroy'd by the rooting that nation and Chriſtianity with them, out of *Japan*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. And the emperor of *Japan* prohibited his people to ſail any where except to *Jeſſo*, for ſeveral reaſons; the chief of which were, to ſtop the exportation of their arms, particularly ſwords, which are reckon'd the beſt of any in the eaſt; and more eſpecially, to prevent their having an opportunity of being brought over to Chriſtianity, by commerce with any *Europeans*.

But, notwithſtanding this interdict of foreign trade, the juncks went every year to the ſpice iſlands, either bribing the inſpectors, or cunningly making thoſe voyages unknown to them.

The *Portugueſes* attempted, more than once, to recover their credit with the emperor of *Japan*, but in vain; the *Dutch*, who had been the occaſion of their expulſion, kept up the animoſity; ſo that the *Portugueſes* were forced to give it over.

The *Engliſh* had ſometimes been there, and ſeveral of our merchants had traded at *Firando*, as has been elſewhere taken notice of. But ſince the ſevere edicts againſt Chriſtianity, and the cruel perſecution of Chriſtians, there are none ſuch have trade with *Japan*. For, the reaſon why the *Dutch* are allow'd to live there is, becauſe the emperor is ſufficiently perſuaded that they have no religion at all. For, we are told, that when a *Dutch* ſhip arrives upon the coaſt of *Japan*, the governor of the province or city ſends officers aboard, to know who they are; and one of the chief queſtions ask'd is, *Whether they be* Chriſtians? To which they anſwer, *They are not* Chriſtians, *but* Hollanders. And, as a proof of their not being *Chriſtians*, there is a croſs deliver'd to them, which they throw upon the ground, and, with all the marks of contempt, tread it under foot. Now, altho' I do not think any *Chriſtian* ought to adore the wood of a croſs, yet if the ſhewing contempt or reſpect to it is made a teſt of *Chriſtianity*, I ſhould as ſoon renounce my baptiſm as ſhew the leaſt indignity to the croſs; and in effect it is the ſame thing. For, altho' I do not think a man is under an obligation to run in the way of perſecution, and voluntarily call out, *I am a* Chriſtian, (which yet I dare not condemn in the primitive *Chriſtians*, not knowing how they might have been mov'd by the Spirit of God to do ſo) yet I am ſure, that ſubmitting to any teſt by which I make others believe I am not a *Chriſtian*, is, in a literal ſenſe, *denying*

The Dutch renounce Chriſtianity in Japan.

CHRIST *before men*, which whoever does may read his fate in our Saviour's own words.

The way how they became maſters of the Japan *trade.*

But, that we may have the better idea of the *Dutch* trade at *Japan*, it will not be foreign to our ſubject to ſhew in a few words how they came by it, and what condition it has been in ever ſince it was firſt eſtabliſh'd; but at the ſame time leaving the affais of religion to its proper place.

Of the firſt knowledge which the *Europeans* had of *Japan*, we had occaſion to treat in the account of the voyages made by the different nations to the *Eaſt Indies*. About the middle of the XVIth century the *Portugueſes* had a good correſpondence with this empire, which continued for ſome time, and they had factories in ſeveral places. In the year 1600, Mr. *Adams*, an *Engliſhman*, piloted a *Dutch* ſhip to *Bongo* in *Japan*, as was related in our accounts of the trading voyages; at which time, the *Portugueſes* were in great credit there. In 1613 captain *Sarris* arriv'd at *Firando*, an iſland upon the coaſt of *Japan*, and ſubject to it, whither, upon news ſent to the emperor, Mr. *Adams* was ſent to viſit his ſhips. Here they were civilly treated by the king and the natives, as has been related before. But the *Engliſh* had freſh inſtances of the *Dutch* ſincerity, and the *Portugueſe* jeſuites honeſty, in the unjuſt dealings of the one, and the miſrepreſentations of the others. What progreſs capt. *Sarris* made in ſettling commerce in *Japan*, has been already mention'd in its place, as alſo the eſtabliſhing an *Engliſh* factory there, of which Mr. *Richard Cocks* was cape merchant.

But the *Dutch* having, by fraud and force, worm'd the *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugueſes*, out of the *Spice Iſlands*, and engroſs'd, in a manner, all that trade of which (to our ſhame and loſs) they have the greateſt ſhare to this day; not ſatisfied with that, and finding that the *Japan* trade was of conſiderable profit to the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſes*, they were reſolv'd to outwit them in that too. To this intent, having found the way to *Firando* firſt, and then to *Bongo*, they, under hand, did all the miſchief to other *Europeans* that lay in their power, repreſenting their mungril of a ſtate as the moſt powerful monarchy in *Europe*, and their petty *Stadtholder* as the greateſt emperor in the world; and one of them had the impudence to tell this to the emperor of *Japan*, before Mr. *Cocks*, who expos'd him to the mockery both of *Japaneſes* and *Europeans*, who were preſent.

But, as trade and riches are the God, the king and country to the *Dutch*, they were reſolv'd to have the trade of *Japan* at any rate, both from the *Portugueſes* and the *Engliſh*; and finding no way to do it but by ſtriking at *Religion* too, they made no bones of that, and effected it in the following manner, as I ſhall take it from Mr. *Tavernier* in his *Relation* of *Japan*.

As the *Portugueſes* had been the firſt *Europeans* who had been known in *Japan*, and had traded to it, at different times, from the year 1542, and had likewiſe, to their great honour, propagated the Chriſtian religion among the natives, and by the great zeal of the jeſuites, and the greater labour of the firſt converts, great numbers were converted. Thoſe new Chriſtians being, as may be imagin'd, very fond of thoſe who had taught them the way to ſalvation, would not trade with any but the *Portugueſes*.

The then preſident of the *Dutch Eaſt India* company, finding that he could not get the better of this prepoſſeſſion of the converts in favour of the *Portugueſes*, endeavour'd to get his buſineſs done by applying to the court. In order to this, he corrupted ſome of the chief miniſters; and having the whole riches of *Batavia* in his power, he was not cloſe-fiſted to ſuch as he thought were able to ſerve him in his deſign. But finding that the *Portugueſes* ſtill got the better of the *Dutch*, he contriv'd the moſt villainous plot that ever was hatch'd in hell.

They forge a letter as from the Portugueſes.

He got a letter counterfeited in the *Portugueſe* language, containing a diſcovery of a plot pretended to have been contriv'd between the *Portugueſes* and the *Japan* Chriſtians, againſt the life of the emperor, and the conſtitution of their government. This letter the preſident took care to have put into the hands of a great lord, whom he had made a great intimacy with. He pretended that a *Dutch* ſhip having taken a *Portugueſe* veſſel going from *Japan* to *Goa*, had, among other things, found that letter, which, believing it to be of the utmoſt conſequence, they had ſent to him. This ſtory he colour'd with ſo many circumſtances, ſhewing the probability of it from the known maxim of the *Portugueſes*, and indeed of all who profeſs their religion, that no other is to be tolerated; and at the ſame time extolling the reſpect and affection of the *Dutch* towards the emperor and his government, and declaring that they had nothing to do with religion, but that they agreed with all nations and all religions for the ſake of trade.

The *Japaneſe* lord, being perſuaded of what the preſident had ſo artfully told, ſent the letter to the emperor. The ſubſtance of it was, giving the governor of *Goa* an account of a plot undertaken by the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* iſlands, and

and the *Portugueſes* in *Japan*, in conjunction with the new converts to Chriſtianity to overturn the government of *Japan*; to facilitate which, they pray'd the governor of *Goa* to ſend them (againſt a prefix'd time, mention'd in the forg'd letter) 8 or 10 men of war with ſpare arms, and a great number of officers to put at the head of the *Japaneſe* Chriſtians.

As the new converts would trade with none but the *Portugueſes*, ſo the *Portugueſes*, on the other hand, to return their kindneſs, would deal with none but them; which not only diſoblig'd the *Bonzi*, who reſented it extremely, but likewiſe gave ſome umbrage to the emperor; ſo that when the forg'd letter arriv'd at court, it found him in a fair way to be alarm'd by it.

But there was another circumſtance which added not a little to the cataſtrophe. A great lord, in the iſland of *Ximo* or *Bongo* had been converted, and was baptiz'd by the name of *Ignatius*, together with his two younger ſons, who had the names of *Francis* and *Charles* given them at the font. The jeſuites, having no convenient houſe, at that time, for a ſeminary, deſir'd Sieur *Ignatius* to furniſh them, which he readily did. But, he dying ſoon after, the houſe he had given became a fatal preſent. This lord had his two eldeſt ſons with the emperor, with whom they were in great favour; but hearing that their father was dead, poſted to *Bongo*, and finding the jeſuites in one of their houſes, they deſir'd them to remove; but the fathers being deaf to that part of the law of *Japan*, that a father cannot alienate any part of his eſtate longer than his life, refus'd to give up the houſe.

This diſpute between the young lords and the jeſuites happening about the time that the *Dutch* preſident manag'd his plot, he did not neglect to improve it to the beſt advantage. He aggravated the ambition and covetouſneſs of the jeſuites, the bigotry and cruelty of the *Portugueſes*, and ſo work'd up their indignation, that having ſeen a copy of the forg'd letter, they poſted to court, where the emperor having already receiv'd the letter, they, joining their complaints of the inſolence of the jeſuites, with the ſtory fram'd in the letter, put the emperor in ſuch a fright, that he order'd an army to be forthwith levy'd againſt the imaginary inſurrection of the old and new chriſtians; and without giving himſelf the trouble, or allowing the Chriſtians the juſtice of a fair trial, order'd all the *European* Chriſtians to be baniſh'd his dominions, and his own ſubjects of that religion to be either baniſh'd or put to death.

Alarms the emperor, who ſends an army againſt the chriſtians.

As this order was not kept ſecret, it was ſoon made known to the parties concern'd. The two young lords, *Francis* and *Charles*, call'd a meeting of all the chriſtians of *Bongo*, where their intereſt lay, and having, in vain, try'd, by their friends, to procure a fair hearing, they rais'd forces to the number of 40,000, under the command of *Francis*, who having been bred a ſoldier, took pains to put them in ſuch order, as the time would allow; whilſt his brother *Charles* went about exhorting them to behave themſelves valiantly.

They take arms,

As theſe poor people were made chriſtians by the jeſuites, who were never reproach'd with having taught the (out of faſhion) doctrines of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE and NON-RESISTANCE, we are not to expect a *Thebean Legion* in *Japan*, nor are we to wonder, if Chriſtians, of their education, choſe rather to *reſiſt*, than to die in their ranks without ſtriking a ſtroke againſt the troops ſent againſt them, by their lawful ſovereign, though a cruel tyrant. However, ſo far they acted like true chriſtians, that is, like good ſubjects, that they ſent a meſſage to the general, (who happen'd to be the elder brother of *Francis* and *Charles*) declaring their innocence, and begging him to become their mediator with the emperor, deſiring only a fair trial, and engaging to lay down their arms, upon their ſovereign's promiſe of granting them a hearing in the due courſe of law.

but ſend a dutiful meſſage to the emperor's general.

This dutiful meſſage was receiv'd by the emperor's general with the utmoſt contempt, and the meſſenger nail'd to a croſs in the ſight of the army who had ſent him. And the emperor's forces falling upon them, a bloody battle enſu'd; in which, altho' the chriſtian brothers avoided fighting, in perſon, againſt their elder brother, he was ſlain, and his whole army cut to pieces, who were indeed inferior to that of the chriſtians, but might have been ſuppos'd to have been better diſciplin'd.

The chriſtians beat the emperor's forces.

The deſeat of this army occaſion'd a terrible conſternation at court, and ſome of the wiſer counſellors advis'd the emperor to accept of the ſubmiſſion of the chriſtians, which they again offer'd in the moſt dutiful terms; provided, that, upon clearing themſelves from any imputation of deſigning any ſubverſion of the government, they might have the free exerciſe of their religion. But the *Dutch* preſident blew the coal with ſo much art, and the emperor was ſo exaſperated at the loſs of his firſt army, that he was reſolv'd to take the field himſelf, which he accordingly did at the head of 150,000 men, the 2d brother of the late general, and of *Francis* and *Charles*, being his lieutenant-general. The

The Dutch preſident hinders a reconciliation.

The chriſtian army had been recruited after the battle, and was 50,000 ſtrong when the emperor took the field. *Charles* offer'd to give up himſelf into the emperor's power, to convince him of the innocency of all the reſt; but the army would not ſuffer him to go, only they agreed to theſending another ſubmiſſive letter to the emperor, profeſſing their ſorrow and repentance for what was paſt, and offering to ſtand a trial as to the accuſation firſt laid againſt them. This letter they got privately convey'd into the hands of a lord in the emperor's army, who ſecretly favour'd chriſtianity, and had advis'd his majeſty to receive their ſubmiſſion. But when he offer'd him this letter, the emperor tore it without reading it, and ſent his orders through his army, that they ſhould give no quarters to any chriſtian, except the two brothers, whom he deſign'd to put to death in the moſt cruel manner.

A ſecond battle.

A copy of theſe orders having been ſent to the two brothers, they prepar'd for defence, and ſoon after came to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides for three days ſucceſſively, the chriſtians making their courage, or rather deſpair, ſupply their want of numbers. The firſt day, *Charles*, (being dreſt in a remarkable habit to encourage his men) perform'd acts of more than ordinary valour; till being fluſh'd with his good ſucceſs, he forgot his brother's orders, and purſuing the flying enemy too far from his own body, he was ſurrounded by a freſh party of the enemy, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, was wounded, and, being known, was made priſoner, and carried before the emperor.

Charles *brother to the general of the chriſtians taken.*

On the other ſide, *Francis*, who had fought with equal courage, but leſs heat, defeated that wing of the enemy which had attack'd him, and tho' he did not come time enough to reſcue his brother, he rally'd his troops, and ſecur'd their retreat.

Both armies being animated, the one, by the emperor's promiſes and menaces, and the other, by their ſeeing no hopes of ſaving their lives but by conquering; as ſoon as the next day appear'd, they renew'd the fight; and with as much bravery as the day before, and a bloody ſcene follow'd all that day, the general lord *Francis* making his own valour and conduct counterballance the inequality of their forces; ſo that many were ſlain on both ſides, nor did they give over till the night parted them.

The battle renew'd three days.

The third day, the emperor divided his army into ſeveral bodies, and ſent them to attack the Chriſtians ſeveral ways, whoſe numbers having been conſiderably leſſen'd by the ſlaughter of the two former days, they could not make ſo good a defence in different places, as they could in one body. but their general went from place to place, as his preſence was neceſſary, and both by his words and actions ſhew'd himſelf worthy of the opinion they had of him. But being ſet upon both in front and flank, being fatigu'd with running to a thouſand different places, and above all, being wounded in ſeveral parts of his body, he was able to hold out no longer, but being overpower'd by numbers, dy'd with his ſword in his hand, which as long as he was able to lift it up, made the ſtouteſt of them be cautious how they ventur'd within his reach.

The general kill'd,

As ſoon as this brave but unfortunate youth had loſt his life, and the chriſtians their leader, if they did not loſe their courage, at leaſt it was of no uſe to them, for it was afterwards only a deſperate frenzy, which made them, without fear or wit, precipitate themſelves into the moſt inevitable danger; and in a ſhort time it became rather a maſſacre than a battle; and when moſt of the chriſtian army had choſen rather to die in the battle, than to be reſerv'd to be tortur'd, the enemy forced their camp meeting with little or no reſiſtance, and there they put to death man, woman and child. It was ſaid that 60,000 Chriſtians were kill'd in the three battles and in the camp. Some few fled to the mountains, and liv'd to give an account of what had paſs'd.

and the Chriſtians maſſacred.

Lord *Charles* having been brought before the emperor, inſiſted upon the innocency of his brother and all the Chriſtians in the empire, as to what was charg'd againſt them; but when no promiſes nor threatnings could prevail with him to renounce Chriſtianity, he was put to death in cruel torments, which he endur'd with great conſtancy for 7 days before he expir'd.

Lord Charles put to death.

Nor was this the end of the perſecution; for, the emperor, being reſolv'd to extirpate chriſtianity out of his dominions, made a ſtrict inquiſition thro' the whole empire for ſeveral years after, and all who were found profeſſing Chriſtianity were either oblig'd to renounce it, *as the* Dutch *did* (as *Varenius* owns *) *and do to this day*, or elſe they ſuffer'd death without mercy, of which laſt there were a great many both old and young, who ſuffer'd exquiſite torments with the courage of primitive martyrs. In ſo much, that of 400,000 Chriſtians who were ſaid to have been in *Japan* about 1639, before ten years there was not one to be ſeen in any of the iſlands belonging to the empire. There is a miſtake here, as to the year, for the edict againſt the chriſtians is ſaid by other authors to have been in 1622, and

* De Religione in Regnis Japanæ, p. 221, 224.

and one of *Varenius*'s vouchers ſays that in 1629 there was not a Chriſtian in *Nangueſac*.

Thus did this *Dutch* monſter firſt bring thoſe poor people into rebellion, and then to unavoidable deſtruction. Nor is this only a ſtory of the jeſuits, for, if it had, I ſhould have been very cautious of giving credit to it, being in their own defence; but our author had it from *Dutchmen*, one of whom could not forbear curſing the preſident, and lamenting the fate of thoſe poor wretches, who were ſacrificed to the inſatiable avarice of the *Dutch Eaſt India* company. And *Varenius* tells us of *Campen*, a *Dutchman*, who ſays that the deſigns of the *Spaniards* were defeated in *Japan* by *Dutch Inſtruments*, but does not explain the meaning of it. And there is the leſs reaſon to doubt of the truth of a foul action done by them, (when trade is concern'd) when we look back upon the *Spice Iſlands*; and particularly when we remember *Amboyna*.

It was a little remarkable how this wretch of a preſident periſh'd in very fair weather. For, after he had been curs'd ever after, in all he undertook, as he was ſailing home with his ill-gotten goods, the ſhip ſprung ſo many leaks upon the coaſt of *Portugal*, that, in ſight of *Lisbon*, they were forc'd to leave her; but the preſident, whoſe riches had always been his god, returning to the ſhip for a casket of jewels, the ſhip ſplit, and he was the only man of the crew who periſh'd. Indeed it had been a ſtrange inſtance of moderation if the *Portugueſes* had not pull'd him in pieces, if he had come aſhore; but providence reveng'd their quarrel, and before their faces. I would not be thought to authorize the opinion of ſuch as cry out *a judgment from GOD*, whenever a great misfortune happens to any one. I know that *thoſe eighteen upon whom the tower of* Siloam *fell, were not ſinners above all that dwelt at* Jeruſalem. But there are ſome remarkable exits of ſome wicked men, which are particularly taken notice of, and thought judgments by all who know them. And I know that not many years ago, the whole people of *Rome* obſerv'd, and reckon'd it as a juſt judgment, that cardinal *Caſoni* never ſpoke a word, but was carry'd to his coach, and dy'd in 24 hours, after a certain gentleman, whom he was believ'd to have much injur'd, ſpoke kindly to him upon the Banks of the *Tyber*.

A remarkable ſtory of cardinal Caſoni.

But altho' the edict againſt the Chriſtians has no force againſt the *Dutchmen*, yet the court is ſtill jealous of them as foreigners. For the *Dutch*, not ſatisfy'd with their factory at *Firando*, which being at a diſtance from *Nanguaſaqui*, the great mart for the *China* trade, and that of the *Philippine* and *Molucca* iſlands, is not ſo fit for the trade of thoſe places; they brib'd the governor of *Nanguaſaqui*, and obtain'd a little iſland, within a muſket ſhot of the land leading to that town, to be a ſort of a warehouſe. This iſland, which *Tavernier* calls *Kiſma*, but others *Diſnia*, is only two miles in compaſs, where none had liv'd for ſome time before. Here the preſident built a few houſes for the factors, but having incloſ'd them all with a wall, he made, in the inſide, a ſtrong fortification, which could not only command a bridge built between the iſland and *Bongo*, but likewiſe the harbour of *Nanguaſaqui*. But the governor to prevent any miſchief they might attempt againſt the town, made two forts at the end of the bridge, and put men into them to guard the paſs; and at the ſame time iſſued forth an order, that all the *Dutch* who ſhould paſs the bridge to go to the town by day, ſhould, under the forfeiture of their lives, return to their quarters at night.

Dutch factory at Kiſma.

This vex'd the preſident; but having no cannon, he was forc'd to obey the orders. However, he ſent to the general at *Batavia* to ſend him eight braſs guns, in pieces, but ſo as they might be eaſily put together at *Kiſma*. Theſe were ſent to them in hogſheads; but unluckily for the *Dutch*, a new governor having been ſent to *Nanguaſaqui*, before the guns ariv'd, and he ſending new officers to ſearch the ſhips, they weigh'd the hogſheads, and finding many of them of an uncommon weight, gave information of it to the governor, who ſent to have them open'd, and finding the cannon, order'd them to be carry'd to *Nanguaſaqui*, and an expreſs was ſent to *Jeddo*, to give the emperor advice of it.

The preſident gets cannon from Batavia,

The preſident finding his plot miſcarry, took a journey to *Jeddo*, and before the governor's meſſenger arriv'd, he had, by his intereſt, at court, an audience of the emperor, in which he told him, that the *Dutch* company at *Batavia* had order'd him to make a preſent to his majeſty of ſome braſs cannon of a new invention, which might be taken to pieces for the conveniency of carriage, and would ſerve him in good ſtead againſt his enemies. The emperor was pleas'd with the preſident's complement, and order'd the guns to be ſent to *Jeddo*, and commanded the governor to ſhew kindneſs to the preſident and the factors.

but being diſcover'd, he pretended they were a preſent to the emperor.

Having got his head out of the nooſe for this time, he deſir'd the general at *Batavia* to ſend two ſhips to diſcover the coaſt of *Japan*, to ſee if there was any harbour near the gold mines towards the north. Accordingly, two ſhips were ſent,

The ſtreights of Zanguar diſcover'd.

who having ſail'd to the weſtward of *Japan* by the coaſt of *Corea*, found the ſtreights of *Zanguar* between *Japan* and *Jeſſo*, by which they diſcover'd that *Japan* is an iſland. But after they had found out two iſlands farther north than the ſtreights, which they call'd the *States* and *Company's* iſlands, but very little known to this day, having coaſted about to *Aizu* in the lat. of 38 on the eaſt coaſt of *Japan*, where the gold mines are, they were overtaken by a ſtorm in ſight of the gold mountains, the ſecond ſhip was ſplit upon the rocks, and all the men were loſt: The admiral ſoon after had the ſame fate, but the captain and 13 men eſcap'd upon Planks, and by ſwimming.

Two Dutch ſhips caſt away.

The natives of the place treated them civilly, but ſent them to *Jeddo*, which was about 300 miles.

Impudence of a Dutch admiral.

When he was brought before the emperor, having fram'd a handſome lye, which he had taught his people before hand to prevent any contradiction, he told the emperor with a very grave face, that he was a *Hollander*, who had ſerv'd his king and country with ſome reputation, and in ſome of the beſt poſts in the army; but one of the king of *Holland*'s neareſt relations growing jealous of his reputation, and of his intereſt with his maſter, ſought to pick a quarrel with him, which he bore for ſome time, out of regard to his prince; but the other having affronted him publickly, he was forc'd to do himſelf juſtice; in which he had had the misfortune to kill this relation of the king's, who having been one of the greateſt princes of the blood, his friends not being able to procure his pardon, he had been forced to retire for ſome time. But not to be idle he had fitted two ſhips with 400 of his own ſervants and dependants, with which he had come into the *Indian* ſeas, in order to chaſtiſe the pirates, who diſturb'd honeſt people who were going about their lawful trade. That having ſpent about a year in chaſe of them, and his pilots not being well acquainted with the ſeas, a violent tempeſt had driven him he did not know where, till at laſt the two ſhips were caſt away upon the coaſt of his majeſty's kingdom, where, altho' he had had conſiderable loſs, he thought himſelf abundantly happy in having the honour to ſee ſo powerful and generous a prince, who could not but ſhew compaſſion to the diſtreſs'd.

Procures a favourable reception from the emperor,

This formal ſtory told with a becoming grace, mov'd the emperor, and all who were about him; ſo that our *Don Quixot* admiral was regal'd by his majeſty, according to the rank he aſſum'd; and was ſent, with all his company, in that character, at the emperor's charge, in a very magnificent manner to *Kiſma*.

When he had been a while with the preſident, they made themſelves very merry with the admiral's impudence, and the credulity of the court at *Jeddo*. But they did not advert to a *Japaneſe* ſervant of the preſident's, who underſtanding *Dutch*, had heard moſt of their converſation. This ſervant having been ill us'd by his maſter, ſoon after, run away from him, and going to the governor of *Nanguaſaqui*, diſcover'd the converſation he had heard between the preſident and the pretended hero; the governor, thinking the emperor's honour concern'd in revenging the impoſture, ſent the young man to *Jeddo*, with an account of what he had reveal'd to him. The emperor was ſo inrag'd to have been ſo inſolently treated by the *Dutchman*, that he ſent to have him and his train ſent back priſoners to him, and order'd that no *Dutch* ſhip ſhould be admitted into the road at *Kiſma* till he had time to examine the truth of the cheat.

but the cheat being diſcover'd, was like to have undone the Dutch.

But ſome of the courtiers whom the preſident had gain'd to his intereſt by bribes, diſpatch'd an expreſs to him of the order ſent to the governor, which having reach'd him before the emperor's courier arriv'd, he ſent away the admiral to *Batavia* before the governor had receiv'd his inſtructions.

He was not gone a week, when three *Dutch* ſhips arriving in the bay, the governor ſent them an order to keep out at ſea, threatning to ſink them, if they offer'd to drop an anchor, or to land either men or goods. The preſident, ſeeming to be ſurpriz'd at this proceeding, altho' he knew the reaſon of it, went to expoſtulate with the governor, who receiving him with a ſtern countenance told him, the emperor was no ſtranger to the tricks of him and his countrymen, and that he had received orders to ſuffer no *Dutch* ſhip to have any commerce with *Japan*, till the villain whom he now took for a ſpy, was ſent to him to be puniſh'd as he had deſerv'd: and he told him farther, that if in a reaſonable time he were not ſent to *Jeddo*, he had orders to crucify him and all his company, and to throw their effects into the ſea.

The emperor demands the admiral to be deliver'd up.

This ſmart declaration alarm'd the preſident, and therefore having obtain'd liberty to write to *Batavia* by the ſhips then upon the coaſt, he repreſented to the general the danger he was in, and, what was of greater conſequence, the utter excluſion from the *Japan* trade, unleſs the admiral were ſent back forthwith.

The general, having receiv'd this letter, call'd a council, in which, after mature deliberation, it was agreed to give up the heroe. But he, refuſing to go, (as indeed it was not juſt or reaſonable to oblige

blige him) got their teachers and the mob of his ſide, and he had like to have prov'd a general, in good earneſt, to the demoliſhing the government at *Batavia*, if one of the teachers, who was againſt his being forced to go, had not perſuaded him to venture his perſon, rather than he ſhould be the occaſion of the deſtruction of the colony. By the arguments he us'd to him, the admiral ſubmitted to go back to *Japan*, upon condition that they ſhould ſend him in the manner he propos'd, and reward him, if he ſucceeded.

He is perſuaded to go to Japan.

The council deſir'd him to make his demands, which were, that he ſhould have two ſhips magnificently fitted out, which were to carry him and his train to *Bongo*. His train was to conſiſt of 50 choſen men, each of which ſhould have three ſutes of cloaths of the richeſt ſtuff that *Batavia* could afford; that he ſhould have a ſervice of gold, and another of ſilver plate, with 50,000 crowns for ſupporting the charge of his journey after he landed in *Japan*; that all his other equipage ſhould be proportionable, at the charge of the company; and that all who went along with him, as well his 50 attendants as the people belonging to the ſhips, ſhould, before the *Japaneſes*, ſhew him the reſpect due to a perſon of great quality.

His equipage.

The council having agreed to all his demands, he was fitted out to his heart's deſire, and with his two ſtately veſſels, (which for painting and gilding look'd liker pleaſure boats than merchant ſhips) he arriv'd at *Nanguaſaqui*. The governor was ſurpriz'd at his arrival in that manner, and ſent an expreſs to court, and in a ſhort time had orders to bring him aſhore, and to ſend him with a guard to *Jeddo*; but the governor having inform'd the emperor in what manner he was come, and the preſident having written to his friends at court, that the admiral had not been compell'd to return, but had come back out of a punctilio of honour, the emperor order'd that he ſhould be treated like a perſon of quality, and guarded as if it were to do him honour, rather than to ſecure him.

He arrives at Nanguaſaqui.

Upon his arrival at *Jeddo*, he appear'd in a magnificent dreſs, with his 50 gentlemen in one of their fine ſutes, which made ſuch a figure as drew the whole city to gaze at them at his firſt entry into it, where he ſtaid two months before he had an audience; during which time, he kept open houſe, and liv'd like the man he gave himſelf out to be: But at the ſame time he apply'd himſelf to learn the language of the country.

Is ſent to Jeddo *in ſtate.*

At laſt, the emperor having appointed a day for his audience, our heroe (who in ſome reſpects really deſerv'd the name) dreſs'd himſelf and his retinue in their richeſt ſutes, which they had reſerv'd, deſignedly, for that occaſion. At his firſt appearance the emperor ſeem'd to be angry, and told him, by his interpreter, that he had been inform'd that he was of mean birth, and was a ſpy and an impoſtor, and therefore he was determin'd to puniſh him. When the interpreter had explain'd this to him, he did not change his countenance, but with great reſolution made anſwer "That his majeſty being a "potent prince, ought to be eſteem'd "a protector of the unfortunate. That, "for his part, he was not ſo much con- "cern'd at his having been perſecuted in "his eſtate and employments, as to have "his honour attack'd, and that ſo great "and generous a prince as his majeſty, "ſhould be perſuaded to believe calum- "nies to the prejudice of his, as yet un- "tainted, reputation. But he had one "comfort left, which was, that fortune, "however ſhe had perſecuted him, could "not force him to do any thing unwor- "thy of his birth. That the firſt time "he had the honour to appear before his "majeſty, it was owing to winds and "ſtorms; and if he had then been guil- "ty of any crime, he would not have re- "turn'd, at his majeſty's command, when "no body had power to force him to it. "But he could not but lament his misfor- "tune, in not being able to anſwer the "accuſations of his enemies, before his "majeſty, becauſe he was ignorant of the "language: But, if his majeſty would "pleaſe to allow him 8 months to learn "their language, if then he would grant "him a hearing, with his accuſers face to "face, if he did not make his own inno- "cence appear to the confuſion of his e- "nemies, he would ſubmit to be thought, "what he moſt ſcorn'd to be, an impo- "ſtor."

His ſpeech to to the emperor.

This ſpeech pronounced with an aſſurance, which, it might be thought, nothing but innocence and truth could inſpire, ſurpriz'd the emperor, eſpecially his deſiring 8 months to learn the language, which time he readily granted him, and order'd that he ſhould be honourably treated.

The admiral behav'd himſelf with ſo much prudence after this, and by his natural good ſenſe and affability, got ſo much into the good graces of the nobility, not without ſome aſſiſtance of his liberality, that they were at as much pains to teach him the languague, as his maſters were, and by the good account they gave of his conduct, and of his underſtanding, the emperor ſent often for him, and ask'd him, at firſt, by his interpreter, but afterwards by word of mouth, without an interpreter, many things relating to the government,

government, laws, war, trade and manners of the ſeveral kingdoms of *Europe*; in all which converſations, he acquitted himſelf ſo to the emperor's liking, that he was never better pleas'd than in his company: And believing every thing he ſaid, he order'd the *Japaneſe* ſervant who had been his accuſer to be put to death, as a falſe traitor.

After this execution, our heroe had nothing to fear; but having a mind to retire with flying colours from *Jeddo*, he pretended that his friends had made his peace at home, and therefore deſir'd leave to go to *Batavia*, which being granted, he was honourably conducted to *Nanguaſaqui*, at the emperor's charge, having receiv'd preſents from him beyond the value of his expences whilſt he ſtaid at *Jeddo*.

He arrives at Batavia. He was receiv'd at *Batavia* with open arms, and had all the plate beſtowed upon him which he had carried with him, as a reward of his ſervice. But the cleaneſt piece of management, for which he deſerv'd all the honours he met with from the generous emperor of *Japan*, was, that going ſoon after to *Amſterdam*, in a very good condition, he enter'd a proceſs againſt the *Eaſt-India* company, before the *States* of *Holland*, for their barbarity in obliging him to return to *Japan*, to the evident danger of his life; and recover'd a conſiderable ſum of money by way of damages, for which the company were oblig'd to pay him intereſt 'till it was diſcharg'd.

And from thence to Holland,

Where he recovers damages of the company.

I hope the reader will forgive this long relation of a ſtory, which, as it is divertin itſelf, gives us an idea of the juſtice of the *Dutch*, at leaſt in the *Indies*, when their *God Mammon* is concern'd. But to return to the *Dutch* trade at *Japan*.

By what has been already ſaid, it appears that they became maſters of the trade of that country by the ſame honeſt methods they had us'd to get that of *Formoſa*, *Amboyna*, and *Polaroon*, and likewiſe of *Sumatra* and *Java*, together with the *Celebes*, *Ternate* and *Tidor*. And *Tavernier* ſays, that about the time that the ſtory above related happen'd (which muſt have been between 1630 and 1640, for he names no date) the *Dutch* had, in the *Indian* ſeas 140 ſhips, part men of war, and part merchant men, but all ſhips of force, on board which they had 6000 men.

The Dutch *cramp'd in their trade in* Japan. But with all this power, they were ſtill kept to hard meat in *Japan*. For, beſides the check which the forts of *Nanguaſaqui* were upon them, as ſoon as any ſhip arrives there, before ſhe reaches the bay, of which the governor is inform'd, by watches ſent to the neighbouring hills, during the ſeaſon of ſhipping coming thither; he immediately ſends a waiter aboard, who ſtays 'till the ſhip comes to an anchor. Then officers are ſent to take an inventory of the cargo, with the name of every perſon aboard, which the maſter muſt give, deſcribing, in writing, their age and ſtature, together with their quality, and office. The governor, in the mean time, ſends an expreſs to court, and upon the return of that, the men are all call'd aſhore, to anſwer to their names and deſcriptions, and the ſhip is ſearch'd, leſt any ſhould ſtay aboard. When they have done this, they let them go aboard, and at the ſame time, the governor orders the ſails, guns, ſmall arms, and ammunition, to be ſent to his arſenal, and the hatches are ſeal'd up. No ſhip can have any communication with another, nor any of them with the factory, 'till the perſon, appointed by the merchants, to carry the emperor's preſent from the company, ſhall return from *Jeddo*, with takes up above 3 months, during which time, they are furniſh'd with proviſions from *Nangueſaqui*, but they who carry them dare not go aboard, nor receive their money for the proviſions, 'till the order for breaking bulk is publiſh'd, and then they bring in their accounts.

When the emperor's permiſſion is publiſh'd, the hatches are open'd, and the company's goods are carried aſhore, and view'd at the cuſtom-houſe, and ſo carried to the *Dutch* warehouſe, the invoice and prices of the different goods being affix'd to the gate of the city leading to the bridge, and only ſix weeks time allow'd to trade with the citizens. Six of every ſhip's crew are ſuffer'd to go aſhore to trade for themſelves, and thoſe of their companions aboard, for four days only.

Goods carried to Japan. What they ſell here, are ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, great quantities of ſilks of all colours unwrought, deers skins, hemp, linnen and woollen cloth, eſpecially ſcarlet, ſugar, quick-ſilver, ivory, ſpices of all ſorts, *China*-ware, and fiſh-skins, which, by *Varenius*'s deſcription of it, ſeems to be what we call *Chagreen*.

The returns for them. In return for theſe goods, they have white rice, much valued in all the other parts of the *Indies*, being much better than their own. But the far greater part of their merchandize is paid in bullion, being bars of ſilver of about 5 and 10 crowns value, or ſome ſmaller, but all of them according to what they weigh, ſome gold, and precious ſtones, but not in great quantity. *Varenius* ſays, they had gold and ſilver coin a great many years ago, of different ſizes and value; but the emperor *Comboſamma* finding that the merchants committed great frauds in that way of commerce, call'd in all the gold and ſilver coin, and ſuffer'd no money

ney to paſs but braſs or copper money; the gold and ſilver going according to their weight.

When the ſix weeks allowed the *Dutch* for trading with the merchants at *Nanguaſaqui*, or rather with the governor, (for he engroſſes moſt of the trade, and manages it by his brokers) are expir'd, then they are ſhut up in their iſland, where they live the reſt of the year without daring to paſs the bridge without a ſpecial licence from the governor. But to make their time leſs tedious, they purchaſe as many girls as every one thinks he can manage. With thoſe they divert themſelves 'till the fleet returns again.

The learning of Japan.

There is very little to be ſaid of their learning in *Japan*, which ſeems the more unaccountable from the character which the jeſuites give of their quick apprehenſion and docible temper. But *Varenius*, I believe very juſtly, obſerves, that the fathers have often ſpoken very hyperbolically in giving accounts of nations newly found out, or newly converted to the Chriſtian Faith. For, as far as we have been inform'd with any truth, all the learning known or taught in their academies, which are the convents of the *Bonzi*, is reading and writing, a way of caſting accounts with ſtrings and beads, a ſmattering of aſtronomy, which, like the other *Indian* nations, they pervert to aſtrology and fortune-telling, a ſmall knowledge in medicine, but without any foundation of phyſicks, or the knowledge of natural philoſophy.

Their language and writing.

Their language is different from that of *China*, which may be one argument againſt their having come from thence; and they are the only people who imitate the *Chineſes* in their character and manner of writing from the top to the bottom of the page, and their writing is underſtood by the *Chineſes*, altho' their language is not; which, altho' it be a paradox, may be eaſily accounted for. Suppoſe one certain figure were agreed upon to repreſent the ſun or moon, thoſe characters would be equally underſtood by an *Engliſhman*, a *Frenchman*, or an *Italian*, altho' the *Engliſhman* (ſuppoſing him to underſtand no language but his own) would not know what the others meant by *la ſoleil* and *la lune*, or *il ſole* and *la luna*, no more than they could divine that *the ſun* and *the moon* were the ſame words in *Engliſh*. The *Chineſe* and *Japaneſe* writing conſiſting of characters for whole words, if they are underſtood by both nations, altho' their tongues are, at preſent, different, it ſeems to be a very ſtrong preſumption that they were once one nation.

Mechanicks.

The *Japaneſes* are good mechanicks, eſpecially in joiners work, as appears from the curious cabinets, and other things of that kind we have from thence. But, as the greateſt beauty of thoſe pieces of work, conſiſts in the colour and varniſh, which, from the country, is commonly known by the name of *Japanning*, it may not be amiſs to tell the reader how it is done.

Japanning.

The *Lack* or gum of which it is compos'd is a juice which diſtills ſlowly from a certain tree that grows there, of which they do not tell us the name. The bark of this tree being cut, they faſten a pot to the hole, and when the ſap firſt drops out of the tree, it is like cream, both for colour and conſiſtency; but when it is expos'd to the air, and eſpecially when it is put into a bowl in a ſmall quantity, and ſtir'd with a piece of ſmooth iron for 24 hours, it grows thick, and as black as ebony. Whilſt they are ſtirring it, they put to it a certain quantity of wood aſhes finely ſifted. When it is thus prepar'd they lay it on very ſmooth with a bruſh, upon the wood they deſign to colour, and ſetting it to dry in the ſun, the colouring becomes harder than the wood itſelf. When it is quite dry, they rub it with a ſmooth ſtone and water, 'till it be like a looking-glaſs; and after all put your varniſh upon it. The varniſh is made of turpentine and a curious ſort of oyl which I know not the name of, but they boil them to a ſufficient conſiſtency, and ſo waſh your lacker'd wood over with it. But if you would have your wood japan'd red, you muſt mix the lack with the colour pounded fine, and laid on with an even hand, which is the great art, as well as beauty of japanning. If you would have gold or ſilver japan, draw the draughts, whether flowers, birds, *&c.* with a pencil dip'd in varniſh, upon the lack, and let it alone 'till it begins to dry: Then lay on your leaf gold or ſilver, and after a while rub it over with a dry bruſh, and no more of the gold will ſtick than the pencil touch'd; ſo that you have the ſame that was drawn before the gold went on.

Sword blades.

Another great art they have in tempering ſteel, ſo that we are told that one of their broad ſwords will cut in two any of the ſame ſize, made in *Europe* or in any other part of *Aſia*, at one ſtroke. *Varenius* ſays, they melt the metal in a veſſel ſtop'd with clay, and the droſs falling to the ſides of the veſſel, they take the metal out with a ladle, and when it is cold, form it to what they will. Of this they make their ſwords and daggers.

They are likewiſe ſaid to have had the art of printing long before it was found out in *Europe*, which, if true, is another great preſumption of their deriving their origine from *China*.

The government of Japan.

As to the government of thoſe ſeveral iſlands, which all together make up the empire of *Japan*, it is under one monarch, whom the *Europeans* call the emperor of *Japan*, to diſtinguiſh him from the lords of the ſeveral iſlands of which the whole is compos'd; which lords, atho' they are ſubject to the emperor, have the title of kings given them by all our writers. Theſe kings, or lords, are ſo much under ſubjection to the emperor, that *Varenius* ſays, he can, for any ſmall fault, deprive them of their kingdoms or lordſhips, baniſh them the empire, confine them to any iſland under his dominions, confiſcate their eſtates, or put them to death.

The Dairi abſolute emperors.

The firſt race of emperors, as they who write of *Japan* tell us, from their chronicles, were call'd *Dairi*, who were hereditary princes, and, according to the eaſtern cuſtom, were not only reverenced as abſolute monarchs, but worſhip'd as *Demi-Gods*; inſomuch that there was not known to have been any rebellion or inſurrection, from the firſt ſettling of the empire, to the XVIth century.

This *Dairo* was in ſuch veneration, that it was not lawful to let his feet touch the ground, nor was his head ever expos'd to the ſun or open air; nor did he ever cut his hair or his nails, becauſe they thought it ſacrilege to take any thing from him which nature had given him. And he never ate twice out of the ſame veſſel, nor had his meat prepar'd twice in the ſame pot. All which is obſerv'd to this day.

The Cubo or general

The principal officer under him was the general of the army, whom they call'd the *Cubo*, who was generally the *Dairo*'s 2d ſon, if he had one. But one of the *Dairi* happening to have a 3d ſon whoſe mother was a favourite, he join'd the two ſons together in the *Cubo*'s office, which they were to execute alternately, every one for three years. This was the occaſion of the firſt rebellion againſt the emperor.

makes an inſurrection,

For one of the brothers having made a party among the nobility to ſupport him in his office, in oppoſition to his brother; when the 3 years were expir'd, he refus'd to lay down his batoon, but drew up part of the forces to maintain his poſt by arms. The *Dairo* being ſurpriz'd at this unheard of contempt of his authority, and by his own ſon, ſent to one of his tributary kings to come to *Meaco* with all the force he could quickly raiſe, to cruſh this cockatrice in the ſhell. The vaſſal obey'd, and with ſmall difficulty got the better of the rebel *Cubo*, who, by the loſs of his life, made way for his father's recovering his authority, as was believ'd.

But the other brother, who was now general, without a rival, eſtabliſh'd himſelf ſo in the minds of the ſoldiery, and ſo cajol'd the nobility, that, after his father's death, he uſurp'd the government, in prejudice of his elder brother, to whom he left the palace and a conſiderable revenue to ſupport him in a royal manner. But the elder brother having too much ſpirit to give up his right, created a new *Cubo*; and ſuch was the reverence that all ranks of people had for the *Dairo*, that the ſoldiers no longer obey'd the rebel, but declar'd for him who had the emperor's commiſſion, and this ſecond inſurrection was quieted, like the firſt, by the death of the author.

which is ſucceeded by a 2d.

But as rebellion when it once gets poſſeſſion of people's minds is not eaſy rooted out, this new *Cubo* entertain'd thoughts of perfecting what his predeceſſors had begun, but with more art and cunning. For, he underhand ſpirited up the tributary kings to ſhake off the *Dairo*'s yoke, as an impoſition upon them. And in a ſhort time his plot ſucceeded ſo well, that the whole empire was up in arms; the *Cubo* intending to fiſh in the troubled waters; but he fail'd in his attempt. For,

A general revolt.

All things going into confuſion, a private ſoldier call'd *Tayko*, unheard of before, but of a bold ſpirit and undaunted courage, having got 50 ſoldiers under his command, made expeditious marches, perhaps at firſt only with a deſign to inrich himſelf with plunder: but his bravery and good luck ſoon brought him into credit, and people flock'd to him from all quarters, ſo that in a ſhort time he had an army ſtrong enough to encounter with any one of the cheftains in the iſlands.

A private ſoldier uſurps the throne.

We are not told what became of the rebel *Cubo*, at leaſt *Varenius* does not tell us; but it is to be ſuppos'd he met with the reward of his treachery. For, *Tayko* manag'd his affairs ſo well, ſometimes defeating one army, ſometimes another, that in the ſpace of 3 years he brought all *Japan* under his obedience, and the *Dairo*, finding himſelf no way in a condition to oppoſe him, declar'd him emperor of *Japan*, and the new uſurper leaving to the *Dairo* his palace in *Meaco*, all the enſigns of royalty, and a conſiderable income to ſupport his dignity, he and his poſterity are a kind of popes in *Japan*; and the emperors are oblig'd to go every three years to pay their reſpects to the *Dairo*, and to make him rich preſents, as a ſort of acknowledging their holding the empire of him.

This remarkable revolution happen'd about the end of the XVIth century, and I wiſh my friends the jeſuites had no finger in the pye, for it is very remarkable, that there never had been any thing that look'd like rebellion in *Japan*, as far back

back as their hiſtory goes, before thoſe fathers went thither; and they had not been there 40 years, when there happen'd three rank rebellions, the laſt of which utterly ſubverted the government, and ſet a private ſoldier on the throne of their ancient monarchs.

His policy.

Tayko having thus obtain'd the imperial crown, as he was a man of good underſtanding, he was ſufficiently aware, that the nobility thought it an affront upon them to be ſubject to a king ſprung from the dunghill; and not knowing how far that might carry them, he contrived to give them other work to do. He therefore ſummon'd the kings and lords whom he ſuſpected moſt, to appear with an army of 60,000, and, having before-hand provided tranſports for them, he oblig'd them to embark for *Corea*, which he told them he deſign'd to make a province of his empire, and commanding them not to return 'till they had conquer'd every foot of it.

When they were arriv'd at *Corea*, they found more difficulty in the enterprize than *Tayko* had told them of, and, as his plot was not ſo much to ſubdue *Corea*, as to get rid of the lords, his recruits were only ſuch as might protract the war. So that after they had ſpent ſome years in that country, they began to long for their families; but, knowing they durſt not return to *Japan* without doing what they came for, they redoubled their fury, and carried fire and ſword wherever they went. The poor *Coreans*, finding themſelves hard preſs'd, ſent an ambaſſador to *Japan*, who, knowing that the army at *Corea* only ſtaid for fear of *Tayko*, and that he kept them there out of fear of them, he determin'd (when he could not bring him to a reaſonable peace) to do that ſervice to his country as to take the tyrant out of the world; but having no means to compaſs it but by accompanying him in his death, he prepar'd a poiſon which carried them both off in a few hours.

As ſoon as the news of his death arriv'd at *Corea*, the army thought no more of the conqueſt of that country, but came directly to their own provinces, waiting to ſee what turns the affairs of the ſucceſſion would take.

Tayko having left one ſon of ſix years old, had appointed *Ongoſchio*, a nobleman, to be his tutor, and had made him ſwear, that he ſhould ſet his ſon upon the throne at the age of 15. And to perform it, he had given on obligation written with his blood. *Ongoſchio* then commenc'd regent with common conſent. But as, perhaps, he did not think an oath, or any other ſecurity, given to a *Tyrant* and an *Uſurper*, was of force, (and, had he endeavour'd the reſtoration of his lawful prince, he had certainly judg'd right) he was no ſooner poſſeſs'd of the adminiſtration, but he manag'd his power to ſettle his own family upon the throne, deſigning, by a new uſurpation, to deſtroy the old. And, altho' he had given his daughter in marriage to his young pupil *Fidery*, when the time came that he had ſworn to ſet him upon the throne, he attack'd him in his palace, and, ſetting fire to it, burnt the young man, with his mother and ſuch as adher'd to him, both noblemen and ladies, to aſhes; and, having put to death, in cool blood, all ſuch as he ſuſpected to be averſe to him, he got himſelf declar'd emperor. This happen'd in 1616. And, altho' he did not long enjoy his violent and uſurp'd poſſeſſion, (for, being old, he died a year after) yet his ſon *Combo*, or *Comboſamma*, ſucceeded him, and was the father of *Chiongon*, who began his reign in 1681.

The form of the government.

Having thus given a ſhort account of the revolution of *Japan*, we ſhall as briefly treat of the form of their government.

We have already obſerv'd that the emperor is abſolute. But he commits the adminiſtration to four chief lords; and when any cauſe of conſequence comes before them, they muſt give an account of it to the emperor; but if, after he has given his opinion about it, they ſhould offer any reaſon againſt it, they may prepare to remove to ſome other country, if he ſhall be ſo indulgent as to leave them their heads.

Beſides theſe, he has other counſellors, whom he chuſes out of a multitude of nobility who live always in the palace, and continue there as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their fathers, who are kings or lords of provinces, or have other poſts of honour and profit in the different iſlands or provinces.

Honourable ſpies.

Of thoſe who are bred in the palace, whoſe qualifications he is well acquainted with, he ſends one to every king and governor, with a letter, expreſſing the care he has of their proſperity and eaſe, which he cannot better expreſs than by ſending the preſent worthy lord to aſſiſt them in their counſels. Upon the receipt of this letter, the king or governor muſt receive this royal ſpy as the greateſt mark of the emperor's favour, and nothing can be done without him; and he is oblig'd to give an exact account of all to his majeſty; by which means, he knows every thing that paſſes thro' the whole empire in a very ſhort time.

Exact government in the cities.

But the government of the cities is moſt exact, and at the ſame time very eaſy. As every ſtreet has a gate at each end of it, which is ſhut every night, there are two offices anſwering to our juſtices of the peace in every ſtreet, and one high conſtable,

ſtable, who are to judge of civil cauſes, and to give an account of them. But every five houſes are under a conſtable of their own, who is oblig'd to give up the names of all the families under his inſpection, with all the changes that happen in them by deaths or marriages, as alſo their behaviour from time to time, to the high conſtable. He muſt ſend theſe informations to the mayor of the city; who takes cognizance of all ſmaller crimes, and puniſhes them as he thinks juſt; but all matters of great importance he remits to the governor of the city immediately appointed by the emperor. Thus all affairs of the city are, by the conſtable of the five houſes, brought to the high conſtable of the ſtreet; from him to the mayor; ſent by him to the governor, and by the governor communicated to the emperor's counſellors, who are oblig'd to give him an account of every thing that is new, and worth his while to know.

The provinces or tributary kiugdoms are govern'd by their own lords or kings, but in ſubordination to the emperor, and, as we have ſaid, by the aſſiſtance of a miniſter ſent by him to every one of them.

The tributary kings are half the year at Jeddo.

We likewiſe took notice, that all the kings and lords were oblig'd to ſpend the half of the year at *Jeddo*, where there are palaces built for them in the 2d incloſure. The empire is divided for this purpoſe, and the one half, *viz.* thoſe towards the north and eaſt, come at a certain time, and when they have ſtaid ſix months, they are reliev'd, like a guard, by the kings and lords of the ſouth and weſt, the one withdrawing to make room for the others. And all theſe come with a great retinue, which is a vaſt expence to them. Our author ſays, that the lord of *Firando*, (where the *Engliſh* had once a factory) altho' he is one of the leaſt among their kings, never appears at *Jeddo* without a train of 300 men and women. And when he comes there he augments them to 1000.

Theſe kings employ themſelves in building or repairing their palaces; and, upon the building a new palace, they make one particular gate for the emperor, which is ſhut as ſoon as made, 'till he vouchſafes to go to ſee the houſe, where he is ſumptuouſly feaſted, and at his going away, the gate is ſhut up never to be open'd again, for he never goes twice to any palace but his own.

The order of the emperor's going abroad.

When the emperor goes abroad, either a horſeback or in a litter, all the vaſſal kings and lords go firſt, and are follow'd by the firſt regiment of guards, compos'd of the ſons of the nobility by concubines, who cannot inherit their father's eſtates by law. Then comes the emperor, ſurrounded by 2 or 3000 guards, ſome before the litter, and others after and on each ſide of it; but at ſuch a convenient diſtance, as to allow the great officers of the palace to be near his majeſty, whether he is on horſeback or in his litter.

This proceſſion is made in ſuch order, that it is a glorious ſhew, and yet is perform'd with ſuch ſilence, that there is not the leaſt noiſe to be heard, the people being oblig'd either to retire to their houſes, or to proſtrate themſelves as the emperor paſſes by.

Varenius farther tells us, that, as to name and appearance, the *Dairo* would ſeem to be the firſt man in *Japan*; for he is ſerv'd in greater ſtate, and with more reverence, than the emperor, within his palace at *Meaco*. But his authority is confin'd to that palace; for, even the governor of the town is appointed by the emperor. And, as we obſerv'd before, the *Dairo*'s power is rather ſpiritual than temporal.

Degrees of dignity.

Next in dignity to the emperor are, 1. 21 *Kings*, who, our author ſays, ought rather to be call'd *Lords*, to whom their own ſubjects ſhew the greateſt reverence, putting their hands to the ground as they accoſt them. 2. Next theſe are the 4 chief counſellors formerly mention'd. 3. Six princes, but whether he means princes of the blood, or perſons to whoſe office that title is given, I cannot tell. 4. The knights and barons, who are only 17. 5. The barons who are not knights, and are 90 in number. 6. 41 Lords of an inferior dignity. 7. The clergy, of whom we ſhall treat under the head of religion. 8. The nobility, (by which term every language but the *Engliſh* underſtands gentlemen) who are without number. 9. The ſoldiery, who were not gentlemen before they came into the army.

Our author ſays, they allow no honour to merchants, which they are not ſingular in; we are not ſtrangers to that ridiculous pride, attended with poverty, in ſome countries in *Europe*, where your gentlemen (forſooth) pretend to deſpiſe merchants, becauſe they have not ſenſe to know the advantage of commerce, and had rather beg like gentlemen, than contribute to the riches of their country by hazarding their lives to many dangers which merchants are ſubject to. The *Japaneſes*, indeed, are ſaid to have a better reaſon (if it were true) for deſpiſing merchants, *viz.* that they look upon them to be addicted to *lying* and *filthy lucre*, which they think cauſe enough to degrade them from any rank or pretence to honour. If ſuch crimes were able to degrade men from honours in *Europe*, as I think they ought to be, I have ſo good an opinion of merchants, as to believe, that they would be ſo far from

loſing

loſing any rank, that they ſhould quickly ſee ſome, who think themſelves above them at preſent, turn'd down to a lower degree.

The revenues of the crown

As the charges are very great which both the emperor and his vaſſals are at, the revenues are more than proportionable, and, altho' Mr. *Salmon* may be in the right, that, perhaps, a cypher may have been added by a miſtake of a tranſcriber, in one place, I can ſcarcely believe that *Varenius*, (for whoſe exactneſs I have a great regard) who hath given us a particular liſt of the revenues of *Japan* in parcels, ſhould have been miſtaken in a cypher in 130 different ſums. The ſame account is almoſt tranſcrib'd from him in the firſt volume of the collection printed by *Churchill*, only with this difference, that *Varenius*'s computation is in *Florins*, and the other in *Cockiens* of *Japan*; and there being 10 *Florins* in a *Cockien*, *Varenius*'s ſums are every where 10 times as great as the other, altho' of equal value. We ſhall not trouble our readers with an account of the ſeveral ſums, mention'd by theſe authors, as paid to the ſeveral kings, dukes, or lords; we ſhall only obſerve from *Varenius*, that there are 21 *Kings*, who have from 11 millions of florins yearly to 3 millions; that is, one has 11, others 7, 6, 4, and 3 millions, according to the extent or riches of their provinces. There are five *Dukes*, and as many *Princes*, whoſe ſtated allowance is from 3 to 2 millions yearly. Fifteen *Knights Lords*, and two imperial *Governors* of caſtles, who have between a million and an half and a million of florins. Above 120 *Lords*, 28 *Counſellors*, and governors of caſtles, from 800,000, gradually down to 100,000. How much is allow'd the *Dairo* we are not told, but it is very conſiderable. For the expence of the emperor's palace, and of the heir of the empire, there are allow'd 40 millions of florins. For the pay of thoſe ſoldiers, who are all gentlemen, 50 millions. So that all together, by *Varenius*'s computation, amounts to 283,450,000 florins, which, if the cockien is 18 ſhillings, as the computer in *Churchill* makes it, the ſum is 15,310,500 *l.* which the emperor of *Japan* lays out yearly. But this revenue is excluſive of what is the income of thoſe provinces which he immediately governs in his own right. And indeed it is agreed upon by all authors, that he is the richeſt monarch of the world, and ſome tell us, that the revenue of 2 months is ſufficient for the charge of the whole year. And he has ſo many cheſts of gold and money laid up in the caſtle of *Jeddo*, that if the emperors of *Japan* would ſubmit to a little *European* education, they might even buy the *Dutch* out of the ſpice iſlands, and make all their neighbours upon the continent tributary to them.

Of puniſhing criminals.

We have already ſaid, that the governors of provinces and the governors of cities, with the mayors, are the judges in criminal caſes. And indeed their ſentences are very ſevere; for, they condemn to death for the ſmalleſt crimes, particularly ſtealing, or cheating, even in the ſmalleſt inſtances, are puniſh'd by death. But, in great crimes, the death of the criminal is not enough, for they murder all his neareſt male relations, at how great diſtance ſoever they may be when the crime is committed; but women, unleſs they are concern'd in the guilt, are not put to death, but they are commonly made ſlaves, which is an intolerable injuſtice. Nor will any one preſume to intercede for a relaxation of the ſentence, leſt the emperor ſhould ſuſpect them guilty of bribery, which is as capital a crime as any. The manner of putting ordinary malefactors to death is by impaling, or crucifying them with their heads downward. But the nobility, to ſhun the ignominy of that kind of death, generally kill themſelves, which is thought more honourable. The tributary kings, and the hereditary lords of provinces, are ſeldom put to death, but are confin'd to a deſolate iſland not far from *Jeddo*, call'd *Faitſienſima*, where they are kept from all ſociety, and fed only with rice and roots.

Varenius has, by way of appendix to his *Deſcription of* JAPAN, an account of a proceſſion at *Meaco*, in 1626, when the *Dairo* went in ſolemn ſtate to pay a viſit to the emperor, who was then at that city, and, according to cuſtom, had paid the uſual compliment, before-mention'd, to the *Pope* of *Japan*. This cavalcade was written in *Dutch* by *Conrad Craſmer*, envoy to the emperor at that time from the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company. I ſhall not trouble the reader with an exact tranſlation of it, from the *Latin* of *Varenius*, but ſhall give a ſummary of the moſt material part of it, to ſhew the reſpect paid by the emperor himſelf to the *Dairo*.

The cavalcade of the Dairo to the emperor's palace.

When the day appointed for this cavalcade came, which was the 25th of *October*, the whole ſtreets being full of ſpectators, as well as all the windows where they were to paſs; after the ſervants both of the *Dairo* and thoſe of the emperor had gone to and fro ſeveral times, from the palace of the former to that of the latter, attended by porters and chairmen, who carried the *Dairo*'s baggage to the emperor's palace, the cavalcade began with 46 litters, in which were the maids of honour belonging to the *Dairo*'s wives. Theſe litters were of white wood, about

an ell high, bound with plates of copper, and adorn'd with paintings of flowers. After theſe came 21 litters japan'd and gilded all over; and then, at a convenient diſtance, 27 others, with the doors and windows gilded. In theſe were all the officers and courtiers of the *Dairo*, whoſe litters were accompanied by 108 of the guards in white veſture. After theſe followed 24 noble knights on horſeback, arm'd as for a battle, with a light black cap, with a black creſt. Their coat was of green, blue, white, or other colours of ſilk, with wide ſleeves, and long narrow skirts, embroider'd with gold or ſilver, with ſhort boots laid over with lacker, ſtriped with gold. Their arms were ſcimitars with gilded ſcabbards, and bows and arrows. Their horſes very handſome, and richly equip'd with tygers skins, and embroider'd ſaddles, and their heads and manes adorn'd with gold and ſilver threads tied in different forms, and hanging in fringes upon their breaſts, the reins of their bridles being of red ſilk, and the horſes hoofs cover'd with ſilk of the ſame colour. Each horſe was led by two grooms, and before were carried two magnificent umbrello's, and a large ſpear, the head of which was cover'd with red and black cloth. Every knight was attended by 8 of the guards, in white, and they march by two and two, in great order.

After theſe came three ſplendid chariots, each of which was about 4 yards high, 2 in length, and one in breadth, drawn by two bulls. The chariots were richly cover'd with gold and lacker, adorn'd with pictures. They had 3 windows on each ſide, two of which were darken'd by rich tapeſtry. The chariot wheels were lacker'd and gilded, and pieces of mother of pearl curiouſly inlaid, ſo that as the wheels turn'd they caſt ſuch a luſtre upon the black japan on the body of the coach as made a ſhadow like a looking-glaſs. The tops of the chariots were rounded, and behind and before adorn'd with vermilion painting and mother of pearl, with the *Dairo*'s arms, and all the four corners bound with plates of gold. The bulls, who were of the largeſt ſize, were led by four ſoldiers, two at each bull's head, having hold of bridles of red ſilk.

In theſe chariots were the *Dairo*'s three chief wives, (for he has a good number of them, beſides concubines) and on each ſide of them march'd the life-guards, in great order. One of theſe chariots was valued at 200,000 florins, which, according to our former computation from *Churchill*, is about 11,000 *l.*

Next appear'd 23 litters of white wood bound with plates of copper, in which were the ſervants of the 3 ladies before-mentioned. Each of the litters was attended by 2 ſoldiers and 4 porters.

Then came 68 of the *Dairo*'s kinſmen, richly dreſs'd, and arm'd. Theſe came two and two on horſeback, each attended by a number of ſervants, ſoldiers, and ſlaves.

After theſe came ſome machines, *viz.* two gilt ſtools, the corners of which were bound with plates of gold; an artificial fire-work, neatly adorn'd; a large mariner's compaſs, of great value; two great golden candleſticks; as many large ebony pillars; three ſquare writing tables of ebony, cover'd with plates of gold at the corners; four of a larger ſize of great value; two large golden diſhes; and a pair of ſhoes japan'd.

After theſe appear'd two magnificent chariots, with the emperor's arms ſurrounded with circles of gold. In the firſt of theſe chariots was the emperor himſelf, and in the ſecond, his ſon, who was heir of the crown. Theſe chariots were ſurrounded on all ſides by 80 couples of the gentlemen guards, arm'd with two ſwords and a lance. And before the emperor's coach were carried 4 ſplendid umbrello's, and 4 ſquare ebony ſtaves. The harbingers walking firſt with halberts to clear the way. Then came two led horſes ſumptuouſly capariſon'd, who were attended on each ſide by 8 ſoldiers arm'd with bows and arrows, and each a long ſpear.

After theſe came the princes of the blood, and the nobility of the emperor's court, to the number of 164, according to their different rank; and they were follow'd by a regiment of guards, cloath'd likewiſe in white. And, after them, 6 new chariots, each drawn by one bull, with the *Dairo*'s concubines. After them 68 knights, two and two, with their attendants; and then a chariot with the *Dairo*'s ſecretary, who was follow'd by 46 litters of different colours, having the *Dairo*'s officers. Thoſe were follow'd by 54 muſicians, with different inſtruments carried along with them, but not known in *Europe*. And after them the *Dairo* himſelf in a ſquare litter, made like a little houſe, about 5 foot high, with a round roof, from whence hung a gold globe in the middle, with a cock of the ſame metal, with his wings extended. The roof was painted blue, with the ſun, moon, and ſtars, painted on it, and the ſides of the litter within full of pictures adorn'd with gold. This machine was carried by 50 gentlemen belonging to the emperor, clad in long white robes; but before and on the ſides were 20 couple of the *Dairo*'s guards, who were gentlemen, all arm'd with gilded partiſans. And after them, one of the chief officers of his

houſe

houſe rode with the *Dairo*'s ſhield, made in the ſhape of a galley, ſtuck with darts in the middle. After him follow'd 40 umbrello's, and 13 japan'd cheſts. And after all about 40 men in white, by ſix and ſix, except that laſt rank.

Before this cavalcade had enter'd the emperor's palace, it was night; ſo that there was a world of miſchief done in the ſtreets, as they retir'd to their houſes. For, as there was a vaſt concourſe of people, not only of the citizens of *Meaco*, but from all the neighbouring towns, and a great number of married women and maids, the croud was ſo great that many were trodden to death, and found dead in the ſtreets the next day. Many people of good faſhion, from *Oſaca*, *Saccai*, and other cities, loſt, for ſome time, their wives, and daughters, who were well entertain'd, ſome for a fortnight, ſome for a week, by, they could not tell whom, and then had leave to find out their husbands and fathers. The magiſtrates of *Meaco* offer'd great rewards for the diſcovery of any of the authors of thoſe diſorders; but it was ſuppos'd to have been done by people of too good rank for informers to dare to diſcover.

The *Dairo* was feaſted 3 days and nights, with all his family, at the emperor's palace, where he was ſerv'd by the emperor himſelf, and his three wives by the chief lords of the court. At his going home to his own palace, the emperor made him magnificent preſents, of gold, ſilver, horſes, perfumes, and ſilk, to a conſiderable value; and the prince did the like. But a man of ſpirit would have been of *Sixtus* V's opinion, that *the compliment of an old horſe was a ſmall equivalent for a kingdom.*

We come now to treat of the religion of *Japan*. But there is ſuch diverſity of opinions upon this article, and *Japan* has been ſo little frequented by *Europeans* for theſe 100 years paſt, and they who were there before knew ſo little of their lnnguage, that it is not an eaſy matter to come at the truth. The firſt jeſuites who went to *Japan* contradict one another in many particulars relating to the opinions of the *Japaneſes* with regard to the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate. This difference of accounts among them, might have been occaſion'd from the different ſects from whom they had them; for, they all agree that there are many ſects of religion in *Japan*, altho' they differ both about the number, and their principles.

There is indeed one author, often mention'd by *Varenius*, who by a long reſidence in *Japan*, and underſtanding their language, was the fitteſt perſon in the world to have given a true account both of their religion and manners. This was *Francis Caron*, who was ſent to *Batavia*, out of one of the hoſpitals in *Holland*, in the ſtation of a kitchen-boy, about the year 1570. The maſter who had him in charge finding him a ſmart boy, taught him, during the voyage, to read and write, which he learned ſo readily, that, after their arrival at *Batavia*, he was in a ſhort time capable of being an under-accomptant in the company's ſervice. This *Caron* going to *Japan* with his maſter, and finding that to ſtay at *Firando* was the way to make his fortune, he kept out of the way when his maſter was about to return; and pretending ſome excuſe for it, to the chief of the factory, after the ſhip was gone, he was employ'd in their ſervice, in which he behav'd with ſuch addreſs, that from one ſtep to another, he became preſident of it. From the time that he went firſt to *Japan*, he ſet about learning the language of the country, of which he made himſelf maſter in a few years.

An account of Caron, *the* Dutch *preſident at* Japan.

After this account of *Min Heer Caron*, one might expect that I ſhould take his word for what relates to *Japan*. But when I tell the reader, that this was the very monſter who occaſion'd the maſſacre of the Chriſtians and the extirpation of Chriſtianity out of that country, while he and his *no Chriſtian* companions lay ſnug at their burrow in *Kiſma*, it will not be thought ſtrange that I will not take any thing, much leſs matters of religion, upon his word. I ſhall therefore give the beſt account I can from *Varenius*'s other authors, and from *Purchas*, becauſe I ſuppoſe there is little alteration happen'd in their notions of religion from the time that thoſe authors wrote, ſince Chriſtianity has been ſo effectually baniſh'd all the iſlands of that great empire.

We are told that there are ſeveral ſects of religion in *Japan*; ſome ſay nine, others twelve. Some believe the immortality of the ſoul; others tranſmigration of ſouls. A great part of the *Japaneſes* believe that the ſouls of ſuch as live well, that is, ſuch as abſtain from murder, theft, lying, adultery, and drinking wine, to which they add abſtinence from eating any thing that has been kill'd; ſhall, after death, be convey'd to the place of *Xaca* and *Amida*, who are the chief idols whom they worſhip, and that they ſhall there enjoy a ſort of Mahometan paradiſe, with all that they have given their minds to in this life. And ſo much are they perſuaded of the truth of this, that there are many of their *Bonzi*, or prieſts, who work themſelves and others up to ſuch a pitch of mad enthuſiaſm, as to preach up the heroiſm of throwing away their lives in

The religion of the Japaneſes.

Self-murder thought the way to paradiſe.

in different manners; ſome of them, after having entertain'd their audience in the mountains for many days together, with diſcourſes of the vanity of the world, they hurry away with as many as they can perſuade to be as mad as themſelves, and getting aboard a veſſel, launch out into the deep, and putting great ſtones about their necks, legs, and arms, with bill-hooks in their hands, to cut the buſhes and thorns in their way to paradiſe, they plunge themſelves into the water, calling out *Nama-Amida-Ambur*, that is, *O Amida, ſave us.* Others of them throw themſelves into caves or deep holes in the earth, where they die of hunger.

But, beſides *Xaca* and *Amida*, they have many other idols. A great many worſhip the planets, and, for the moſt part, they ſwear by the ſun, and the *Bonzi* value themſelves for being of the family of the ſun, but how, they do not inform us. Some of their idols are call'd *Fotoques*, and others *Camis*, beſides ſeveral other hard names, needleſs to trouble the reader with. Some of thoſe idols, the jeſuits ſay, were ancient philoſophers, vers'd in the *Chineſe* learning; others the kings and emperors of *Japan*, who are worſhip'd, not for their virtue, but for their ſucceſs, having become emperors from private men; others again are ſome deceas'd *Bonzi*, who, having had more than ordinary addreſs in cheating the people during their lives, are now worſhip'd ſince their death.

As to the ſtories of their worſhipping the Devil, and his appearing to them in a viſible ſhape, I ſhall leave the *Jeſuits* and the *Bonzi* to adjuſt that matter between them. But I believe, without dealing with the Devil, I can gueſs how the monthly virgin, who is preſented to one of their idols, is ſo lovingly entertain'd, in the temple, after the lights are put out (as they pretend) miraculouſly. For, ſince the idol himſelf will be eaſily allow'd to be a little too unwieldy for dallying with young girls, it may, without conjuring, be found out, that ſome of the idol's carnal attendants ſupply his place upon theſe occaſions, as being more agreeable to their compoſition. However, the virgin, no longer deſerving that name, upon the ſuppoſition of having ſo divinely diſpos'd of her virginity, is highly honour'd, and by the inſtructions ſhe is ſaid to have received from her gallant, ſhe ſets up for a *fortune-teller*. But I cannot tell what ſort of a child hers is like to prove, (for they are ſometimes got with child) but I ſuppoſe ſuch children become *Bonzes*, either male or female.

Virgins ſaid to be debauchd by the idols.

But here I cannot omit another contrivance of the ſame kind, which we have from our old acquaintance *Acoſta*, tho' we ſhall take liberty to differ from him as to the actors. He tells us, that in *Ozaca* there are ſteep rocks about 200 fathoms high. Upon the top of one of the higheſt there is plac'd a rod of iron, like a crane for pulling up goods; at the point of which there is a ballance with two ſcales. When the pilgrims go thither, as they frequently do, the *Goquis* (whom our author calls *Devils in humane ſhape*, but we humbly conceive to be much the ſame ſort of Devils as thoſe lately mention'd, who take the firſt fruits of the virgins preſented in the temple every new moon) put the pilgrims, one by one, into the ſcale, which, having nothing to counterpoiſe it, falls to its utmoſt length, the other ſcale, as may be eaſily imagin'd, touching the beam. When the perſon goes into the ſcale, the *Goquis* turn the wheel, which makes the beam point over the rock, ſo that the pilgrim is ſuſpended in the air 200 fathoms high. When he is in that ſituation, the *Goqui* bids him make a full of confeſſion of his ſins, with all the circumſtances of them, telling him, that if he omits any part of his faults in his confeſſion, the ſcale will turn, and he muſt drop down. The poor pilgrim makes a clean breaſt, in the hearing of all the *Goquis*, and, which is more impolitick, of all the pilgrims; at ſome parts of which confeſſion, thoſe who are not guilty of the ſame crimes, are ſeen to laugh, but others, who know it will come to their turn ſoon, ſigh or cry. When the penitent has made a full confeſſion, the empty ſcale comes down (as they pretend) of itſelf, (but, as I believe, by ſome ſecret mechaniſm, directed by the *Goqui*, altho' he may be a Devil of fleſh and bones) and when both ſcales are upon a level, the *Goqui* turns the wheel, and the pilgrim, finding ground, comes out of his enchanted caſtle, to make way for another.

Strange way of confeſſion

Some travellers aſſert, that the *Japaneſes* worſhip the Devil; but *Varenius*, with great ſhew of probability, is of opinion, that this might have been the miſtake of ſome *European* ſeamen, who ſeeing ſome of their idols much like our repreſentations of the Devil in ſhape and colour, took them for ſo many Devils. And *Xaverius* poſitively denies that they have any ſuch worſhip, or that they adore animals.

The Bonzi.

The prieſts of their different ſects are all call'd *Bonzi*, and their common pretence is to live holy, that is, auſtere, lives, in behalf of the people; and they have bred them up with a belief, that the *ſupererogating* piety of their lives ſhall be diſtributed among the people, according to their liberality towards them. But the poor, who are not able to buy the ſuper-

plus

plus of the merits of the ſaints, muſt be good for themſelves, or elſe they may be damn'd for any thing the *Bonzi* will do for them, it being a maxim with them, *no penny, no pater-noſter*. What a ſcandal would it be, if the ſame could be objected to Chriſtian prieſts!

But the *Bonzi* have not only brought them to be liberal to them for ſharing their merits with them, but they perſuade ſome of them to lend them round ſums, to be paid, with large intereſt, in the world to come; for which they give formal bonds, which the wiſe creditors order to be buried with them; from whence they expect a double advantage, *viz.* that the Devils dare not attack any one who has theſe notes of the *Bonzi*, and likewiſe that they will be ready money in the world to come; for I ſuppoſe they have their caſhier ready to pay their bills at ſight; and ſince none of them come back proteſted, the credit of the *Bonzi* ſtands good.

Theſe *Bonzi* are very numerous thro' all the empire, and have very magnificent convents, in which they live well by the generoſity of the laity. And, as they do not all make profeſſion of that auſterity which ſome exerciſe upon themſelves, they live comfortably, and in large ſocieties.

Female Bonzes. But there are female *Bonzes*, who live in convents too, but not without ſome ſcandal to the prieſts, who are ſaid to be very familiar with them, and it is alledg'd that they practice bad arts to prevent their being with child, or to cauſe abortion, if they are.

Theſe things us'd to be puniſh'd capitally of old, but now corruption has got into the convent, and into the magiſtracy too. And yet ſo great is the reſpect that the people have ſtill retain'd for the prieſtly office, from their perſuaſion that the *Bonzi* render their gods propitious to them, and that they ſtill keep up the ſemblance of their ancient diſcipline; that, altho' they are notorious for having given themſelves up to covetouſneſs and luxury, and ſtick at nothing to enrich themſelves, and that many of them are infamous for other crimes; yet, for the ſake of their character and habit, the people flock to them, for abſolution. *What a world of good may an* orthodox clergy *do in a kingdom, if they dare live up to the rules of their* church, *and ſhew themſelves* patterns *of thoſe vertues they* preach *to others!*

Their temples. They have vaſt numbers of temples for their idols, and multitudes of convents for the *Bonzi* both male and female. *Varenius* and *Purchas* give us an account of one temple (in *Nara*, a town about a day's journey from *Meaco*) call'd *Cubucui*, whoſe porch conſiſted of three courts, with the ſame number of cloyſters. The entry to the portico was by a ſtately ſtone ſtair; and on each ſide of the door, was a coloſſean figure, with a great club or ſtaff in his hand, as porters uſe. Behind the 3d cloyſter was another ſtair, at the top of which ſtood on each ſide of a large door leading to the temple, a coloſſean ſtatue of a lion. In the middle of the temple were three idols, *viz.* *Xaca* and his two ſons, in a ſitting poſture, 7 cubits high from the pedeſtal or altar; and on the ſides, 70 pillars of cedar, each of which was ſaid to have coſt 5000 gold ducats. The floor of the temple was of ſquare ſtones, and the walls curiouſly painted, and the roof cover'd with tiles, but ſo artificially, that it projected over the walls 4 yards on all ſides.

Upon one ſide of the temple was the *Bonzi*'s convent, the refectory of which was a ſpacious building, 40 yards long, and 12 broad, behind which was the dormitory, conſiſting of two rows of building, in which were 180 chambers. The library was a large room ſupported by 24 pillars, whoſe circumference was a yard and an half. They had their baths, kitchen, buttery, *&c.* all in very great order, and neatly kept. Their kettle for warming their water for drinking (for they drink none cold, ſummer nor winter) was of ſhining braſs, a yard deep, and three yards round. The water runs thro' the kitchen, and behind it was a fiſh-pond 50 yards ſquare. In 24 different corners of the convent there were lamps burning all night.

There are many other temples in *Japan*, but we ſhall not trouble the reader with them, eſpecially ſince we had occaſion to mention them in captain *Sarris*'s voyage. All that I ſhall farther add about the heathen worſhip in *Japan*, ſhall be to take notice, from *Varenius* and *Purchas*, of two feſtivals in the month of *Auguſt*. The firſt is call'd *the feaſt of* GIBON, and the other, not improperly, *the feaſt of* ALL SOULS. *Their feaſts.*

The feaſt of *Gibon* (taken probably from a ſaint of that name, for our authors determine nothing about it) is a kind of tragi-comical feaſt, which conſiſts in a cavalcade of chariots full of muſicians of different kinds, each chariot being follow'd by different trades, with their ſtandards, not unlike our Lord-mayor's ſhow. In this part of the proceſſion the whole morning is ſpent, all the chariots, with their reſpective attendants, paſſing by the chief temple of *Meaco*, towards which they pay their reſpects. In their return by the ſame temple, after noon, a litter comes out, carried upon men's ſhoulders, who ſeem to be much put to it to carry *The Gibon feaſt.*

the god who is ſuppos'd to be in it. After that comes out another litter, ſaid to belong to a certain miſtreſs of his. By and by comes a third, in which they pretend his lawful wife to be, to whom a meſſage is brought from the firſt litter, to acquaint her, that he and his miſtreſs are coming, and ordering her to make way for them. As ſoon as the meſſage is deliver'd, thoſe who carry the third litter run about like madmen, repreſenting, by that, the rage and jealouſy of their ſuppos'd miſtreſs. The people, in the mean time, fall upon their knees, and make a terrible noiſe, making ſhew of quieting and comforting their pretendedgoddeſs. After this the 3 litters join, and go lovingly into the temple together, and ſo the people go home and feaſt, as if they had made a reconciliation between their idol and his wife.

We are not told the origine of this feaſt; but it is eaſy to conjecture that ſome extraordinary diſturbance has been occaſion'd by the jealouſy of ſome of their queens, upon the account of ſome WHORE (if it be lawful to give that name to a king's miſtreſs, who, as the world goes, has great reſpect paid her, by your polite people, to which character I do not pretend) and that the people have interpos'd to make up matters between them, which may have occaſion'd the holy-day. If the reader can find a better reaſon for it, he is at liberty, for me, to embrace it.

All Souls. The feaſt which *Purchas* calls *All Souls* is as ridiculous as the other, and is kept in the ſame month. Upon a certain night in *Auguſt*, the whole people (after having walk'd the ſtreets, for ſome time, with lanthorns and torches, dreſs'd up in different manners) at a certain hour, march out of the town, each family carrying along with them, rice, fruits, warm water, &c. When they come to the place where they pretend to meet the ghoſts of their dead friends, they addreſs themſelves to them, as if they were indeed preſent, they welcome them to their neighbourhood, and ſet their rice, &c. before them, praying them to refreſh themſelves after the fatigue of their journey; and, after they have ſtaid there about an hour, they invite the imaginary ghoſts to their houſes, and ſo they take up their lanthorns and torches to ſhew them the way, and ſome go home to prepare the entertainment for them. This feaſting laſts two days, and, the third night, they convey them to the place where they pretend to have found them, with the ſame ceremony of lights as before. At their return home, they pelt the roofs of their houſes with a ſhower of ſtones, to frighten any lurking ghoſt who may, out of lazineſs, have ſtaid behind. Upon this occaſion, the pooreſt man in the city or town makes a preſent, according to his ability, to the *Bonzi*, who make a good harveſt of the folly of the people.

I ſhall not deſcribe any more of their feaſts. It is enough to ſay, that every ſect has their own idol, and thoſe they worſhip with different ceremonies, according to the ſeveral cuſtoms of the places, and the opinions of the ſects.

The converſion of the Japaneſes. In this ſtate was the religion of *Japan* when the famous apoſtle of the *Indians*, *Xaverius*, now call'd S. *Francis Xavier*, was encouraged to go from *Malaca* to *Japan*, by *Anger*, (a native of *Cangoxima*, a town in the iſland of *Bongo*) whom he had made a Chriſtian, with his two *Japaneſe* ſervants, at *Malaca*, in the year 1549. The ſame year, he went aboard a *Chineſe* veſſel, upon the 24th of *June*, and arriv'd (in ſpite of the Devil and the maſter of the ſhip, as *Xaverius* ſays in one of his letters) at *Cangoxima*, upon the 16th of *Auguſt*.

Anger (now baptiz'd by the name of *Paul*) was well receiv'd by the chief men of the city, and *Xaverius*, with his two companions, FF. *Coſmus* and *John*, altho' they had little or nothing of the language, were entertain'd with great civility, and, by the aſſiſtance of the new convert, who ſpoke *Portugueſe* perfectly well, in a very ſhort time, they brought over a great number of the natives, eſpecially of the poorer ſort, to the Chriſtian religion. And the chief people of the city, eſpecially the governor, were much pleas'd with a picture of our SAVIOUR upon the *Virgin*'s lap, and all of them (as we are told by the jeſuites) fell upon their knees to it: But they did not become Chriſtians for all that.

Miracles ſaid to have been wrought by Fr. Xaverius. We are told, by ſome of the ſociety, that *Xaverius* wrought ſeveral miracles in *Bongo* iſland. I ſhall not go about to diſprove matters of fact, at near 200 years diſtance of time, and many thouſands of miles diſtance of place; but I hope I may, without offence, ſay, that, if GOD endow'd *Xaverius*, or any of the apoſtles of the *Indies*, with the power of working miracles, the moſt neceſſary exerciſe of that power would ſeem to have been *the gift of tongues*, which they certainly had not; and therefore were very much hinder'd in making converts, before they had, with great labour, acquir'd the different languages of thoſe countries, in which, to their great honour, they made ſo many proſelites, and ſettled ſo many churches and convents.

We ſhall not trouble ourſelves, nor the reader, to tranſcribe all the particulars given by the fathers of the ſociety, with

with relation to the converſion of the *Japaneſes*. We ſhall only obſerve, that one reaſon why the king of *Bongo*, who had at firſt given free liberty to the jeſuites to preach the goſpel, in leſs than a year, became averſe to them, was, that, whereas he expected the *Portugueſe* trade to come to his iſland, he found himſelf diſappointed by their ſhips going to *Firando*, and not having patience to wait for the effects of the jeſuites good intentions and offices to that effect, he declar'd himſelf averſe both to their perſons and religion.

In the year 1550 *Xaverius* and his two companions, finding the king's mind chang'd towards them, reſolv'd to go to *Firando*; and ſo leaving their new converts to be farther inſtructed and confirm'd by their countryman *Paul*, they took leave of them, with mutual affliction, and ſet ſail for the *Portugueſe* factory at *Firando*.

During their ſtay at *Cangoxima*, *Paul* had drawn up a ſort of catechiſm, or ſum of the Chriſtian doctrine, in the language of the country, of which he gave each of the fathers a copy, and taught them to read it, altho' they were ignorant of the language. This ſerv'd them in good ſtead at *Firando*, for, having been well receiv'd there, they read pieces of this book to the people, and got ſome of the *Portugueſe* merchants, who underſtood the *Firandeſe* tongue, to explain what elſe they ſaid to them; ſo that having converted 100 in a few days, F. *Coſmus* ſtaid there, and the other two went to *Amanguqui*, as *Varenius* and the *Engliſh Atlas* call it, (which I take to be *Moll's Yumaguski*) in the great iſland of *Japan*, or *Niphon*. But having a mind to ſee *Meaco*, as judging rightly, that if they could prevail at court, their work would be eaſy thro' the whole empire, they went thither by land in two months, but finding things embroil'd, and having no acceſs to the king, they return'd to *Amanguqui*, and preſented that king with what they had brought from the company at *Goa* for the emperor of *Japan*, which conſiſted of a pair of virginals, a clock, and ſome other things. The king order'd them a preſent of gold of no ſmall value; but they refus'd it, deſiring only leave to preach the goſpel; which being granted them, they ſoon brought a conſiderable number to baptiſm.

Xaverius, having ſtaid two years in *Japan*, left the other fathers there, and return'd to *Bongo*, where the king receiv'd him better than he expected; and, altho' the king did not then declare himſelf a Chriſtian, the father left him in a good diſpoſition towards it; and he was afterwards baptiz'd; and, altho' *Xaverius* was dead ſome time before that happen'd, he took the name of *Francis* at his baptiſm, in memory of him.

The king of Bongo baptiz'd.

Xaverius, taking leave of the king of *Bongo*, ſet ſail for *Malacca*, deſigning to ſend more of the ſociety from *Goa* or *Malacca*, to aſſiſt the two companions he had left in *Japan*; but ſoon after, being earneſt to propagate Chriſtianity in *China*, he embark'd for that country, and died upon the coaſt of *China*, *Dec.* 2, 1552. But, before he left *Malacca*, to make that voyage, in which he died, he had ſent three coadjutors to *Japan*; and from time to time, ſeveral others went, and vaſt numbers were converted to the faith; ſo that, as we obſerv'd elſewhere, in 50 years time, by the care of the jeſuites and their proſelites, there were ſaid to be 400,000 Chriſtians in the iſlands belonging to that empire, and thoſe ſo zealous for the faith, that they may ſhame the tepidity of the *Europeans*.

As Chriſtianity ſeem'd to make a quicker progreſs in *Japan* than in any other part where the *Spaniards* or *Portugueſes* ſettled, (for I don't reckon the poor *Americans*, who were firſt rack'd into baptiſm, and then put to death for being rich, among the number of Chriſtians) *Varenius* gives ſeveral very probable reaſons for it, beſides the excellency of the Chriſtian doctrine, *viz.*

Reaſons for the ſpeedy converſion of the Japaneſes.

1. The innate deſire of the natives to learn any thing that they thought capable of improving their minds, and therefore they were ready to ask queſtions when any new thing, either in religion or ſcience, was propos'd: Which gave the jeſuites opportunity to inſtruct them.

2. The great mercy and indulgence of the Chriſtian doctrine towards the poor; whereas, by the principles and practice of the *Bonzi*, they were excluded from hopes of ſalvation, unleſs they perform'd acts of piety, which their circumſtances, in a manner, render'd impoſſible. Their ſeeing the great care of the jeſuites, in making hoſpitals for the poor, and lazarets for ſuch as were leprous, the poor flock'd to them for inſtruction; and, when they were told, that the goſpel prefer'd them, in another world, to the rich and great, they embrac'd it, as their greateſt happineſs. Beſides, they had a great opinion of the piety and compaſſion of the jeſuites, who had come ſo far out of pure love to their ſouls: For they ſaw that they deſpis'd riches, and apply'd themſelves wholly to inſtruct the ignorant.

3. The commerce of the *Portugueſes* was a great advantage to the ſeveral iſlands of *Japan*, and the kings and governors finding, or being inform'd, that the jeſuites had great intereſt with them, allow'd them to preach the goſpel without reſtraint, in hopes of bringing the *Portugueſe* ſhips to their ports. This was the reaſon of their being ſo well receiv'd at

at *Bongo*, *Firando*, *Amanguqui*, and afterwards at other places.

4. The inclination of the people to aſtronomy, and their ignorance in that ſcience, gave the jeſuites an opportunity of frequent converſation with them upon that ſubject; and their rectifying the miſtakes they had imbib'd with regard to the celeſtial globe, gave the people a good opinion of their knowledge, and made them liſten with more attention to their diſcourſes about religion.

Theſe were great helps to the jeſuites as Chriſtians. But, as *Roman* Catholicks, our author adds another conſideration, which was of great uſe to them, *viz.*

Reſemblance of the jeſuites practice with the ceremonies in Japan.

5. The affinity of the religion of the country, in many points, with the Chriſtian religion taught by the jeſuites. For, beſides that great article, common to all Chriſtians, of expecting ſalvation by the merits and ſufferings of CHRIST, which was agreeable to the doctrine of the *Bonzi* about the merits of their gods, there were many other things, in which the jeſuites and they agreed. Such as, 1. Their having convents both for men and women, and leading a monaſtic life. 2. Their preaching up the unlawfulneſs of eating fleſh. [I do not blame the jeſuites for abſtaining from fleſh; for it was agreeable to St. *Paul*'s maxim, of *not eating fleſh while the world ſtood, if it offended his weak brother:* But I think they carried it too far, in making it a precept of the goſpel to abſtain from eating fleſh.] 3. Their forbidding the clergy to marry, which agreed with the beſt of their *Bonzis* practice of celibacy. 4. That the religious, who liv'd up to the ſtricteſt rules of piety, not only ſav'd their own ſouls, but could tranſfer their ſupererogating merits to others, or, at leaſt, that the church could apply them to ſuch as, by extraordinary charity, deſerv'd that favour: Which was very little different from the *Bonzis* diſtributing the merits of their ſaints, to thoſe who deſerv'd them beſt by their liberality. 5. The devotions to and for the dead, altho' they were different in ceremonies, yet had the ſame foundation, among the jeſuites and the *Japaneſes*, *viz.* that ſome of the deceas'd can help us, and therefore we ought to pray to them; others again want our aſſiſtance, and therefore we ſhould afford it them. 6. Their riſing in the night at certain hours, to their prayers, and repeating ſuch a ſet number of orations, which they count by beads, was the very practice of the *Japaneſes*, as *Xaverius* and the other fathers have told us. And 7. Their pilgrimages to the ſhrines of the ſaints are not unlike thoſe in *Japan*, but with different ceremonies. This affinity in ſome of their principles and practices, which the fathers were too wiſe not to improve to the beſt advantage, gave their preaching ſuch credit, as, by the bleſſing of GOD, brought ſuch a harveſt as we have already mention'd.

The perſecution in Japan.

In ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate was Chriſtianity 'till about 1616, when the perſecution began, as before related in this chapter. It would be ungrateful to the reader to give a detail of the bloody executions of men, women, and children, of the unnatural inventions for puniſhing women married and unmarried, which I am aſham'd to mention, and ſuch as I do not remember to have read in all the primitive perſecutions, upon the account of religion, even as *Varenius* has it from *Dutch* authors, and eſpecially from *Caron*, the antichriſtian author of all the tragedy. But, however thoſe authors, who were a ſcandal and diſgrace to the Chriſtian name, pretend that the poor *Japaneſes* were rather *obſtinate* than *conſtant* in their profeſſing Chriſtianity, becauſe they ſay many of thoſe martyrs were ignorant, and could only repeat the *Pater noſter*, *Ave Maria*, and *Leſen*, as the *Dutch* call'd it, that is, *Kyrie eleeſon*, or *Lord have mercy upon us*, I would much rather truſt my ſoul with one of thoſe ignorant *Japaneſes*, who were undoubtedly inſtructed in the doctrine of CHRIST's death and reſurrection, and had been baptiz'd into that faith, and loſt their lives rather than renounce it, than I would change conditions with the moſt learned *Dutchman* who has been at *Japan* ſince that perſecution firſt began, and has declar'd himſelf no Chriſtian, and, as a ſign of it, has trampled the croſs under his feet, which, as I obſerv'd before, is as formal a *denying of* CHRIST *crucified*, as if they had renounc'd their baptiſm, if ever they had any.

Chriſtianity extirpated.

All that I ſhall farther add, upon this ſubject, is, that the government never left proſecuting the Chriſtians in *Japan*, 'till they had, as far as appears, quite rooted them out. Many *European* prieſts ſuffer'd, to their immortal honour, and I doubt not to their eternal felicity, altho' I am not of their opinion in many things; but they held the foundation, and ſuffer'd, not for the *pope's ſupremacy*, *the invocation of ſaints*, their *miſtaken purgatory*, or unintelligible *tranſubſtantiation*, but for their conſtant maintaining the *faith of* CHRIST *crucified*, and that ſalvation is only to be had in that faith. If I have been more prolix upon this ſubject of religion than ſome of my readers would have deſired, I ſhall make no other apology, but that I made what I have ſaid as ſhort as my time would allow.

Marriages.

As to their marriages in *Japan*, *Varenius* obſerves, there is little difference from

from the other adjacent kingdoms on the continent; only that there is here only one wife whoſe children can inherit either the crown, or hereditary lands: (But the *Dairo* is excepted from this rule, as we ſhall ſhew by and by.) Every man may have as many concubines as he can maintain. The great nobles muſt take their wives from the emperor, but they are at liberty to chuſe their own concubines. When ſuch a marriage is to be perform'd, the parties repair to the temple, and the *Bonzo* repeats the contract, whilſt they ſtand before the idol with lighted torches in their hands; then the friends wiſh them joy, and preſent them as they think fit. There is no ſuch thing as portions to be given with young ladies, becauſe the nobles will allow of nothing that might make them proud. But the meaner ſort are not ſo nice, and will thank the woman's parents for aſſiſting them with money or goods. The great people have in their *Seraglios* all that is requiſite for the diverting their wives, ſuch as gardens, fiſh-ponds, aviaries, *&c.* and they have often comedies repreſented, to pleaſe them: And the leaſt attendance they have, between the children of noblemen, by their concubines, and other maids, is 20, and thoſe whoſe income will alow it, keep 200 maids for their wife, who follow her when ſhe goes abroad, in cloſe litters.

The power of huſbands. The husbands have power to divorce their wives without any fault, and the ordinary people often do it; but the nobility ſeldom make uſe of that power; only they forbear their apartment, which is worſe than divorce, and therefore they take all the pains imaginable to pleaſe, and make themſelves agreeable to, their husbands, leſt they ſhould ſpend all their time with their concubines, and neglect them, againſt which they have no remedy.

The virgins who attend his wife are kept with great care, and never have any opportunity of converſing with men. When they come to be 28 years of age, the maſter beſtows ſuch as he pleaſes in marriage to his chief ſervants, and augments their wages, or gives a portion with the girls.

Adultery is puniſh'd with death. There is no room for divorce in caſe of adultery; for the leaſt ſuſpicion of it coſts the woman her life: And if, by any connivance, a man ſhould have acceſs to another man's wife, the husband makes ſhort work with the man, his wife, and all that are concern'd in bringing them together. But adultery very rarely happens in *Japan*.

They have, in all the trading towns eſpecially in ſea-ports, and publick, much frequented roads, publick houſes of pleaſure, for ſuch as have no wives, or are at a diſtance from them. In thoſe places, the pander, or bawd, keeps a number of the handſomeſt girls they can pick up, and hire them out for any time agreed on, and they ſay they are faithful to their new maſters, with whom they contract a ſort of marriage for the time named, and after that is expir'd they go home to him or her who hir'd them out. Married men, who live in the place, may likewiſe go to theſe houſes without blame; but to attempt to abuſe a virgin, or a girl under the reputation of a virgin, unleſs one has taken her for a concubine, with the conſent of her parents, or has bought her from the publick ſtews, is certain death. The women of this country are ſaid to be very faithful, and very modeſt, and ſeveral inſtances are given of both.

Polygamy only allow'd to the Dairo. But we ſaid, that the *Dairo* was an exception to the *Japaneſes* having but one wife. He is allowed to have no leſs than a round dozen, beſides his concubines, and, when he goes abroad, his wives, or ſuch of them as he appoints, go along with him in chariots or litters. The apartments in his palace at *Meaco*, where his wives are kept, are in two buildings, over-againſt one another, each of them conſiſting of ſix houſes, one for each of his wives, with her attendants. Behind them is another building, for his miſtreſſes.

In each of his wives houſes there is a magnificent ſupper prepar'd every night, becauſe they do not know which of them he deſigns to ſup with. As ſoon as he enters the houſe of any one of them, notice is given to all the reſt, and the other 11 fly to that place, with all the virgins who wait upon them, together with the muſick which belongs to each of them; and there they ſtrive which of them ſhall make themſelves moſt agreeable to him. All the ſuppers are likewiſe brought thither, and make up an overgrown feaſt. They tell us of troubleſome ceremonies in chuſing a nurſe for his firſt ſon, and that ſhe is reſpected little leſs than his wives are; but thoſe I omit, as nothing material. Indeed the whole affair of the *Dairo* ſounds very odd, and if all authors who write of *Japan* did not mention it, one would ſuſpect the truth of it. But, if this *Pope* in *Japan* ſhould, ſome time or other, ſet his foot upon the emperor's neck, or make him hold his bridle or ſtirrup, when he mounts his horſe, he would have more to ſay in vindication of it than any of the Popes of *Rome* have.

All that now remains with regard to *Japan*, is to give ſome account of their burials. Theſe, *Varenius* tells us, are different, according to the circumſtances of the family. If they are poor, and yet of noble families, they bury their dead by night, without any ceremony. But if they

they are in good circumſtances, the funeral is perform'd in the following manner.

Funeral rites. About an hour before the corps is taken out of the houſe, the friends go, in their beſt dreſs, to the pile, and are follow'd by a company of women in the neighbourhood, all dreſs'd in white, with party-colour'd veils upon their heads, accompanied by their women attendants in white ſilk. The women of quality are carried in litters of cedar, finely fitted up. After theſe come a number of men a-foot, in their richeſt apparel. Some time after, appear the chief *Bonzi* of the place, ſhining in gold and ſilk, carried in a litter richly adorn'd, and attended by 30 other prieſts, in linnen veſtments, with black cloaks over them, but ſo thin that the white appears though them. Then comes one, in aſh-colour habit, (which is mourning there, as well as white) with a lighted torch of pine, to ſhew the corpſe the way to the pile. Then follow about 200 *Bonzi*, ſinging hymns to the honour of the idol whom the deceas'd had in greateſt eſteem; their muſick is accompanied with a great baſon, by way of bell, beating all the way, and attended by others with two paper caniſters, full of painted flowers, upon long poles, by ſhaking of which with an even motion, they make the flowers fall by degrees as they go, which ſtrows along the road. After theſe come 8 more *Bonzi*, trailing banners upon the ground, inſcrib'd with the idol's name, and ten lanthorns with the ſame inſcription ſucceed the enſigns, with candles or lamps within, ready lighted. Then two young men follow in aſh-colour habits, with torches to ſet fire to the pile, but they are not lighted 'till a little before that is to be done. Many others follow in the ſame colour cloaths, with three corner caps (a great ornament with them) upon their heads, with the name of the idol in ſchedules ſtuck in them; and carries a board with the ſame name painted in gold letters.

After all this proceſſion is paſt, the corpſe appears, carried upon men's ſhoulders, and ſitting in a magnificent bed or litter, with his hands join'd, as in a praying poſture. The body is cover'd, beſies the other cloaths, with a looſe gown of papers, or ruſhes, (for I am not ſure which) preſcrib'd in the book which they pretend their idol, by whoſe merits they hope to be ſav'd, left behind him, when he went to paradiſe.

The corps is immediately follow'd by the ſons of the deceas'd, the *youngeſt* of whom (ſays *Varenius*, but *Purchas*, who takes it from the ſame author, *viz. Frojus*, ſays it is the eldeſt) carries a torch, to light the pile. Laſt of all comes the mob, who, I ſuppoſe, are not a part of the proceſſion, but at their own pleaſure, as it generally happens at all burials.

When they come to the pile, all the *Bonzi*, with the whole multitude, invoke the idol, for an hour together, with a terrible noiſe, and that augmented by their baſons conſtantly beaten. The pile is incloſed by a ſquare tent, at a good diſtance from it on all ſides, and an entry on each ſide into the area. In the middle is a round ditch, fill'd with wood artificially pil'd up. On the right and left of the pile are tables with all ſorts of eatables, except fiſh and fleſh, as alſo a ſtove ſet upon coals, for perfuming.

When the corps comes within the tent, they carry it thrice round the ditch, and then, by the help of ropes, they ſet the bed upon the pile, and then the chief *Bonzo* repeats ſome verſes which the audience is never the wiſer for, and when he has done, he waves a lighted torch thrice round his head, and then throws it from him, which two of the ſons, or the two neareſt relations, of the deceaſed, who ſtand by the body, go and take up; and having by turns lifted it up 3 times towards the body, they put each his hand to it, and ſo throw it into the pile, which is a ſign for the others before-mention'd to ſet fire to it on the other ſide, with their torches, which they light for that purpoſe, when the *Bonzo* begins his verſes. Then the relations throw oyl, ſweet wood, and perfumes, upon the pile, which blaze out in a moment.

As ſoon as the pile is on all ſides kindled, the ſons, or, in caſe he left none, the neareſt relations, go to the ſtove, and, putting ſweet wood in it, by a ſolemn perfume, worſhip their departed friend, whom they reckon among the number of the bleſſed; and then, having rewarded the *Bonzi* liberally, and left the banquet to the porters and the poor, they return home, and the next day they go back, with all their friends, to gather the aſhes and bones of the defunct, which they put into an urn, and ſo bring them home, placing the urn, cover'd with a cloth, in the middle of the houſe, where they keep it ſeven days, and then the *Bonzi* are call'd to the private obſequies, which are perform'd by putting the urn in the ground, with a ſquare ſtone over the place, whereupon is written the name of the perſon, with that of the idol which he worſhip'd.

Theſe burials coſt 3000 gold ducats very often, and the meaneſt who makes a burial ſpends 200. For he who cannot afford that makes none at all. And this ſhall ſuffice concerning *Japan*, properly ſo call'd.

Before

Before we leave this empire, and cloſe this chapter, it will not be improper to take ſome notice of *Jeſſo*, or *Tedſo*, both becauſe it is ſaid to be tributary to the emperor of *Japan*, and likewiſe becauſe there is ſo little of it known to us, that it would not be worth while to give it a chapter by itſelf.

Jeſſo, or Yedſo.

By what we have ſaid of *Japan*, unleſs the *Dutch* have deceiv'd us, *Jeſſo* does not join to it, but is ſeparated from thoſe iſlands, by the ſtreights of *Sanguar*, which, they tell us, are 2 degrees, or 40 leagues. But capt. *Sarris*'s account makes it only 10 leagues from *Japan*. * He ſays, (from the report of a *Japaneſe*, who had been twice at *Tedſo*, as he calls it) that the people of that country are of a fair complexion, good-natur'd, and not unmannerly, altho' the outward aſpect does not ſeem to denote either good manners or good temper, for they are all cover'd with hair, like monkeys.

* See *Harris's Bibl. Vol. I. p.* 149.

Their weapons are bows and poiſon'd arrows. They of the ſouth parts of the country are a ſenſible people, and underſtand commerce, having the knowledge of weights and meaſures. The inhabitants farther north are repreſented, by his account, as people of another race, being all dwarfs, whereas thoſe of the ſouth are much of the ſtature of the *Japaneſes*. None of them have any cloaths but what they get from *Japan*, from whence likewiſe they have moſt of the rice which they uſe, for, by what we yet know of them, they ſeem not to be a very induſtrious people. They trade with the *Japaneſes* for rice, cotton cloth, iron and lead, and, in ſhort, for any thing neceſſary for the back and belly; for which they pay ſilver and gold duſt, which they gather out of their rivers in great abundance.

The chief trading town in *Jeſſo* is *Matchma*, or *Matzima*, where the *Japaneſes* have a fort and garriſon, and above 500 families from *Japan* live there. Others ſay that the emperor of *Japan* receives tribute there of gold and ſilver, feathers and fine furs. The natives who live in the inland country come to *Matchma* twice a year, *viz.* in *March* and *September*. In *March* they bring ſalmon, and other dry'd fiſh, beſides gold and ſilver, which they truck with the *Japaneſes*; and in *September* they come to lay in their winter proviſions.

Captain *Sarris* likewiſe tells us, that the winds hold the ſame courſe here, for the moſt part, as in *Japan*, *viz.* the northerly from *September* to *March*, and thoſe are ſucceeded by the ſoutherly winds 'till *September* again. And there runs a great current between *Jeſſo* and *Japan*, which comes from *Corea*, and goes E. N. E.

We ſhall not trouble the reader with a fruitleſs conjecture whether *Jeſſo* joins to *America*, or is a part of *Tartary*, or whether it is an iſland. That we ſhall leave to farther diſcoveries.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Oriental Iſlands.

HAVING given an abſtract of what ſeveral authors have handed down to us of the different empires and ſtates as yet known to us in the eaſtern parts of *Aſia*, there is nothing left of the continent now to treat of except the *Turkiſh* empire in *Aſia*. But having been ſo long detain'd in the eaſt, by the great empires of *Indoſtan*, *China*, and *Japan*, we chuſe to finiſh that part of the world by ſaying what we judge neceſſary concerning the *Oriental Iſlands*, rather than be oblig'd to come back ſo many hundred leagues, after we had gone to *Turky*. We therefore ſhall take them in order, as they lie, from eaſt to weſt.

SECT. I.

Of the LADRONES, *or Thieves Iſlands.*

The Ladrone iſlands diſcover'd by Magellan

THE *Ladrone* iſlands being the moſt eaſterly of all benorth the line, we ſhall begin with them. They were diſcover'd by *Ferdinand Magellan*, or *Magellanes*, at the ſame time that he found out the way to the ſouth ſea, and left his name to the ſtreights through which he paſt.

The occaſion of his undertaking this voyage, as we are told by *Pigafetta*, in his journal of it, was, that, having ſerv'd the king of *Portugal*, whoſe ſubject he was, and, having ſignaliz'd himſelf, under the famous *Albuquerque*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, he thought he deſerv'd

ſerv'd ſome better preferment than he had, but was ſo modeſt in his pretenſions, that he only deſir'd an addition of half a ducat a month to his pay, which being reſus'd to him, he in diſguſt left *Portugal*, and offer'd his ſervice to *Charles* V. emperor and king of *Spain*.

The agreement between *Spain* and *Portugal*, in conſequence of the pope's bulls granted to them both, as we ſaid in the firſt part of our *Traveller*, * was, that *Spain* ſhould poſſeſs all that ſhould be diſcover'd weſtward of a line ſuppos'd to be drawn from north to ſouth, 270 leagues weſt of the *Azores*, and all the diſcoveries eaſtward of that line, ſhould belong to *Portugal*. Both princes having agreed to this, *June* 7, 1493, and ratify'd it ſome months after, the *Portugueſes* advanced in their diſcoveries, in the *Indian* ocean, and having gotten footing in ſeveral parts of the continent, they, at laſt, in the beginning of the XVIth century, diſcover'd the *Molucca*, or *Spice Iſlands*.

* B. I. c. 1. p. 21.

Magellan, having reſoly'd, out of diſguſt to his natural prince, to betray both his king and country, propos'd to the emperor, to diſcover the *Spice Iſlands*, from the weſt, which would, by the agreement juſt mention'd, give him a title to them. The emperor, approving of the propoſal, gave him 5 ſhips and 300 men, with which he found a paſſage into the *South Sea*, *Nov.* 28, 1520, of which we gave an account before. †

† B. I. Ch. V. p. 192.

Upon the 6th of *March* following, he came up with the iſlands we now treat of, to which he gave the name of *Ladrones*, from the thieviſh diſpoſition he obſerv'd in the natives. From thence he ſail'd in ſearch of the *Spice Iſlands*, to which he thus ſhew'd the *Spaniards* the way from the weſt, altho' he did not live to ſee them, nor to reap the reward of betraying his country; for he died in the *Philippine* iſlands, being ſhot with a poiſon'd arrow. His men, after his death, ſail'd to the *Moluccas*, and ſettled a factory at *Tydore*. But, to return to the *Ladrones*.

Their ſituation.

Theſe iſlands lie between 12 and 28 degrees of north latitude, to the eaſt of the *Philippine* iſlands, and north-eaſt of the *Moluccas*. There are ſo many of them, that no body has reckon'd them all; but the moſt conſiderable among them are, 1. *Guam*, in 13 deg. 21 min. lat. 2. *Sarpanta*, in 14 deg. 3. *Buonviſta*, in 15 deg. 4. *Saeſpara*, in 15 d. 40 m. 5. *Anatan*, in 17 d. 20 m. 6. *Sarigan*, in 17 d. 25 m. 7. *Guagam*, in 18 d. 8. *Alamaguam*, in 18 d. 18 m. 9. *Pagon*, in 18 d. 4 m. 10. The burning mountain of *Griga*, in 19 d. 33 m. 11. *Tina* and *Manga*, in 20 d. 45 m. 12. *Urrac*, in 21 d. 13. *Patas*, in 26 d. 30 m. 14. *La Diſconocida*, in 25 50. 15. *Malabrigo*, in 27 40.

We are not told which of theſe *Magellan* touch'd at, but his ſtay was very ſhort, for the natives were ſo nimble-finger'd, that they could keep nothing for them, even after they had beaten ſome, and kill'd others; ſo that, as we have ſaid, he call'd all the iſlands hereabouts, *Las Ladrones*, which name they retain to this day.

After the road was thus open'd by *Magellan*, between *America* and the eaſtern ocean, by the way of the *South Sea*, many others follow'd his track, and the *Ladrone* iſlands ſerv'd to the ſame purpoſe, in the voyages from *Peru*, *Chili*, or other places of *America*, to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as the iſlands of *S. Helena* and the *Aſcenſion* do in the voyages, by the cape of *Good-Hope*, from *India* to *Europe*, or *America*, in the *Atlantic* ocean; that is, they were reſting and refreſhing places, after a terrible ſtretch of 7302 miles, by Mr. *Dampier's* computation, from cape *Corientes*, a point of *Mexico* on the *South Sea*, to *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* iſlands. And a great part of *Mexico* being in the ſame latitude with theſe iſlands, the run from cape *Corientes* to *Guam* is the ſhorteſt cut, whereas it muſt be a longer ſtretch from *Peru* and *Chili*, both becauſe they are many degrees farther ſouth, and likewiſe more to the eaſtward than *Corientes*.

Mr. *Dampier* ſays, that ſomewhat more than half way between *Mexico* and the *Ladrones*, they believed there was land near them, becauſe of the number of fowls which they met with in that place, and no where elſe, during that long track of ſea; but they ſaw no land 'till they came within 8 leagues of *Guam*, which he ſays is in 13 deg. 21 min. n. lat.

This iſland lies eaſt and weſt, 12 leagues in length, and four broad, from ſouth to north. The ſoil is tolerably fruitful, and produces rice, pine-apples, muſk and water-melons, oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts. But *Dampier* tells of one fruit which is pretty ſingular; he call it the *Bread-Fruit*. The tree is as big as a large apple-tree, and has dark leaves; the fruit is round, and grows as apples do, being of the bulk of a penny loaf: As it ripens it turns yellow, ſoft, and ſweet. The natives bake the green fruit 'till the rind grows black, which being ſcrap'd off the inſide is ſoft and white, like new-bak'd bread, without either ſeed or ſtone; but it grows harſh in 24 hours. This fruit is in ſeaſon 8 months, ſo that, during that time, they uſe no other bread.

The *Spaniards* keeping this iſland for a refreſhing place for the *Acapulco* ſhips, which ſail to *Manilla*, they have a fort with

with ſix guns, and a garriſon of 30 ſoldiers, which are ſufficient, ſince the *Dutch* have no occaſion to take it from them. There were many *Indian* families in *Guam*, many years ago; but the *Spaniards*, having diſcover'd a plot, us'd them ſo ill, that they ruin'd the plantation, and withdrew to another iſland; ſo that about 40 years ago, there were not above 100 natives upon the iſland.

The people.

The *Spaniards*, who firſt diſcover'd it, ſtaying ſo ſhort a time there, and being, for the time they ſtaid, in a ſtate of war with the natives, could not learn much, either of their principles or religion; but they tell us, that the men went ſtark naked, had long black hair reaching down to their waſtes; that they anointed themſelves all over with oyl made of cocoa-nuts, and colour'd their teeth black or red. But the women were more modeſt, having their bodies cover'd with the inner bark of the palm-tree, and were always at work, making mats of the ſame bark for lying upon, and for ſheets and blankets, as well as for their own wearing cloaths.

Their building boats.

The greateſt piece of ingenuity they obſerv'd among the men, was their dexterity in making their boats, which capt. *Dampier* alſo commends. They make the keel of one piece of timber hollow'd, and ſharp at both ends, and then build from it about 4 or 5 foot high; but with this difference, that the one ſide of the boat is built perpendicular from the keel, and the other rounded as our boats are. To keep the ſtrait ſide from overſetting, they uſe two broad boards on that ſide. The ſtrait ſide is always to the wind, and if the wind changes, or that they are oblig'd to come back with the ſame wind, they turn either end of the boat for the prow, they being both alike, and the ſail in the middle. Inſtead of a rudder, they have a paddle, or broad ſtick; and thoſe boats are ſo made for expedition, that they will ſail 20 miles in an hour.

Their houſes are of wood, divided into different apartments, and cover'd with boards and fig-leaves. Their furniture of the ſame; and their meat, cocoa-nuts, banana's, large figs, ſugar-canes, and fiſh and fowl, beſides rice, and the bread-fruit, formerly mention'd.

They are repreſented as extremely curious, and taken with ſtrange ſights; *Pigafetta* ſays, they were ſo intent upon looking at things they had not ſeen before, that when ſome of them were mortally wounded with the *Spaniards* arrows, they would pull them out of their own bodies, and gaze at the feathers of one end, and the pile at the other, 'till they drop'd down dead.

But in this voyage of *Magellan*, before his death, we have an account of his calling at ſeveral other iſlands, which I do not find nam'd among the *Philippines* or *Moluccas*, and therefore I believe they are to be reckon'd among the *Ladrones*, eſpecially ſince we are told that *Zamal*, the firſt place which they came to, after what they call'd *Ladrones*, was but 30 leagues from the firſt of the *Ladrones*: For, by our maps, and all the accounts we have of the *Philippine* iſlands, there are many degrees of longitude between them; ſo that, none of them can be ſo near as 300 leagues to *Guam*. Beſides, we are told of the king of *Buthuan*'s ſending his pilots along with them, to conduct them to other iſlands, *viz. Zabul*, *Zeilon*, *Meſſina*, and *Catighan*, which I ſuppoſe to have been the firſt of the *Philippines*, altho' they are now call'd by other names; and the *Zeilon* mention'd here cannot be *Ceilon* in *India*, but a much ſmaller iſland among the *Philippines*. If this conjecture be true, all the iſlands call'd now *Ladrones* were not, at that time, thieves; for *Magellan* and his people were well receiv'd at *Buthuan*, and that iſland was very rich in gold; ſo that ſome of the natives offer'd the *Spaniards* a crown of maſſy gold, and a chain of the ſame metal, for 6 ſtrings of chryſtal beads; but *Magellan* ſtop'd the bargain, leſt the *Indians* ſhould come to underſtand the value of gold, at leaſt in the eſteem of the *Europeans*. There being little elſe worth obſerving with reſpect to the *Ladrones*, we ſhall proceed to

SECT. II.

Of the PHILIPPINE *iſlands.*

WE have frequently mention'd the *Philippine* iſlands in our *Traveller*, but eſpecially in the beginning of this ſecond book, when we treated of the voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*. But being now to give a particular account of them by themſelves, we ſhall avoid, as much as we can, repeating what has been ſaid before; but where it happens that for connection's ſake we ſhall be oblig'd to mention the ſame thing twice, the reader, I hope, will forgive us.

Magellan *firſt diſcovers the* Philippines.

The firſt account we have of theſe iſlands is from *Pigafetta*, who accompanied *Magellan* in the diſcovery of the ſtreights call'd by his name; for after he had left the *Ladrones*, as we ſaid in the laſt *ſection*, he ſail'd to thoſe iſlands (call'd the *Philippines* long after) by him nam'd the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, from the day on which they were diſcover'd, which was in holy week, 1521.

Zabul, or Sebu.

April 7 they enter'd the port of *Zabul*, one of the *Philippine* iſlands, now call'd *Sebu*, where *Magellan* ſaluted the city with his great guns, to their great ſurprize and terror; but the admiral ſending meſſengers aſhore, with an interpreter, who was one of the natives of *Buthuan*, he gave them to underſtand, that the diſcharge of the cannon was a ſign of civility and reſpect; that the ſhips belong'd to a great foreign prince, and that they were come into thoſe ſeas in ſearch of the *Spice Iſlands*, and had only call'd at that iſland by the way.

The king of *Zabul*, encourag'd by this, welcom'd them, but deſir'd they would pay him tribute, as other ſhips did; the *Spaniards* anſwer'd, that their admiral was the ſervant of a great king, to whom many nations paid tribute, but he never had own'd any ſuperior. There happen'd to be a Moor at court, who had been in ſome of the *Portugueſe* colonies, and taking *Magellan*'s people to belong to them, told the king to beware how he affronted thoſe men, for they were the ſame nation who had conquer'd *Calicut* and *Malacca*. This ſtruck ſuch fear in the king, that he was ready to pay them tribute, and offer'd them all good uſage.

After this, the king of *Zabul*, accompany'd by the king of an adjacent iſland, and a nephew of his own, came aboard the admiral, who entertain'd them much to their ſatisfaction, and ſoon after he went aſhore, and was receiv'd by the king with much kindneſs, a part of the entertainment being the ſinging and dancing of the king's daughters naked, as all the people of the iſland were, only ſomething to cover their nakedneſs.

After the admiral got into familiarity with thoſe two kings, he ſpoke to them of religion, and our author ſays, they were both converted, with about 500 men of the iſland, as alſo the queen and 40 of her maids, and were all baptiz'd with great ſolemnity, and din'd aboard the admiral. The king of *Zabul* was nam'd *Charles*, after the emperor, and the young prince, *Ferdinand*, and the king of *Meſſana* got the name of *John*. It is ſaid, that the king's brother was miraculouſly cur'd, upon his being baptiz'd, of a diſeaſe he had labour'd under a long time, and that *Magellan* had pledg'd his head for his immediate recovery, if they would burn their idols, and be baptiz'd.

Two kings turn Chriſtians.

Our author repreſents this people, even in their heathen ſtate, as a nation of great honeſty and juſtice. Their houſes were built high from the ground, like thoſe of *Siam*, againſt the overflowing of rivers. But one curioſity he tells us of, which is pretty extraordinary, *viz.* a water fowl, call'd *Lughan*, no bigger than a crow, which kills whales, by being ſwallow'd alive by them, and eating their hearts. The ſkin of the fowl is black, but it is good eating. The *Spaniards* got a good deal of gold in *Zabul*; for they ſold all the old iron they had for the value of a gold ducat a pound; and all ſort of proviſions they got for trifles which were of no uſe to them.

Near this iſland, there is another, which our author calls *Mathan*, and, as he tells us, had two kings, one of whom refuſing to have any commerce with the *Spaniards*, *Magellan* made war upon him, and having more courage than prudence, he engag'd himſelf too far among the *Indians*, and being firſt wounded with a poiſon'd arrow, and then in the head with a lance, his body became a prey to the barbarians, who refus'd to give it up for any ranſom.

Magellan is kill'd at Mathan.

Their general being thus kill'd, the *Spaniards* left *Mathan*, and having choſen two of their number to ſupply his place, they ſet ſail for other iſlands, *viz.* *Bohol*, *Paviloghan*, *Chippit*, and *Cagaian*, all ſouthward of *Zabul*; ſome of which they found well ſtor'd with gold, rice, ginger, goats, hogs, hens, &c. and the people very civil.

From theſe iſlands, they ſail'd, in ſearch of the *Molucca's*, to the great iſle of *Borneo*, which lies ſouth weſt of the *Philippines*; the king of that iſle was a Moor, and the country Mahometans. They were kindly receiv'd by him. But as our preſent buſineſs is only with the *Philippine* iſlands, we ſhall leave the *Spaniards* to go home by themſelves, and return to our ſubject.

Altho' *Magellan* thus diſcover'd theſe iſlands in 1521, the *Spaniards* did not make any uſe of the diſcovery for ſome time; and great diſputes happen'd between *Spain* and *Portugal*, about the right to them. At laſt the *Spaniards* ſettled a colony at *Tandaga* in 1564, and in honour of *Philip* II. then king of *Spain*, they call'd that iſland *Philippina*, which name has ſince been given to all the iſlands adjacent.

14 principal iſlands.

The principal iſlands, now call'd *Philippine*, are, 1. *Manilla*, formerly *Luconia*, 2. *Tandaga*, 3. *Masbat*, 4. *Mendoro*, 5. *Luban*, 6. *Paragaya*, 7. *Panay*, 8. *Leyte*, 9. *Bohol*, 10. *Sebu*, 11. *Negros*, 12. *St. John*, 13. *Xollo*, and 14. *Mindanao*. There are many more ſmall iſlands to which our authors have given no names. They lie between the 5th and 19th degrees of n. lat. and are ſaid by ſome to be 1000 iſlands in all.

Manilla, or Lucania.

Manilla is ſituated between 13 and 19 degrees, which makes the length of it to be 360 miles, but it is of unequal breadth, being in ſome places 120, and in others not

not above 60 miles. The city of *Manilla*, from which the iſland has its name, ſtands in the ſouth end of the iſle, upon a point of land, by a river's ſide, upon which point the *Spaniards* built a fort, which commands the river. The city is about 2 miles in circuit, ſurrounded with a wall and ditch, with baſtions and out-works. The ſtreets are large, and the houſes built of wood above the firſt floor, becauſe of the frequent earthquakes. They have a large cathedral, and ſeveral other churches, with rich altars, and likewiſe convents for men and women; but moſt of them are of wood.

Manilla is the ſeat of the *Spaniſh* vice-roy, and the capital of the iſland. Under the vice-roy are two *Alcades*, or governors, one for the *Spaniards*, and the other to govern the *Chineſes*, and other *Indians*, who inhabit the city and ſuburbs. The town itſelf is peopled by a medly of *Spaniards*, *Chineſes*, *Moors*, and *Indians*, who are white, black, or tawny, according to their different countries. And without the walls there are ſeveral nations of *Indians*, who live on both ſides of the river, in houſes rais'd from the ground like the *Siameſe* houſes, and for the ſame reaſon.

All that part of the iſland which is under the dominion of *Spain*, is divided into 11 provinces, each having its own *Alcade*, ſubject to the vice-roy. But the mountains and other places remote from the *Spaniſh* ſettlements are inhabited by a ſort of clans who remove from place to place, as they have eaten what was to be had in the laſt.

Nor is this peculiar to the iſland of *Manilla*, but is generally the caſe of the other iſlands. And thoſe people are blacks; but from what part of the globe they came is not eaſy to determine. There is difference of opinions concerning their coming thither; ſome ſay they were the firſt proprietors, and went to thoſe iſlands from *Africa*. But the diſtance is ſo great between the neareſt part of *Africa* and the *Philippines*, that it is not probable they could have come from thence: Beſides that they ſeem to be a very different people. The *Caffres* of *Africa* have thick lips, flat noſes, and ſhort woolly hair; but the blacks of the *Philippines* have good features, and long hair, as any *European* or *Indian*. Mr. *Salmon* ſeems to be of opinion, that they came from the peninſula of *India*, on this ſide the *Ganges*, becauſe they reſemble them moſt in the hair and feature. But, for my part, I ſhall neither trouble the reader nor myſelf to unriddle myſteries ſo hard to come at the knowledge of, ſince there is great difficulty in finding the origine of any nation which had not the knowledge of letters.

Different people inhabit the iſles.

But, beſides the blacks, there are ſeveral other inhabitants in theſe iſlands, ſuch as, 1. The poſterity of the *Chineſes*, who were once poſſeſs'd of many of the ſea-coaſts, and a good number of them live in the port towns to this day. 2. The *Malayan Moors*, who are Mahometans, and came to the *Philippines*, from *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, &c. 3. The *Europeans*, from *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c. and 4. The *Meſtizes*, or mix'd breed, compounded of all the others.

The natives of all ſorts, whether black, white, or tawny, are ſaid to be well ſhap'd, both men and women, of a middle ſize, and tolerably handſome. The women tie up their hair in rolls behind, and adorn their heads with jewels, or, if they have none of thoſe, they put ſomething that glitters inſtead of them; they abound in neck-laces, ear-rings, and bracelets upon their arms and legs, and rings upon their fingers. As to their clothing, it is agreeable to the nation they belong to; the *Spaniards*, and their poſterity, after the *Spaniſh* way; the *Chineſes*, and Moors, after the faſhion of their countries, and the blacks wear only a roller about their waſtes.

Their common food is boil'd rice and fiſh, fleſh being only for holy day fare. Their drink is hot water, and ſometimes palm wine, toddy, and arrack, and *Chiliam*, which is the juice of the ſugar-cane boil'd. The blacks in the woods and mountains live only upon roots and fruit, and the fleſh of any beaſt they can kill, whether clean or unclean, not applying themſelves to any kind of agriculture. But the *Spaniards* live well. Both men and women ſmoke tobacco, and chew betel.

They ſhew great reſpect to ſuperiors, and will not ſpeak to them 'till they begin firſt. They uſe always the third perſon in ſpeaking to any one, and never ſay *I* nor *You*.

The Philippine iſlands convenient for trade.

Theſe iſlands, eſpecially *Manilla*, lie very conveniently for the trade both of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*; and when the *Spaniards* were poſſeſs'd of them and the *Moluccas*, they were maſters of both thoſe markets. For they ſent every year two ſtout ſhips to *Acapulco* in *New Spain*, with all the riches of the eaſt, and thoſe return'd laden with plate, and made 400 *per cent.* profit. This trade they carry on ſtill, but the *Dutch* have made it much worſe than it was, by enhancing prices of things, and eſpecially ſpices, which they have in a manner engroſs'd to themſelves, and deſtroy whole plantations of them rather than ſuffer others to buy them.

Their produce.

Nor are theſe iſlands unfruitful of themſelves; for, they abound in pearls, ambergreaſe,

ambergreaſe, cotton, and civet. Not are they without rich gold mines; but whether the not working them be owing to the lazineſs of the *Spaniards*, the obſtinacy of the mountaineers, who have them in poſſeſſion, or to the fear that both the one and the other may be in of the *Dutch*, who worm'd both the natives and *Europeans* out of the ſpice trade, I ſhall not determine; but a great quantity of gold is waſh'd down by the rain from the hills; and ſome tell us of pieces as big as walnuts, nay ſome as big as hen eggs, found among the ſand in the rivers. There are likewiſe mines of other metals in theſe iſlands, and excellent loadſtones.

Dampier's *account of* Mendanao.

Mr. *Dampier* gives an account, that there were cloves at *Mindanao*, which being the next iſland, in extent, to that of *Manilla*, we ſhall give an abſtract of what he ſays of it. Its length is 60 leagues, and breadth 40 or 50; it reaches from 5 deg. to 8 n. lat. The ſoil is fat, and the ſtony hills produce trees, many of which are unknown to us. The vallies are water'd with freſh ſprings and rivulets, which nouriſh evergreen trees, rice, water-melons, plantains, banano's, guavao's, nutmegs, cloves, betel nuts, durians, jacas, cocoa nuts, oranges, *&c.* But the moſt uſeful tree they have, and is in moſt of theſe iſlands, is what they call the *Libby* tree, which produces the *Sago*, and ſerves them for bread 4 months in the year. The tree is like the cabbage-tree, the wood hard, and contains a pith like that of elder. They cut down the tree, at a proper ſeaſon, and ſplitting it from top to bottom, they take out the white pith, and beat it in a mortar; after it is ſo beaten, they put it into a cloth, within a veſſel, and pouring water upon it, they ſtir it, 'till the water has forced all the ſubſtance thro' the cloth, and nothing is left but a ſort of husks. Leaving it thus in the veſſel to ſubſide, they pour off the water, and bake the remaining ſubſtance into cakes, which they uſe for bread, and ſend it to ſeveral parts of the *Indies*, where they eat it with almond milk. It is reckon'd very wholeſome, and is a remedy againſt fluxes. This ſame author ſays they have excellent nutmegs here, very large, but they forbear to cultivate them, leſt the *Dutch* ſhould ſmell them from the *Banda* iſlands, and give them an unfriendly viſit, for the ſake of their ſpices.

Mindanao abounds with beaſts both wild and tame, ſuch as horſes, cows, buffalo's, goats, wild hogs, deer, monkeys, guananoes, ſnakes, ſcorpions, *&c.* and a creature which the *Engliſh* call *Centupes*, from its many feet; it is about 5 inches long, and no bigger than a gooſe-quill. The bite of it is more dangerous than a ſcorpion's ſting. The tame fowls are ducks and hens only, but they are well ſtor'd with wild fowl, have plenty of fiſh, the chief of which are bonetoes, ſnooks, cavallies, breems, mullets, and ſea tortoiſes.

Altho' this iſland lies ſo near the line, it is not exceſſive hot, having conſtant ſea breezes both by day and night. From *October* to *May* the eaſterly wind prevails, and the reſt of the year, the weſterly.

The inhabitants of this iſland are of a piece, as to ſhape and colour, being tawny and middle ſiz'd. They are alſo of the ſame religion, which is the *Mahometan*; but they differ in language and government. The *Mindanayans*, properly ſo call'd, live in the ſouthern parts of the iſle, and are ſubject to a ſultan, who is abſolute lord of the greateſt part of the iſland; theſe trade with all ſtrangers, and being under no ſubjection to the *Spaniards*, are at liberty to receive whom they will, only they are afraid of the *Dutch*, as indeed all trading nations, who have any regard to their own government, have good reaſon to be, becauſe they endeavour to enſlave all people, where they get footing; and, for all their pretence to liberty, and their having done very unjuſtifiable things to come at it, their behaviour in the *Oriental* iſles ſhew what their notion of liberty is, *viz.* making themſelves abſolute maſters of the liberty of all people they can conquer, and their making all the proprietors of any place where they get leave to build a warehouſe, by the civility of the government, *hewers of wood and drawers of water* to them, and their *pretended prince*. How the *Engliſh* came to neglect making a ſettlement in this iſle, which our author ſays might eaſily have been done in K. *James* II's reign, which was the time he was there, I cannot tell; perhaps had that unfortunate prince continued in peace upon the throne, his knowledge in, and inclinations to commerce, might have prompted him to encourage new ſettlements in the *Indies*: And I do not know but the fear the *Dutch* might, not without reaſon, have been in, of his enlarging the *Engliſh trade*, might have had more weight with them, than any conſideration of *Religion*, whatever it might have been with the *Engliſh*. But the *Revolution* quieted their fears, and our conſciences. I wiſh our religion, at leaſt in one part of this iſland of *Britain*, had been as well ſecur'd as their *Trade*. But this only by the bye.

The inland part of *Mindanao* is inhabited by thoſe they call the *Hillanoons*, who live in the woods and mountains. Theſe have poſſeſſion of the gold mines, and trade with the *Mendanayans* for clothing and other neceſſaries, for which they

they give in exchange gold and wax, of both which they have great abundance. The *Sologues* inhabit the northweſt part of the iſland, and trade more to *Manilla*, and the north iſlands, than to *Mindanao* city, or other places under the ſultan's government, with whom they have little or no communication.

The ſultan has frequent wars with the *Hillanoons*, who are very numerous, and ſpeak a language different from thoſe of *Mindanao*. Thoſe *Hillanoons* are a ſort of clans, not under the government of one prince, unleſs it be in their wars, when they ſubmit to him who is appointed general. Their weapons on both ſides, are ſwords, lances, and crizes, or a ſort of bayonets, as alſo bows and arrows, and a hollow cane, through which they blow poiſon'd darts. They never engage in ſet battles, but endeavour to ſurprize one another in parties.

The city of Mindanao.

The city of *Mindanao* is ſituated upon the ſouth part of the iſland, in 7 deg. 20 min. upon a ſmall river, two miles from the ſea. It is built, like the houſes formerly mention'd, 12 or 14 foot from the ground. The ſultan's palace ſtands upon 150 pillars of wood, with broad ſtairs to go up to it. In the hall were 20 pieces of iron cannon, mounted upon field carriages, and the general, who is likewiſe firſt miniſter, has ſome guns in his houſe. The floors in the palace, and other houſes of faſhion, are matted, for they have no chairs, but ſit croſs-leg'd. It is obſervable, that the women are not kept under ſuch reſtraint here as in other parts of *Aſia*, for they may ſee and converſe with ſtrangers, and it is the cuſtom for the men of to the city to go aboard a foreign ſhip, and invite them to their houſes, where they offer them a *Pagally*, or female friend, which is often the miſtreſs of the houſe; but I do not find that there is any criminal correſpondence paſſes between them; and the ſtranger makes the landlord a preſent, for the uſe of his houſe, and the converſation of his *Pagally*, and maintains himſelf in every thing, except tobacco and betel.

The *Spaniards* were once poſſeſs'd of a part of this city, but were forced to call all their nation to defend the *Manilla* againſt the *Chineſes*, about the middle of the XVIIth century, and have never had any footing there ſince. Yet there were ſome in capt. *Dampier*'s time, who ſpoke *Spaniſh*; but there are ſeveral other languages us'd there, *viz.* the natural language of the iſland, that of the *Malayan*, and *Arabick*, which is the religious language.

When captain *Dampier* was there, the *Mindanayans* had a great inclination that they ſhould have ſettled there, and he ſays, they had all the encouragement that could be deſir'd, to do it; for, the ſultan, and his brother, who was his firſt miniſter, earneſtly deſir'd it, as looking upon an *Engliſh* ſettlement to be their beſt defence, both againſt *Dutch* and *Spaniards*; and the *Engliſh* were in a good condition to have fix'd there, having among them bricklayers, carpenters, ſhoemakers, taylors, and all ſors of tradeſmen proper for a new colony, as alſo arms great and ſmall, and tools neceſſary for all ſorts of work. But there was no good underſtanding among the *Engliſh* themſelves, as appears from their depoſing capt. *Swan*, and leaving him, with above 40 of his men, in this iſland. And this was probably the reaſon why the firſt miniſter was ſuſpected to have ill deſigns againſt them, when he ſaw they trifled with him.

Dampier ſays, that the ſultan of *Mindaanao*, altho' he is abſolute, is very poor, being barr'd of the moſt beneficial parts of the iſland by the mountaineers; and diſcouraging his people from induſtry, by taking, in an arbitrary manner, any advantage they might have by trade. Beſides that the *Philippine* iſlands in general are very ſubject to earthquakes; and add to thoſe, the tyranny and cruelty of the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, who never trade with any nations of the *Indies*, without endeavouring, right or wrong, to become their maſters, and to deſtroy the lawful government conſtituted, and exercis'd, time out of mind, among the different nations with whom they traded, making their ancient kings their drudges, as any one may have had inſtances in ſeveral parts of this book, or in any accounts of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*.

Earthquakes and vulcano's.

The frequent earthquakes and *Vulcano*'s in theſe iſlands ſhew that the mountains are full of nitre and other ſulphureous matter, which being ſet on fire, either by the *Pyrites*, a kind of ſulphur that takes fire of itſelf; or, by a fermentation of vapours, to a degree of heat equal to fire; or elſe by the falling of ſome ſtone in the hollow caverns of the earth, which, ſtriking upon another, ſets the ſulphureous matter on fire; which, being a natural gunpowder, goes off, with a ſudden exploſion, and 'till it gets a vent rumbles in the bowels of the earth, lifting up the ground above it, ſo as ſometimes to make terrible havock. When it gets vent, as it does in all *Vulcano*'s, ſuch as *Ætna*, &c. it throws ſtones and burning matter out in a terrible manner. * Theſe earthquakes happening frequently in theſe iſlands, as we have ſaid, is the reaſon why they build their houſes ſlight, and of wood, only one ſtory, that they may be leſs liable to be overturn'd, and do the leſs hurt when they are.

* Varen. Geog. p. 152. not. (c)

From the ſame cauſe, *viz.* ſubterraneous fires, tho' different in kind or degrees, proceed the hot ſprings and rivers frequent in the *Philippines*.

Fruit. Beſides the trees before mention'd in this ſection, there are many others in thoſe iſlands, ſome of which are the natural produce of the country, and others tranſplanted from *America* by the *Spaniards*. Of the firſt ſort is, the *Santer*, which grows wild in the woods; the tree is like the walnut, the leaves of it large and medicinal, and the fruit like a peach: The *Spaniards* preſerve them; and they make a good pickle. The *Magol*, of the bigneſs of a pear-tree, the fruit like the former, but larger, and not ſo good; but the wood of the tree is little ſhort of ebony. *Mango*, and moſt other *Indian* trees, already deſcrib'd. Of thoſe brought from *New Spain*, are palm trees, tamarinds, caſſia, calambac, cocoa, &c. The leaves of the plantain tree are ſo large that two of them will make a cloak. [It muſt be obſerv'd that the *Spaniards* wear cloaks little longer than our women's cloaks.]

Flowers. Flowers and herbs grow wild in theſe iſlands; ſuch as, the *Zamaga*, like a little white roſe, with three rows of leaves, of a finer flavour than *Jeſſamin*. The *Daſa* and *Tala*, both ſweet ſmelling flowers. And, for medicinal herbs, all theſe iſlands abound with them. Beſides the ſage, balm, and other herbs of our acquaintance, they have an herb call'd *Del Pollo* by the *Spaniards*, which they uſe for curing their cocks, when wounded in battle. *Panſipan*, a poultiſe of which extracts poiſon and all corruption from a wound. *Del ſapo*, &c. But there is one herb, which, if it be true, that the *Dutch* give twice the weight in gold for any quantity of it, I ſhall readily allow to be a valuable one. It is call'd *Samar*, and one or two doſes (of the 16th part of an ounce) are an antidote againſt any poiſon, whether of *Indian* arrows or herbs. It is alſo a remedy againſt cholicks, or other diſtempers proceeding from wind, and many other diſeaſes.

We are not to expect much learning from the natives of theſe iſlands. But we are told one thing, very peculiar to thoſe who inhabit the ſea-coaſts; I ſuppoſe it is meant of *Manilla* and *Mindanao*, *viz.* that they write the reverſe way to the *Chineſes*, beginning at the bottom of the paper, and writing to the top, whereas the *Chineſes* begin at the top, and write, in a ſtrait line, down to the bottom; and not only ſo, but theſe iſlanders begin at the bottom towards the left hand, and the *Chineſes* at the top towards the right.

Government of the Philippines. As a great part of theſe iſlands are ſubject (and that but in part) to *Spain*; ſo the government of them is different, according to the conqueſts the *Spaniards* have made. In the moſt conſiderable iſlands, (except *Mindanao* and *St. John*'s iſland) the towns upon the coaſt are in poſſeſſion of the crown of *Spain*, and are govern'd by *Spaniſh Alcades*, who are all ſubject to the vice-roy, whoſe reſidence, as we obſerv'd before, is at *Manilla*; and theſe, as well as the officers of the army, are made and chang'd by him, at pleaſure. And this poſt, next to the government of *Peru*, is reckon'd one of the moſt lucrative in the gift of that crown; for, not to mention his ſalary, and what he may make of the *Indians* under his government, who are ſeverely taxed, he makes 50,000 crowns a year, of the galleons which ſail to *New Spain*, the captains of which are entirely in his power.

When a new vice-roy, or captain general comes from *Spain*, he iſſues out a proclamation to all people, to give in their complaints againſt the late one, which liberty is allow'd for 60 days, and he undergoes a ſevere trial, and a good or bad account is ſent along with him to *Spain*, according to his behaviour in his office, or the temper of his ſucceſſor, and the judges of *Manilla*. Thoſe judges are not ſubject to be chang'd by the vice-roy, having their commiſſions immediately from the king, and the ſolicitor general has the ſame: And no crime can turn them out which will not affect their lives, and muſt be tried in *Spain*.

In all the *Philippine* iſlands, there may be about 150,000 ſubject to the *Spaniſh* government, which are computed to be ſcarce the 12th part of the inhabitants. But every maſter of a family of thoſe 150,000 pays a tax to the government of 10 reals a year, beſides 5 reals for every man between 18 and 60 years of age, and the ſame for all maids between 24 and 50, which is an intolerable burden upon the people. And this is made more grievous, by parcelling out the land in diſtricts, to the great men, who fleece the country by new taxes of their own.

The reſt of the country, (in every iſland) who have not ſubmitted to the *Spaniſh* yoke, are govern'd by their own leaders or captains, and by their own laws and cuſtoms. But the miſſionaries, from whom we muſt take our accounts, for the moſt part, of thoſe iſlanders, altho' they repreſent them in the worſt light, allow that they have many laudable principles and cuſtoms, *viz.* no people are more obedient, either to parents or governors, than the ſeveral nations or clans of theſe iſlands are. They are ſo tender of the lives of their own people, that there are few crimes puniſh'd capitally; and if the love of liberty obliges them to kill thoſe who

who attack them, it is not to be wonder'd at. Their lands and effects deſcend in a ſucceſſion from father to ſon; and if there is no male iſſue, the inheritance is divided among the daughters. And they are very ſolemn in their oaths and engagements; for they ſwear before a wild beaſt, or a lighted torch, wiſhing that they may be devour'd by the one, or conſum'd like the other, if they do not perform what they then promiſe.

Whatever difference may be between thoſe tawny *Indians*, who inhabit the plain country, and the blacks who live in the woods and mountains, yet they agree in refuſing to ſubmit to the *Spaniards*; and that there is a comunication between them, appears from hence, that, altho' the blacks will not ſo much as converſe with the *Spaniards*, yet they get the tobacco (which the *Spaniards* know better how to cure than the *Indians* do) from the inhabitants of the vallies, in exchange for gold, bees wax, &c. And ſuch a mortal hatred they bear to the *Spaniards*, (occaſion'd, without doubt, from their ill uſage of them at the firſt planting thoſe iſlands) that if, upon any occaſion, they kill a *Spaniard*, they keep holy-day for three days. All that we can ſay of their government is, that probably, the invaſion of the *Spaniards* may have alter'd the form of it, from what it was at firſt, and, inſtead of kings, as they had before, after the manner of the other iſlanders, they conſented to be govern'd by the ſtouteſt men among them, in order to ſecure themſelves from their invaders, and having occaſion for many of thoſe captains, by reaſon of the *Spaniards* planting colonies in different places, the *Indians*, who, perhaps, were under one government before, are now divided into many. And we find that as ſoon as the *Spaniards* quitted *Mindanao*, the greateſt part of the iſland return'd to their obedience to their lawful king.

Religion. As to the religion of theſe iſlands, it is as different as their government. The *Spaniards* have an archbiſhop at *Manilla*, whoſe ſuffragans reſide in the other iſlands, from whence appeals come to him. And, becauſe the diſtance is ſo great from *Spain*, there is always a titular biſhop there, in caſe of any accident, who ſucceeds to the archbiſhoprick, upon the demiſe of the other. The archbiſhop has 6000 pieces of eight from the crown yearly, and the biſhops 5000. And, that no part of diſcipline may be wanting, there is a delegate commiſſary from the *Inquiſition* at *Mexico*, who reſides at *Manilla*.

All that can be known of the ancient religion of theſe iſlands (ſince they have no records) is only by uncertain traditions (and thoſe only old ſongs) of their heroes, whom, according to the cuſtom of more polite nations, they worſhip'd as gods; and they ſay, they believ'd a ſupreme being, the father and maker of thoſe ſubordinate gods. They are likewiſe ſaid to have ador'd birds, beaſts, rocks and ſtones, trees and plants, beſides the ſun and moon. But thoſe traditions are ſo uncertain, that we ſhall not inſiſt upon this ſubject. At preſent, the Mahometan religion prevails moſt among thoſe who inhabit the coaſts, and are not Chriſtians, altho' ſubject to the *Spaniards*; of thoſe who inhabit the inland country, there are heathens, but their opinions uncertain as their extraction.

Marriages. We are told that the natives, who are not Mahometans, have but one wife, unleſs ſhe prove barren, in which caſe, the husband may take his ſlave. They marry in their own tribe, and the neareſt, except of the firſt degree. Their marriages are perform'd by joining hands before the parents in ſome places, and before a prieſteſs in others. The Mahometans take the privilege of the *Alcoran*, and have many wives.

Burials. Their burials are perform'd by ſongs ſung in their praiſe, for which ſtrangers are hir'd. The corps, being waſh'd and perfum'd, is wrap'd in a ſhrowd, and put in a coffin cloſe ſhut, and then ſet upon a table, and the arms of the deceas'd, being a man, or the utenſils of her work, if a woman, are put in a cheſt, and ſet by the coffin, with ſeveral ſorts of meat; and then they interr the corps in the burying-place of the family, after which a feaſt is made for thoſe who were invited, and the relations, eſpecially the widow and children faſt and wear mourning, in ſome iſlands white, in other black, which ſhews that theſe iſlands were peopled from different countries.

From what has been already ſaid, we may gueſs at the manners of the *Philippineſes* in general. There are ſo many iſlands which go under that name, that if we were acquainted with them all, it would be tedious even to name them. We ſhall only give the ſituation of ſuch of them as are moſt frequented, and which we mention'd at firſt.

The diviſion of the Philippines. *Tandaya*, or *Samar*, lies on the ſouth-eaſt of *Manilla*, between which is a narrow ſea, call'd the ſtreights of *Manilla*. This iſland is 130 leagues in compaſs, and govern'd by an *Alcade*. On the ſouth-eaſt point is the cape *Del Spirito Santo*.

Masbat lies weſt of *Samar*, and ſouth of *Manilla*, about 30 leagues in circuit.

Mindoro is weſt of *Masbat*, and is 70 leagues in circumference.

Luban is about 5 leagues about, to the northward of *Mindoro*, known by a volcano which is in it.

Paragoya,

Paragoya, the moſt weſterly iſland of any yet mention'd, is 100 leagues in length, and from 10 to 25 broad. Part of it next to *Borneo* is ſubject to that king, and is Mahometan; the middle of it independent, and the north-eaſt part ſubject to the *Spaniards*.

The *Calamines* lie north of *Paragoya*. They are three ſmall iſles famous for the birds neſts formerly mention'd, which make ſo ſavoury ſauce.

Panay is 30 leagues eaſt of *Paragaya*, and is 100 leagues in compaſs.

Leyte lies 20 leagues north of *Mindanao*, and is as big as *Panay*, has a mountain which running thro' the middle of it, is ſaid to have ſuch influence upon the air, as to make it hot on one ſide of the mountain, and cold on the other.

Bohol is ſouth-weſt of *Leyte*, and is 40 leagues in circuit.

Sebu is weſt of *Bohol*, is the *Zabul* formerly mention'd, where *Magellan* converted two kings. It is 20 leagues long, and 8 broad. From this iſland the *Spaniards* afterwards proceeded to conquer the reſt of the *Philippines*. Here they firſt built *Nombre de* DIOS, which was afterwards made a biſhop's ſee, and was a place of great trade, which is now remov'd to *Manilla*.

Negros lies between *Panay* and *Sebu*, is 100 leagues in compaſs, and takes its name from the blacks who inhabit it.

St. *John*'s iſland lies eaſt of *Mindanao*, and is about the bigneſs of that of the *Negro's*.

Xollo lies ſouth-weſt of *Mindanao*, has its own king, trades with *Borneo*, and with all the Mooriſh kingdoms of the eaſt. Here they have elephants, and no where elſe in the *Philippines*; as alſo ambergreaſe, which the ſea throws up in great quantities.

As to the iſlands, lately ſaid to be found out, which are call'd, *the new Philippines*, to the eaſt of the old, which no *European* ever yet ſaw, but an ingenious *Spaniſh* miſſionary drew an imaginary map of, from the information of thoſe whom he calls the natives of them; we ſhall leave them to future diſcoveries, for, we think it a little extraordinary, (if they are different from the *Ladrones*, and lie between them and the iſlands laſt deſcrib'd, and, as father *Gobien* ſays, reach from the æquator to the tropic of *Cancer*, and are 87 in number) that neither our circumnavigators, nor the *Acapulco* ſhips, ever ſaw one of them. When we travel next that way, and that there are maps of them taken upon the ſpot, we ſhall give a farther account of them.

SECT. III.

New Guinea, New Holland, &c.

ALTHO' it is not certainly known, whether theſe be iſlands or continent, ſo little of them is yet diſcover'd, we were not willing to leave any part of land behind us, nor to be oblig'd to return to the eaſt, after going farther weſt; and, altho' ſome part of this country lies a good way weſtward, we ſhall take them together, to avoid confounding them with the other iſlands we have to treat of.

New Guinea.

New Guinea lies eaſtward of the *Molucca* iſlands, and is the moſt northerly part of what is call'd *Terra Auſtralis incognita*. That part of it yet diſcover'd comes as far as the line, and ſtretches, how far no body knows, towards the eaſt one way, and ſouth and S. W. another. We have but little acquaintance with this country, altho' Sir *Richard Hawkins* cruis'd about it 45 days, and *Dampier* coaſted it along in 99. We are told, the land is good, and there are ſeveral iſlands near it, where are convenient harbours; that the people are of a ſwarthy complexion. Some of the iſlands adjacent are on the north-eaſt ſide, as mark'd in *Moll*'s large *Map of the World*, by the name of *Schoutin*'s iſle, *Moa*, and ſeveral other ſmall ones, and a pretty large one, which *Dampier* call'd *New Britain*.

New Holland

New Holland lies ſouth-weſt from *New Guinea*, the moſt northerly part of it being 10 deg. S. lat. Capt. *Dampier*, who was there in 1688, gives the following account of it. It is a vaſt tract of land, but he knows not whether iſland or continent, only he is poſitive that it neither joins to *Aſia*, *Africa*, nor *America*: The firſt part which he came to was in the lat. of 16 deg. 50 min. which makes good his obſervation, that this land is placed, in our maps, 40 leagues more to the north than it really is, and he found the tides upon the coaſt of *New Holland* kept their conſtant courſe, the flood running n. by e. and the ebb ſ. by w.

The land in the north part of it is low ſandy ground, except the points, which are rocky. There was no water but what they dug for; but they ſaw many trees, one of which is the tree which yields the *Gum-Dragon*; but no fruit-trees, nor any living creature, except a few ſmall birds, as big as black birds; only once they ſaw the trace of a beaſt, which he believ'd to be about the bigneſs of a maſtiff dog, by his foot. The fiſh upon that coaſt are only *Tortoiſes* and *Manates*, *Cockles*, *Muſſels*, and *Periwinkles*.

The

The inhabitants, he repreſents as the moſt miſerable creatures in the world. They had neither houſes nor huts, but lie under the open air; nor any cloaths, but the bark of a tree round their middle, and no food but the fiſh above named. They ſhew'd no ſign of religion or government, but liv'd as if they had all been equal. [But this may be captain *Dampier*'s miſtake, by not being well enough acquainted with them. For, altho' the *Hottentots* have been reckon'd to have no ſuch thing as religion, and that made uſe of, by our fine gentlemen, as an argument againſt all religion; later diſcoveries, by thoſe who knew them better, have aſſur'd us, that they have both religion and government.]

The bodies of the natives of *New Holland* are ſtraight, thin, and long limb'd; with great heads, and large eye brows; their foreheads round. But he could not tell what ſort of eyes they had, becauſe he never ſaw them open, for they kept them always more than half ſhut, to keep out the flies, which ſwarm in that country. Their noſes are large and round, their mouths wide, and their lips thick. All that the *Engliſh* ſaw wanted two of their fore teeth of the upper jaw, which, to be ſure, they had drawn, for ſome reaſon which we do not know. The men have no beards, but their hair is ſhort and curl'd, like the negroes of *Africa*, and they are as black as they. Their arms are wooden cutlaſſes, and a ſort of pikes burn'd at the end. The *Engliſh* brought them, by good uſage, to a certain familiarity with them, but could never prevail with one of them to do any work, or to carry a drop of water for them. He could give no account of their language, it having no affinity with any that he had heard, only they ſeem'd to ſpeak through their throat.

About 12 years after his firſt being there, our author being then captain of the *Roe-Buck* man of war, went to the country of *New Holland* a ſecond time, but farther weſt, in the lat. of 25 deg. and call'd that place *Shark's Bay*, from the number of *Sharks* found in it. It lies 87 deg. eaſt of the cape of *Good Hope*. The ground near this bay produces graſs, plants and ſhrubs, but no tree above ten foot high. They ſaw no other land birds but eagles, and ſmall birds; but good ſtore of water fowl, ſome like ours, and others of a ſpecies that our author had never ſeen before. The land animals were *Racoons*, and *Guano*'s. And the fiſh were ſharks, skates, thornbacks, garfiſh, bonettoes, muſsles, periwinkles, limpets and oyſters both for eating, and of the pearl kind, cockles and green tortoiſes. It ſeems all that is known of *New Holland* is ill water'd, for the captain was forced to leave this place for want of water. But after he had ſail'd along the coaſt to the lat. of 21 deg. he conjectur'd, by the tides, that there was a paſſage to the ſouth ſea, near thereabouts, but finding no water in ſeveral places where he ſtop'd, he had no time to purſue the diſcovery. This country was diſcover'd by the *Dutch* in 1644.

Dieman's Land.

Dieman's Land, ſo call'd from the governor of the *Dutch Eaſt India* company in 1642, lies ſouth of *New Holland* in 42 deg. 25 min. ſouth latitude. But by whom it is inhabited we are not as yet told. There is a point in *New Holland* of the ſame name; [which was ill judg'd, becauſe it breeds confuſion in countries not well known.]

New Zealand.

New Zealand lies eaſt from *Dieman's Land*, in the ſame latitude, *Taſman* ſays, its inhabitants are tall and bulky, their complection between yellow and brown; their hair black, long, and thick, tied upon the crown of their heads, with a white feather ſtuck in it; they wear no other cloaths, but ſquare pieces of mat or callico about their middle. [But I ſuppoſe he ſaw them in ſummer, or elſe 42 degrees ſouthern latitude is warmer than 41 towards the north.] They hang a ſquare plate about their necks, and are men of courage; their arms are only wooden clubs.

There are many little iſlands about *New Guinea* and *New Holland*, which are ſo little known that we ſhall not trouble the reader with them.

Before we proceed to the *Spice* iſlands, we think it proper to take notice of a ridge of iſlands lying, in our maps, almoſt eaſt and weſt, between the coaſt of *New Holland* and the *Banda* and *Celebe*'s iſlands. They reach from longitude 115, (reckoning from *London* Meridian,) to 134, and in the latitude between ſeven and ten deg. They reach weſterly almoſt to *Java Major*.

Dutch *Iſlands ſouth of the ſpice iſlands.*

I have not met with any particular name by which thoſe iſlands are called, and therefore, not having ſufficient diſcoveries of them to give each of them a particular ſection, and not knowing by what common name to call them, I chuſe to give a ſhort account of them, in this place, finding them in my way from *New Holland* to the *Spice Iſlands*.

As they are placed, in our maps, from eaſt to weſt, they are, *Shilpad*'s iſlands, which are three in number, lat. five and an half deg. *Timor Landt* between ſix and ſeven deg. ſouth from the moſt weſterly of the others. *Micella* and *Cera* weſt from *Timor Landt* in ſix deg. forty min. *Teeuw*, weſt of *Shilpads* in the ſame latitude with them, with two or three ſmall

ſmall iſlands, without name, lying between them. *Gallian*, weſt of *Teeuw*. *Terra alta*, in the ſame lat. farther weſt. *Miſacomby*, *Pantar*, *Laulana*, all weſt of *Terra alta* in a line. South of the laſt three is *Timor* iſland, the largeſt of them all. Weſt of *Laulana* is *Floris*, the largeſt, next to *Timor*, being in the ſhape of a parallelogram, about 50 leagues from eaſt to weſt, and about 10 broad. Between this iſland and *Laulana*, is the ſmall one of *Solor*, towards the ſouth, and another, without a name, towards the north. Weſt of *Floris* lies *Sappy*, and another weſt of it, before you come to *Cumbava*, which is next in bulk to *Floris*. Weſt of that is *Lomboo*, and next to *Java Major* is *Bally*, likewiſe call'd *Java Minor*. Beſides many others ſaid to be thereabouts, ſome of which are mark'd, but not nam'd, and others not mark'd at all.

Mr. *Salmon* ſays, that the *Dutch* have ſettlements in moſt of theſe iſlands, and they have made the natives in ſuch ſubjection, that they tranſplant them at pleaſure, not only from one of thoſe iſles to another adjacent, when they have any occaſion for their ſervice, but to *Batavia*, where they employ them in their works, and recruit their forces with them.

It would be an endleſs task to treat of all the iſlands in this part of the *Indian* ocean, if we had a particular account of them all. I ſhall therefore only give a Timor *iſland.* ſhort deſcription of *Timor*, which, in the mean, may ſerve to give the reader an idea of all the reſt. It is, as we have ſaid, the largeſt of all the iſlands we have nam'd, being 200 miles long, and 50 broad. Its ſituation is north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, lying from 7 to 10 deg. ſ. lat. Upon the ſouth-weſt ſide is the bay of *Babao*, the ſafeſt anchorage in the iſland, becauſe it goes ſo far up into the land, that ſhips are ſhelter'd from all but weſterly winds. Near the head of this bay ſtands the town of *Concordia*, with a Dutch *fort* Concordia. *Dutch* fort near it, ſeated upon a rock, by the ſea-ſide, upon the eaſt ſide of the bay. Near the fort, the company have a fine garden, with all manner of *European* roots and plants, and all ſorts of *Indian* fruit; they likewiſe nurſe a good breed of *European* cattle about *Concordia*. The town has but about fourſcore houſes in it. The fort is built of ſtone, and garriſon'd by 60 ſoldiers.

As the *Dutch* did not find this iſland under one government, (for, it ſeems, it was divided into different kingdoms) they had the wicked art to ſet thoſe kings by the ears, and reap'd the advantage of their quarrels, ſiding ſometimes with one, ſometimes with another, 'till they got the ſovereignty of a great part of the iſland into their own hands.

But in the northern part of the iſland, there is a *Portugueſe* ſettlement, call'd *Lophao*. For the *Portugueſes* having poſſeſs'd great part of *Timor*, long before the *Dutch* had any footing in any of the *Oriental* iſlands, they had ſo mix'd with the people of the country that one can ſcarcely diſtinguiſh between them. They are generally *Roman* Catholicks, but do not ſeem, of late years, to be fond of ſubmitting to a governor from *Goa*. There is another ſettlement of the *Portugueſes*, at the eaſt end of the iſland, call'd *Porta nuova*, where the principal *Portugueſe* governor reſides. Portu-gueſe *ſettle-ment.*

There is a third ſort of people in the iſland, who obey neither the *Dutch* nor *Portugueſes*. They are either *Mahometans* or *Pagans*, but they oftener ſide with the *Dutch* than with the *Portugueſes*. They are of a ſwarthy complexion, of a middle ſtature, ſtrait body, and ſlender limbs. They are ſaid to be of a cruel diſpoſition, and enemies to ſtrangers; but, as Mr. *Salmon* well obſerves, perhaps the treatment they have met with from the two *European* nations laſt mention'd may have inſpir'd them with that cruelty.

They have, for clothes, only as much *Their dreſs.* cloth as goes about their waſte, and the end of it, coming between their legs, is tuck'd under the girdle before. In their hair, which is long and black, they tie plates of mother of pearl, or of gold or ſilver, of an oval form, ſcollop'd, four or five of which hanging down on their foreheads are a great ornament.

The men go always arm'd with ſwords, darts, and lances, with which they hunt buffaloes in the woods, and kill tortoiſes in the water, and whatever is kill'd, either fiſh or fleſh, they eat without ſcruple. Buffaloes and wild hogs abound in *Timor*, *Animals.* as alſo monkeys, guananoes, lizards, ſerpents, ſcorpions, centipedes, and great variety of inſects. They have in the woods, wild cocks, and hens, eagles, pigeons, turtles, parrots, parrokites, and great diverſity of ſmall birds, whoſe feathers are very beautiful; and we are told that ſome of them have pleaſant notes, which is not ordinary in eaſtern countries, where, generally ſpeaking, the birds are more agreeable to the eye than to the ear. They have a bird, which has got the name of the ringing (I believe it ſhould be the ſinging) bird, becauſe it ſings ſix diſtinct notes, beginning at the higheſt, and deſcending gradually, and thoſe it repeats twice every time the humour takes it. Their tame fowl are cocks and hens, geeſe and ducks, probably brought thither by the *Europeans*. Bees are of great ſervice to them, for they abound in honey and wax.

There

Fiſh. There is plenty of fiſh, both in the ſea and about *Timor*, and in the rivers of the iſland, and ſuch of them as are known to us, have been mention'd, as taken in the ſeas near the other iſlands. And the ſame may be ſaid of their trees and fruit.

No property in Land. But we are told that no body has any property in any particular plat of land, but what he cultivates; which is only for one year; for when he has reap'd his *Indian* corn this year, he ſows nothing in that piece of ground the next, and whoever pleaſes, may occupy it afterwards. From whence we may conclude, that there is more land in the iſland, than there are People to plant, or elſe that they are not very good husbandmen, nor know how to turn the land to the beſt advantage. Nor indeed have they occaſion for much land, for the neceſſaries of life; for, they live by hunting, and fruit, ſo that a little corn ſerves them.

As to arts and ſciences, they know nothing about them: Nor have they great occaſion for artificers and mechanicks; becauſe they are ſerv'd with few things, for building and furniſhing their houſes: *The trade of the natives.* And if they want any thing elſe, the *Chineſes*, who trade thither, furniſh them, and get in exchange bees wax, ſandal wood, and gold; which laſt they get, in great quantities, in their rivers; but there has, as yet, been no attempt to open the mines, which muſt certainly be in their hills.

The language of the generality is the *Malayan*, and a ſort of broken *Portugueſe*, altho' the natives in the woods have a language of their own, which we do not know what to make of.

All the view that the *Dutch* ſeem to have by taking poſſeſſion of *Timor*, or the iſlands near it, is to hinder other nations, and eſpecially the *Engliſh*, from ſettling too near the *Spice* iſlands; for, were the *Engliſh* in poſſeſſion of *Timor*, and the other iſlands about it, they might if well ſupported from home, make their *High Mightineſſes* diſgorge ſome, if not all the *Banda* iſlands, and might come in, not by connivance, but by right and fair trading into the ſpice traffick, which is ſuch a conſiderable feather in their wing.

This is all that I thought neceſſary to to be ſaid upon theſe iſlands, for which I was chiefly oblig'd to Mr. *Salmon*, having met with little, among all the books I have by me, relating to theſe iſlands, except ſome hints with regard to *Timor*. We now proceed to

SECT. IV.

The SPICE *Iſlands.*

HAVING had occaſion to mention the *Molucca* and *Banda* iſlands, (which together were, of old, reckoned the *Spice Iſlands*,) in ſeveral places of our *Traveller*, * and having given a particular account of ſeveral very material paſſages, which happened between the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugueſes* in thoſe parts, and particularly the baſe methods taken by the *Dutch* to render themſelves maſters of the *Spice* trade; we ſhall avoid, as much as we can, repeating what has been ſaid before, altho' there will be a neceſſity of touching upon ſome part of it for connection's ſake.

* *See b. I. p.* 11. *and b. II. ch.* II. *and ſeq.*

The neareſt *Spice Iſlands* to the places mentioned in the laſt *Section*, are the *Banda Iſles*, which, altho' they were a part of the *Spice Iſlands*, and lie contiguous to the *Molucca's*, yet ſince our *European* merchants and voyagers have always diſtinguiſhed them, we ſhall not pretend to go out of the common road, and therefore ſhall begin with the former.

Banda Iſlands. The *Banda Iſlands* lie on the ſouth ſide of the line, from three deg. to five, and are commonly reckon'd ſix in number. viz. 1. *Banda* or *Lantor*, 2. *Pullaway*, 3. *Puloroon*, 4. *Neros*, 5. *Roſinging*, and 6. *Gonapi*. They are bounded on the eaſt and ſouth by the *Indian* ocean, *New Guinea* being the firſt land towards the eaſt, and *Teeuw*, *Gallean*, and *Terra Alta*, the firſt towards the ſouth. The iſland of *Mecaſſar* or *Celebes* on the weſt, and *Ceram* on the north.

Banda proper is about 20 leagues in compaſs; the town, of the ſame name, is built upon the brow of a ſteep hill, almoſt inacceſſible, and if the natives had not loſt their courage at the ſight of the *Dutch*, (who had landed at a creek, which they did not dream of,) and deſerted the town, and ſoon after the iſland, they might, with 50 men, have defended the place againſt all the *Dutch* force.

Banda is the ſouthmoſt of all that are above named, lying eaſt and weſt, almoſt in five deg. ſouth lat. Upon the weſt end of it lies the ſmall iſland of *Gonapi*. *Neros* is north from *Banda*, and near as big; having *Roſinging* upon the north weſt, and *Pullaway* on the north eaſt of it, almoſt equally diſtant from it, and neither of them the third part ſo big. *Puloroon* is the leaſt of them all, and lies at the eaſt end of *Neros*. But why *Amboyna*, *Boanybeſſoy* and *Hinomoa*, which lie north weſt of the *Banda's*; and *Goram*, *Mavabuca* and *Watela*, iſlands to the eaſtward of them, ſhould not be reckon'd part of them I do not know.

Of all the *Banda* iſlands, *Pullaway* was reckon'd the pleaſanteſt, and likewiſe the moſt fruitful, having great plenty of nutmegs and other fruits, the trees were cut in ſuch pleaſant walks, that the whole iſland look'd like a garden.

All theſe iſlands, as well as *Amboyna*, are

are now in poſſeſſion of the *Dutch*, as we have had occaſion to ſay more than once; but before we ſpeak any more of their getting poſſeſſion of them, we ſhall give the geograpy of the iſlands between the *Banda's* and *Molucca's*, and then of the *Molucca's* themſelves, that we may treat of all the *Spice Iſlands* together, they being all concerned in the quarrels between the *Portugueſes* and *Spaniards*, who were the firſt *Europeans* who pretended a right to them, and the *Engliſh and Dutch* who pretended to them, but not in the ſame way; the *Engliſh* deſiring only a free and fair trade with the natives, without encroaching upon their liberty and property; whereas the other three nations were reſolved not only to have the ſpices, but the land to themſelves, and againſt common juſtice or honeſty to make the lawful proprietors ſlaves.

Amboyna. *Amboyna* is but a ſmall iſland of 24 leagues about, lying four degrees ſ. lat. and, as *Mandelſlo* ſays, not above two leagues from *Ceram*. The chief city has a fine ſafe bay of ſix leagues, which enters above half way into the country, and almoſt divides the iſland in two. The caſtle of *Amboyna* is in the ſmalleſt ſide of the iſland towards the ſouth. It is a quadrangle, with outworks well planted with cannon, and a garriſon of 7 or 800 men. This leſſer part of the iſle has 120 towns, and the other northern part has only four and ſeven villages.

This author ſays, the inhabitants were formerly ſavages, and eſteem'd canibals, but ſince the *Europeans* came among them, they are tamer, becauſe they cannot help it. They were famous for their cakes made of almonds, ſugar, and rice, which their neighbours as well as they found to be a good remedy againſt the bloody flux. They were an ignorant people, their greateſt ingenuity being, in throwing darts within a crown breadth at 60 yards diſtance.

The firſt diſcovery of this iſland was by the *Portugueſes* in 1515, by whom it was poſſeſſed to the year 1603, and then taken by the *Dutch*, as we ſhall ſee by and by. The other two iſlands eaſt of *Amboyna*, which have the names of *Boangbeſſoy* and *Hinomoa*, we can ſay nothing of, as being not mentioned by any of our authors, nor in the *Atlas*, but I find them in *Moll*'s map of *Celebes*, &c. in *Salmon*.

Ceram. *Ceram* is a large iſland of about 50 leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and 20 broad. All the account we have of it, is that the natives were canibals. Altho' I have as good an opinion of mankind as I ought to have, and am as little credulous of unnatural cuſtoms as any body; yet I cannot agree with Mr. *Salmon*, that all the ſtories of man-eaters are falſe, and only occaſion'd by the cruelty of the natives of the ſame iſlands, to ſtrangers, and their roaſting ſome chriſtians, out of revenge for the injuries done them by the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*. For in *Magellan*'s voyage, his people after his death, ſail'd from the *Philippines* towards the ſouth, in ſearch of the *Molucca's*, and they heard of ſome iſlands in thoſe ſeas, where, they were informed by the *Indians*, who were their pilots, that the natives were man-eaters. So that, if they were ſo cruel as thoſe *Indians* repreſented them, it could not be a attributed to revenge againſt the *Portugueſes* or *Dutch*, for at that time in 1521 they had never ſeen one or the other. Beſides, if we deny that there ever were canibals in any country, we muſt give the lie to all the hiſtories of the firſt planting of *America*, which I would not lightly do.

I do not deny but Mr. *Salmon* had ſome reaſon for his conjecture, from capt. *David Middleton*'s journal, where he ſays the blacks on board him, gave the ill uſage of the *Dutch* and *Portugueſes* as the reaſon of the natives of *Ceram*'s cruelty, but we muſt not carry this too far.

Whether the notion of the natives of *Ceram* is the reaſon why we hear ſo little of it, I do not know, but it is a little ſurprizing that ſo large an iſland, which in our maps embraces the whole *Banda Iſlands*, together with *Amboyna*, and the other iſlands abovementioned, as it were in its boſom, ſhould be ſo little ſpoken of by our travellers, and the other ſmaller iſlands ſo much. I ſhall therefore paſs by this large iſland, and ſome ſmaller ones to the north of it, of which I have nothing to entertain the reader with, and proceed to the *Molucca's*, which have made a greater noiſe in the world, altho' leſs conſiderable now than they were 100 years ago, thanks to the ingenious ſubjects of the *King* of *Holland*.

Moluc ca's, The *Molucca* or *Spice Iſlands*, are 5 ſmall iſlands lying in and about the equinoxial line, as we have obſerv'd before, upon the weſt of *Gilolo*, or *Batochina*, which, altho' much bigger than them all put together, is not reckon'd among them. They were call'd *The Spice Iſlands*, from the great quantity of *Chamque*, which the *Portugueſes* call'd *Clavos*, from their reſembling nails, and we have corrupted to *Cloves*.

Bacchian. *Bacchian* lies to the ſouthward of the line about half a degree, if our maps are true. It has a good harbour and a ſtrong *Dutch* fort, call'd *Barnevelt*. It abounded with cloves, and has ſtore of ſago, fruits, and fiſh.

Macchian is about as far to the north of the line as *Bacchian* is to the ſouth, and

and not much different in bigneſs. *Mandelſloe* ſaid, it is 7 leagues in circuit, and was ſubject to the king of *Ternate*, who was one of the moſt powerful monarchs among the Oriental iſlanders, having no leſs than 70 iſlands under his dominion, beginning from *Mindanao* in the *Philippines*, and going as far as the coaſt of *New Guinea*, towards the ſouth-eaſt. Some of thoſe iſlands our author names, *viz.* *Motir*, *Macchian*, *Cajoa*, *Xulo*, *Burro*, *Na*, *Noloa*, *Meao*, *Tuffure*, *Doe*, *Saquite*, *Totole*, *Baol*, *Guadupa*, *Corontano*, *Hibato*, *Tamſne*, *Manado*, *Doudo*, *Labaque*, *Jaque*, *Gabe*, *Tobuquo*, *Buto*, *Sanguaen*, &c. Some of which, he tells us, are more than 70 leagues from *Ternate*. There is only one part of this iſland where ſhips can ride ſafely, which is at *Noffaquia*. We are told, there is a clove tree in this iſland, ſo much valued for the excellency of it, that the cloves which grow upon it, are not to be had for money, but are ſent, in handfuls and half handfuls, to the governor's friends, as the greateſt preſent he can make them.

Motir. *Motir* lies north of *Macchian*, yet within the firſt degree of n. lat. It is not quite ſo large as the two laſt mention'd, but was very fruitful in ſpices, before they were gather'd by bad hands. The *Dutch* have a fort here, altho' the cloves are gone.

Tidor. *Tidor* is very little north of *Motir*, being between one deg. and an half n. latitude. It is ſomewhat bigger than any of the other three, being about 30 miles in compaſs. Our author ſays, the inhabitants were more induſtrious here than in any other of the *Spice Iſlands*; and by pruning and watering their clove-trees, made them fairer and larger than thoſe of their neighbours. This iſland abounds with *Sandal* wood, and the *birds of paradiſe*, of which he tells us, that they cut the legs off cloſe to the body, ſo that the feathers grow over the wound, when it is cur'd, and they look as if they had never had legs. The capital of *Tidor* has the ſame name, the harbour is good, but dangerous to come at, for a ridge of rocks lying before it. The town is ſtrong by nature, but much more by the works which the *Dutch* have made.

Ternate. *Ternate* has always been reckon'd the principal of the *Molucca Iſlands*. It lies within the 2d degree of latitude, and much of a bigneſs with *Tidor*. Our author ſays, it affords little proviſions, except goats, and ſome poultry. There are excellent almonds, 3 or 4 in each ſhell, and the ſhell itſelf is us'd by the black-ſmiths, inſtead of coal.

The capital of *Ternate* is *Gamma-Lamma*, conſiſting of one ſtreet 2500 paces long, along the ſhore, the houſes all of cane, or other wood, there are 3 other towns in the iſland, *viz.* *Malaya*, *Tallaco* and *Tycone*. The firſt *Dutch* fort was at *Tallaco*, and then the ſtrong caſtle of *Orange*, which enabled them to domineer in the *Molucca's*, and run away with the ſpice trade from all *Europe*.

Theſe 5 iſlands were formerly call'd *Cupe*, (now *Ternate*) *Douco*, (now *Tidor*) *Moutil* (by a ſmall change *Motir*) *Mara*, (now *Macchian*) and *Seque* (now *Bacchian*.) But our author ſays, many other iſlands had ſpices of ſeveral ſorts growing in them in great plenty, but not ſo good as theſe iſlands and that of *Amboyna* produced.

Having thus given the geography of the *Spice Iſlands*, before we ſpeak of the ſpices themſelves, we ſhall touch at ſome of the iſlands near them, and at leaſt give their ſituation.

Gilolo. The moſt conſidrable iſland for extent, lying near the *Moluccas*, is *Gilolo*, or *Batachina*. It lies between one degree and an half ſ. lat. to 2 deg. n. lat. and by its turning towards the eaſt, beſouth the line, it makes 200 miles from one end of it to the other, but it is not above 50 in breadth: And three large bays come ſo far into the land, that they make it look like 3 diſtinct iſlands. The people are tall and warlike, are govern'd by a king of their own, feed upon rice and ſago, fiſh and fruit.

Between this iſland and *Celebes* there are ſeveral iſlands bigger than the *Moluccas*, *viz.* *Manene*, *Oubi*, *Bilato*, *Beſſy*, *Xulla*, *Bengay*, *Oubi-gapy*, *Iloboto*, *Buro Iſland*, where is a *Dutch* fort, *Tabuco*, *Laqua*, *Bouton*, &c. All theſe lie between the line, and 5 degrees ſ. lat. and moſt of them bigger than *Ternate*; but they have not been ſo famous. *Bouton* lies at the ſouth-eaſt end of *Macaſſar*, and is 25 leagues long, and 10 broad.

The product of the *Molucca* and *Banda Iſles* were very different, tho' both valuable. The *Bandas* had ſuch abundance of nutmegs and mace as ſerv'd all the world. What nutmegs and mace are I need not tell the reader, but perhaps every one may not know how they grow, nor their relation to one another, and therefore we ſhall deſcribe them. Banda.

The nutmeg-tree is like our peach-tree, but the leaves are ſhorter and rounder. The fruit grows like a walnut, within a husk as thick as that of the walnut; when the husk is open'd, a thin leaf preſents itſelf to the eye, wrap'd round a ſhell like a ſmall walnut: This leaf is the *Mace*, and within the ſhell is the *Nutmeg*. The colour of the mace is red before the fruit be ripe, but when full ripe turns yellow. They make preſerves of it with ſugar and ſalt. And *The nutmeg tree.*

the natives made a ſtomachic oyntment of mace and nutmegs pounded, and mix'd with the oyl of roſes.

Our author ſays, the inhabitants of *Lantor*, or *Banda proper*, were zealous Mahometans; that they were conſtantly at war with their neighbours, and, for that reaſon, were forced to keep a conſtant guard on the coaſt, for fear of invaſion. But, I ſuppoſe, the *Dutch* ſave them that labour, by having forts and garriſons in all places where there is any danger.

All the ſix iſlands, commonly call'd the *Bandas* were ſo full of the nutmeg-trees that there were few or none of any other kind, except a few durions, bananoes, oranges, and cocoa trees. But the politic *Dutch* rooted them up, in ſeveral places, for fear ſome other *European* nation ſhould be the better for them. And to ſecure the poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands, they have deſtroy'd all the neceſſaries of life in them, and chuſe to ſupply both themſelves and the natives every year from *Batavia*; ſo that an enemy could not live there, after the proviſions they brought along with them were ſpent, becauſe all the inhabited iſlands adjacent are under their yoke.

Dutch policy.

Moluccas.

As the *Bandas* were famous for nutmegs, the *Moluccas* were no leſs celebrated for cloves. Theſe iſlands are ſo ſcorch'd with the ſun, that the ground is as dry as a ſpunge, and ſucks in the rain as faſts as it falls; but in the thick forreſts, which the ſun-beams cannot penetrate, there is ſtore of herbs and fruit-trees, ſuch as bananas, cocoas, lemons, oranges, ſandal, and calamba, beſides ſpices of all ſorts; but no corn of any kind; the want of which is ſupplied by the *Sago* tree, which the natives call *Laudan*, which we have elſewhere deſcrib'd.

But the cloves were what made the *Moluccas* famous, and ſo generally ſought after, both by ancients and moderns. The tree upon which they grow, call'd *Siger* by the natives, reſembles the laurel, but the leaf not ſo broad, ſhooting forth its branches at the top. The fruit is white at firſt, and grows in cluſters, hanging down like a bunch of grapes. After a while it turns green, and when full ripe it is brown; when they have gather'd the cloves, they put them 2 or 3 days in the ſun, which gives them that blackiſh colour we ſee them have.

How the cloves grow.

This tree grows naturally, and does not bear fruit before it be 8 years old, and then bears to 100; but they gather the cloves but once in two years, becauſe, *De Mandelſloe* ſays, they induſtriouſly lop off the buds the firſt year, which makes a greater produce the ſecond. The time of gathering them is from *Auguſt* to *January*. The cloves are ſo dry, after having been in the ſun 2 days, that they put water in pitchers near the bags, and in few days it will be all ſuck'd up, altho' it ſtands 10 foot from them. This they do to encreaſe the weight.

The ſpices of theſe iſlands were long known in *Europe*, before we knew the iſlands themſelves. The *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Egyptians*, traded with theſe iſlands, many centuries before the way to them, by the cape of *Good Hope*, was found out. Theſe *Aſians* and *Africans* brought the ſpices either over the land, or up the *Red Sea*, to ſeveral ports of the *Mediteranean*, where they were bought up by the *Venetians*, *Genoeſes*, and *Catalans*, who diſpers'd them all over *Europe*, as they did the *Indian* and *Perſian* ſilks, at vaſt profit.

Whether the firſt inhabitants of theſe iſlands were *Chineſes* or not, is very uncertain: But it is not doubted, that many colonies went to them from the continent, on each ſide of the *Red Sea*, but moſtly from *Arabia*; thoſe being zealous Mahometans, and being induced, both by the laws of their religion, and by their intereſt, to drive all the natives from their poſſeſſions, or to kill them, who would not embrace the *Alcoran*, they, in a ſhort time, poſſeſs'd moſt of the coaſts in theſe iſlands: And that is the reaſon, why moſt of the inhabitants of the plain country were Mahometans, and they who inhabit the woods and the mountains, were Pagans, when the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* firſt diſcover'd the *Spice Iſlands*.

The ſpice trade was carried on by thoſe *Arabians*, and other people of the continent, who had ſettled in the *Moluccas*, and iſlands adjacent, and they not only enrich'd themſelves, but made *Cairo* and *Alexandria* the moſt conſiderable trading towns in the world, and likewiſe brought immenſe riches to thoſe ſtates, whoſe ſhips tranſported the ſpices and other *Indian* commodities from thoſe two *Egyptian* towns. This trade continued, in that channel, 'till the *Portugueſes* got footing in the *Eaſt Indies*; the beginning and progreſs of which we have given elſewhere. We ſhall now purſue the account of the *Spice Iſlands* in particular.

After the famous *Albuquerque*, the *Portugueſe* admiral, had taken *Goa* and *Malacca*, the one in the continent of *India* on this ſide the *Ganges*, and the other in the peninſula of *India* beyond the *Ganges*, which was in the year 1511, the *Indians*, eſpecially thoſe upon the coaſt, and the kings of the iſlands, were ſo terrified at the *Portugueſe* ſhips, that they courted their friendſhip: So that, ſoon after this, they made them arbitrators of the differences they had with one another; which

which they took care to decide after the ſame manner that the arbitrator in the fable did with the oyſter, *eating the fleſh himſelf, and giving each of the contending parties a ſhell.*

There was very little diſtance of time between the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* diſcovering the *Moluccas*, the one from the weſt, as we have obſerv'd before, and the others from *Malacca*. The company that ſail'd with *Magellan* came to *Ternate* in 1521, and left one of their ſhips there, and, by the king of *Ternate*'s conſent, ſettled a factory in that iſland. But the *Portugueſes*, who had been there under the conduct of *Abreu*, ſome few years before, and thought they had a right, by the pope's bull, and their own induſtry, to all the diſcoveries eaſtward, made no account of the quibble which *Magellan* put into *Charles* V's head, of diſcovering the *Spice Iſlands* from the weſt, and therefore finding the *Spaniſh* ſhip, and their factory, at *Ternate*, they made prize of the one, and ruin'd the other; and having, either for love or fear, obtain'd leave to build forts at *Ternate*, *Amboyna*, and *Banda*, they conteſted the ſpice trade with the *Spaniards* for 8 years together, 'till at laſt, in the year 1529, the emperor growing in want of money, mortgag'd his intereſt in the *Spice Iſlands* to the *Portugueſes*, for 350,000 ducats, and ſo they poſſeſs'd that trade for ſome time, without a rival.

Taken up by the Portugueſes.

But contended for 8 years by Spaniards.

We have no account of any *European* ſhip beſides the *Portugueſe* ſailing to the *Moluccas* before Mr. *Drake* ſail'd thither by the *Magellan* ſtreights, in 1579. The king of *Ternate*, weary of the tyrrany and inſolence of the *Porutgueſes*, receiv'd the *Engliſh* with open arms, and not only gave capt. *Drake* a loading of cloves in his iſland of *Ternate*, but, in hopes of being protected by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Portugueſes*, freely, (without being deſir'd, much leſs compell'd) ſurrender'd his iſland into *Drake*'s hands, for the uſe of his miſtreſs, Q. *Elizabeth*. From which it appears, that the crown of *England* has, to this day, a better title to the *Spice Iſlands*, than any *Europeans*, who have ever been in poſſeſſion of them. *What pity it is, that they did not purſue their claim, and defend the poor* Indian *kings from the inſolence of the* Portugueſes, *and the more barbarous cruelty of the* Dutch!

The Engliſh go to the Moluccas.

The *Dutch* were the laſt of the four nations, concern'd in the *Eaſt India* trade, who had any communication with the *Spice Iſlands*. Their firſt acquaintance with any part of the *Indian* ocean was in 1595. But they did not viſit the *Moluccas* 'till 3 or 4 years after, under the command of admiral *Warwick*, and, not being ſo modeſt as the *Engliſh*, they immediately ſettled factories in *Ternate* and *Banda*, and ſent home four ſhips, two laden with cloves at *Ternate* and *Amboyna*, and the other two with nutmegs and mace at *Banda*.

The Dutch firſt acquaintance with the Indies.

Upon the arrival of thoſe ſhips in the *Texel*, (the richeſt fleet that ever *Holland* could have ſeen, before that time, in their own ports new companies were quickly form'd, not only by the people of *Amſterdam*, and the province of *Holland*, (who were only concern'd in the firſt adventures) but in all parts of the *United Provinces*: And ſhips ſail'd from all parts of *Holland* to the *Indies*.

But the wiſe *States* of *Holland*, who never neglect an opportunity of enriching their country, and advancing the trade of it, (I wiſh ſome of their neighbours would follow ſome of their example in all the lawful methods they make uſe of for thoſe ends) ſeeing what advantage they might make of the *Eaſt India* trade, if they could carry it on in ſpite of the *Portugueſe* ſhips in thoſe ſeas, united all the ſeperate companies into one, in the year 1601. The capital ſtock being ſix millions of *Florins*. With this ſtock, they fitted out large fleets, from time to time, which were able to encounter the *Portugueſes*. Nor did they truſt thoſe fleets into bad hands; for they kidnap'd the *Portugueſe* merchant ſhips, and fought their men of war, wherever they met them, and beginning with their factories, which were weakeſt, they, by degrees, worm'd them out of moſt of the ſettlements in thoſe ſeas, in 6 or 7 years, which had been above 100 years in planting.

Dutch *poliey.*

But, not to trouble the reader with the diſputes between them in other places, ſome of which we have mention'd in the beginning of this ſecond book, we ſhall here proceed to the ſettlement of the *Dutch* in the *Spice Iſlands*, which we ſhall be ſhorter upon, becauſe we had occaſion to treat, at large, upon ſome part of it, eſpecially with regard to *Amboyna*, in another place. *

* B. II. Ch. II.

In the year 1603, *Van Hagen* ſail'd to the *Spice Iſlands*, with a fleet of 12 ſhips, and having attack'd the *Portugueſe* fort, it was ſurrender'd upon condition of freedom to ſail to *Goa* for ſuch as had a mind, and good uſage to ſuch as were willing to ſtay. Upon this ſurrender, the *Dutch* ſet up their ſtandard in the caſtle, and became maſters of all the arms, great and ſmall. Forty ſix *Portugueſes* ſtaid with them, and ſwore allegiance to the ſtates. Six hundred were tranſported to the *Portugueſe* plantations.

Amboyna *caſtle ſurrenders to the* Dutch.

Having thus got poſſeſſion of *Amboyna*, they diſpatch'd 5 of their ſhips for *Tidor*, where

where they arriv'd in *May*, 1605, and the next day ſummon'd the *Portugueſe* fort to ſurrender, but, upon refuſal, they cannonaded it, and were vigorouſly oppos'd by the beſieged; but their magazine of powder taking fire, blew up part of the wall, with 60 or 70 men; ſo that the *Dutch* became maſters of the caſtle with little trouble. The king of *Ternate* fooliſhly aſſiſted the *Dutch*, out of ſpite to the *Portugueſes*, and with his fleet kept the king of *Tidor* from attempting to raiſe the ſiege: which he had good reaſon to repent very ſoon after. By this victory, and the friendſhip of the king of *Ternate*, they were maſters of the *Moluccas*. It is true they did not keep poſſeſſion above a year, For,

And they take Tidor.

The *Spaniards*, thinking themſelves free to attack the *Spice Iſlands*, now that the *Portugueſes* were driven out of them, and being mortal enemies to the *Dutch*, whom they look'd upon as rebellious ſubjects, fitted out a fleet at the *Philippine Iſlands*, ſet upon the *Dutch*, before they were well ſettled in the new quarters, and, in a ſhort time, diſpoſſeſs'd them; and both *Spaniards* and *Dutch* having made alliances with the natives of different iſlands, whoſe hatred to one another made them join with either one or the other, as they ſaw them fall out with thoſe whom they had entertain'd a grudge at before. Thus, for ſeveral years, there was war between the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* in the *Moluccas*, in which the iſlanders took part 'till they had well nigh deſtroyed one another; at leaſt they were ſo weaken'd, that it was no hard task, for which ever of the *European* nations that ſhould get the better, to oppreſs the poor natives.

The Spaniards *beat them out.*

The war continued for ſeveral years, but neither the one nor the other was acceptable to the *Indians*; and the longer they were acquainted with them, they lik'd them the worſe. The people of *Banda* were ſo provok'd at the *Dutch*, for attempting to build a fort in *Neros*, which, they judg'd right, was deſign'd to awe the true proprietors, that, not being able to encounter *Warheuf*, with his great guns, they decoy'd him into a wood, and murder'd him and 40 of his men. This piece of treachery furniſh'd the *Dutch* with a good excuſe to uſe them ill; nor could they have been blam'd for chaſtiſing the actors and abettors of ſuch a villany, if they had not us'd the natives ill upon other occaſions, and if, upon the provocation lately mention'd, they had not ſuffer'd their revenge to exceed the bounds of reaſon.

During this war, between the *Spaniards* and their old revolted ſubjects the *Dutch*, they, between them, ground the poor natives as between two mill-ſtones, ſo that they would have been glad to have given up themſelves and their country, to any nation that could have deliver'd them from the tyrrany of their two cruel maſters.

Both *Spaniards* and *Dutch* had forts upon ſome of the *Molucca Iſlands*. The *Spaniards* had poſſeſſion of the capital of *Ternate*, where they had built a fort; and the *Dutch* had forts in two other places in the iſland, and the ſame in *Amboyna*, and other *Spice Iſlands*.

The *Dutch* were at war, firſt with the *Portugueſes*, and then with the *Spaniards*, when the *Engliſh* went in ſeveral voyages, to the *Moluccas*, as we have already given an account of in the beginning of this book, in the voyages of Sir *Henry Middleton* in 1604, capt. *Keeling* in 1607, and the ſame capt. in 1609, capt. *Sarris* in 1612, and ſeveral others. We ſhall not trouble the reader with repeating the particulars of thoſe voyages which relate to the *Spice Iſlands*. But we muſt ſay, in general, that the behaviour of the *Dutch* to the *Engliſh* at that time, has given us enough of the *Dutch* civility in the *Eaſt Indies*, and, for my part, I cannot believe, that the canibals, in *Gilolo* or *Ceram*, were worſe than thoſe monſters who liv'd in the caſtle of *Amboyna*, when poor capt. *Towerſon* was maſſacred there; or than thoſe others who murder'd the poor *Indians* in *Pulloway* and *Pollaroon*, for no other reaſon but their ſhewing an inclination to trade with the *Engliſh* rather than with them; and even the *Engliſh* themſelves, whom they took at ſea, without any provocation, when they knew there was peace between *England* and *Holland*.

In my former account of thoſe voyages, I ſet down the formal ſurrenders of ſome of the *Spice Iſlands* to king *James* I. I likewiſe gave the hiſtory of capt. *Courthop*'s brave ſtand, againg the whole force of the numerous *Dutch* fleet, keeping out his little iſland, with a handful of men, and thoſe ill provided in every thing, whilſt the *Dutch* abounded in all things. I ſhall therefore refer the reader to that account of the melancholy ſtory, which gives me the ſpleen to think of, and therefore I deſire to be excus'd from repeating it, however *apropos* it might come in here. All that I ſhall ſay upon this occaſion, without any hatred to the *Dutch*, is this, *That if the* Engliſh *had been* WILLING *to have gotten the* SPICE *trade into their hands*; *and if my countrymen had been* ABLE *to keep their own* FISHING *in theirs, the* Dutch *might have had a ſhare in both, without having it in their power to be the* Domini fac-totum *in either*. I ſuppoſe both nations are aware of the diſ-

advantages

advantages of the *Dutch* engroſſing both trades. I wiſh it were as eaſy for the one to do themſelves juſtice, as I believe it would be for the other, if they would heartily ſet about it.

But to leave theſe fruitleſs wiſhes, things went on thus in the *Molucca* and *Banda Iſlands*, the *Dutch* taking the *Engliſh* ſhips, and uſing the men worſe than we uſe dogs, and then murdering them in cold blood; boaſting, to the *Indians*, that their maſter, the king of *Holland*, was the moſt powerful monarch in *Europe*, and that the *Engliſh* were his vaſſals, and that the reaſon why they treated them as they did, was, becauſe they had come into thoſe ſeas againſt the king of *Holland*'s orders, and therefore ought to be chaſtiſed as rebels and pirates. Nor was their impudence leſs, in their converſation with the *Engliſh*, pretending that they had king *James*'s orders to keep their *Ships* out of thoſe ſeas; and when the *Engliſh* captains ſhew'd them their commiſſions under the king's hand and ſeal, they told them inſolently, *that they had as good intereſt at* Whitehall *as the Engliſh Eaſt India* company had.

It was unlucky for *England*, that Sir *Thomas Dale* dy'd ſo untimely at *Maſſulipatan* in 1619. He had handled the *Dutch* ſo roughly about *Sumatra* and *Java*, that they were glad to ply all their canvaſs to get out of his way, whereever they met him; and had that true *Engliſh* heart lived to ſail with his fleet to *Banda* as he intended, he would, in all probability, have taught the king of *Holland*'s inſolent ſubjects to have ſpoken another language, than they had done in thoſe ſeas. But his death, happening ſo unexpectedly, diſappointed that deſign; and, as if the *Engliſh*, then in the *Indies*, had been upon the plot to give up the *Spice Trade* to the *Dutch*, Sir *Thomas Dale*'s fleet, under the command of capt. *Pring*, inſtead of ſailing in a body to the relief of the brave capt. *Courthop*, (who, like a valiant man, and a true *Engliſhman* had, with a handful of men, kept out a little iſland for two years together, againſt the whole *Dutch* force in thoſe parts) diſpers'd to ſeveral parts, and ſo not oly ſuffer'd that worthy man to fall a prey to the perfidious *Dutch*, but gave them time to fix themſelves in the *Banda Iſlands*, which, by a voluntary ceſſion of the lawful proprietors, were become appendages of the crown of *England*; and likewiſe by their unaccountable ſeperation, they themſelves became a prey to the *Dutch* fleet, who durſt not look them in the face whilſt they kept together. They ſoon repented their management, when the *Dutch* made houſes of office of their backs to ſhew their contempt of the *Engliſh* nation; but their repentance was then too late, and they themſelves, like the *Scotch*, *wiſe behind hand.*

Thus went matters, (to the diſgrace of the *Engliſh* name among the *Iſlanders*, who were pillag'd and maſſacred for their adhering to their faith given the *Engliſh*, in hopes of being protected by that crown, againſt their cruel task maſters the *Dutch*) till the year 1622, that their maſter-piece of barbarity and villany was perpetrated at *Amboyna*, of which we gave a full detail elſewhere, and need not now repeat it. Moſt of the barbarities, they acted againſt the *Engliſh*, were committed after the formal treaty and agreement ſign'd and ſeal'd at *London*, the 7th of *July* old ſtile 1619, by the commiſſioners deputed by the king of *Great Britain*, and the ſtates of *Holland*, and by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt India Companies*, and confirm'd by king *James* the 16th of *July*, the ſame year; an abſtract of which we ſhall here give, to ſhew that we do not complain without cauſe.

Articles agreed upon between England *and* Holland.

In this treaty it was ſtipulated. 1. " That there ſhould be a general amneſty " and indemnity for all paſt offences com- " mitted in the *Indian* ſeas by either na- " tion to the other; that all priſoners " ſhould be ſet at liberty, and all goods " reſtor'd.

" 2. That the agents and all ſervants of " both companies ſhall keep a good cor- " reſpondence, and aſſiſt one another, " both by ſea and land, and faithfully " deliver any letters ſent by them.

" 3. That the trade of the *Indies* ſhall " be free, and each company ſhall have " what ſtock they think fit.

" 4. That both companies ſhall endea- " vour to leſſen the duties in the *In-* " *die*, and that they ſhall ceaſe to make " preſents to the natives.

" 5. That a certain fix'd price ſhall be " agreed upon for merchandiſe in the *In-* " *dies*, and in *England* and *Holland*; " ſo that neither nation may under-ſell " the other.

" 6. That the pepper ſhall be bought " in *Java-Major*, by factors appointed " by both companies, and equally di- " vided. As to other goods, they may " trade at pleaſure, according to the third " article.

" 7. That the *Engliſh* company enjoy " free trade at *Palicate*, they being at " equal charge, with the *Dutch*, in main- " taining the fort, and garriſon there.

" 8. That in the *Molucca*'s, *Amboyna*, " and *Banda Iſlands*, the *Engliſh* ſhall " enjoy a third part of the trade, import- " ed and exported, and the *Dutch* two " thirds.

" 9. That the principal factors of both

" companies ſhall buy the produce of the " iſlands laſt mentioned, at the current " price, and divide the reſpective ſhares " to each company, by lot. And to that " end, it is provided, that each party " ſhall have free acceſs to the forts and " magazines of the other.

" 10. That each company ſhall fit out " and maintain ten ſhips of war from 600 " to 800 ton, with 150 men and 30 " guns, each, with all things neceſſary " to defend their trade.

" 11. That a *Council of Defence* choſen " out of both companies ſhall order what " number of ſhips of war, frigates, or " gallies ſhall, from time to time, be ne- " ceſſary in the *Indian* ſeas.

" 12. That the forts and garriſons, " in the *Molucca*'s, *Amboyna*, and *Ban-* " *da*, ſhall be ſupported out of the taxes, " laid upon the goods exported from thoſe " iſlands, by order of the *Council of De-* " *fence*, and the ſums, appointed for that " uſe, lodg'd with the reſpective trea- " ſurers of each company.

" 13. That the *Council of Defence* ſhall " conſiſt of eight of the principal officers " of both nations, who ſhall be in the " *Indian* ſeas, together with eight others, " equally choſen out of the two compa- " nies; and each nation to have the pre- " ſidency by turns.

" 14. That all things neceſſary, for " the common defence, ſhall be ordered " by this *Council*, and the ſhips of war " ſhall be diſtributed to their ſeveral ſta- " tions aſſign'd by them.

" 15. That as all taxes are impos'd by " the ſaid *Council*, ſo all the collectors " and others ſhall be accountable to " them.

" 16. That the ſhips of war ſhall keep " the ſtations aſſign'd by them, till they " ſhall be recall'd by the *Council*, and " ſhall not be employ'd in carrying mer- " chandiſe into *Europe*.

" 17. That they may, with the *Coun-* " *cil*'s approbation, tranſport the reſpec- " tive company's goods from one place of " the *Indies* to another, with due regard " had to the defence.

" 18. That in caſe of neceſſity, the " *Council* ſhall be authoriz'd to turn any " number of merchant ſhips into men of " war.

" 19. That all profit and loſs, in caſe " of engagements with enemies, ſhall be " equal to the two companies.

" 20. That merchant ſhips, employ'd " as men of war, upon occaſion, ſhall " be maintain'd at the common charge, " and be rewarded for their loſs of time " and other damages, as the *Council of* " *Defence* ſhall ſee cauſe.

" 21. That ſuch ſhips of war as ſhall " be loſt by tempeſt, or damag'd any " other way than by the common ene- " my, the loſs ſhall fall, upon the compa- " ny only, to whom ſuch ſhips belong.

" 22. That all ſhips employ'd, by the " joint companies, ſhall be valued by the " *Council of Defence*, before they go up- " on ſervice, to avoid diſputes in caſe " of miſcarriage.

" 23. That the forts, in the hands of " both companies, ſhall remain to the " preſent poſſeſſors.

" 24. That no new forts ſhall be built " for two or three years, till that matter " may be decided by common conſent.

" 25. That any forts, which ſhall be " taken in the *Molucca*'s, or elſewhere " in the *Indies*, by the joint force of " both companies, ſhall be equally poſ- " ſeſs'd, garriſon'd and maintain'd out of " the common ſtock of both, by the di- " rection of the *Council of Defence*.

" 26. That they ſhall jointly endea- " vour to open a trade to *China*, and " other places in the *Indian* ocean.

" 27. That neither company ſhall ex- " clude the other from trade, either by " force, or by private ſeperate contracts, " but the commerce ſhall be open in all " ſuch places, where either company has " a fort, as elſewhere.

" 28. That no other perſons, not be- " longing to the two companies, ſhall " have any benefit of this treaty, but " ſhall be oppos'd by the joint force of " both. And that an addreſs be made " by each company to their reſpective " ſovereigns, not to authorize any other " companies to trade in thoſe ſeas.

" 29. That in any place, where both " companies have factories; if it ſhall " happen, by death, or any other acci- " dent, that there ſhall be none left who " has a legal title to the goods of the " factory; in that caſe, the factors be- " longing to the other company ſhall take " them in charge, to ſave them for the " right owners, to whom they ſhall ho- " neſtly reſtore them, upon their proving " their title.

" 30. That this treaty ſhall continue " in force for 20 years. And in caſe any " diſpute happens which cannot be de- " cided by the *Council of Defence*, it ſhall " be determined by the king of *Great* " *Britain* and the *States General*."

This treaty was confirm'd and ratified by king *James*, and the ſaid *States*, and authentick originals and copies ſent to the reſpective companies at home, and to their factors and commanders of ſhips in the *Indies*. But our good allies the *Dutch*, who had no intention to keep this treaty, however advantagious it was for them, (by what management I ſhall not ſay) ſince, by the 8th article, they were to have two thirds of the trade of the *Spice*

Iſlands

Iſlands, and the *Engliſh* company only one third, altho' they were actually in poſſeſſion of ſome of them, and others of them had been ſurrender'd to the crown of *England*; as ſoon as the treaty was ſent to *Bantam*, they ſet all hands to work to get poſſeſſion of the *Banda Iſlands*, which was a direct infringement of the 23d article; and not only took forcible poſſeſſion of *Pullaway* and *Polaroon*, againſt the remonſtrances of the *Engliſh* merchants there, as being a breach of the treaty, but they bound the merchants, and put ropes about their necks, and when they were carrying them to their boats, they tumbled them over the rocks like wool packs, not minding whether their head or feet firſt touch'd the boat. They made the poor *Bandaneſes*, much againſt their wills, throw nine pieces of cannon over the wall of the *Engliſh* fort at *Polaroon*, plundered the *Engliſh* houſes both there and at *Lantor*, kept the merchants in irons aboard their ſhips, murder'd poor captain *Courthop*, and after a maſſacre of ſome *Bandaneſes*, and ſending others ſlaves to *Jacatra*, they took poſſeſſion of all the *Banda Iſlands* in direct oppoſition to more articles than one of the treaty. Soon after follow'd the dreadful murder at *Amboyna*, already related. And yet our good allies keep the *Banda Iſlands*, and have driven all other *Europeans* out of the *Molucca*'s; and, as if it had not been condeſcention enough, to give them two thirds of the trade, we let them run away with the whole, and are fain to bribe their underſtrappers to let us have a ſhare, unknown to their maſters.

------Pudet hæc opprobria, nobis,
Aut dici potuiſſe, aut non potuiſſe refelli.

which, by a little parapraſe, may be thus engliſh'd,

Laſting reproach; that we ſhould hear it told,
The Dutch *uſurp'd* our Banda*'s iſles of old.*
But, for old England, *the diſgrace is worſe,*
That what they got by Fraud, *they keep by* Force.

Our good allies, having by theſe methods got poſſeſſion of the *Banda Iſles* from the *Engliſh*, were in no pain about the *Spaniards*; for they thought them not ſo formidable an enemy as the *Engliſh*; ſo that, being well ſupported from *Holland*, both with ſhips and men, they made an eaſy conqueſt of the *Molucca*'s.

But as their great thirſt for trade and dominion, made them ſtick at nothing to get poſſeſſion; ſo their care, to keep what they had gotten, put them upon meaſures, cunning indeed, but the greateſt barbarity to the poor natives that could have been ſhew'd by the canibals, had they invaded them: For they not only murder'd numbers of them, and ſent many of them as ſlaves to their other plantations; but they reduced thoſe who remain'd to a ſtate of beggary or ſtarving. In the *Banda Iſlands*, they deſtroy'd all the neceſſaries of life, unleſs the natives could live upon nutmegs and mace, and even thoſe they gather'd into their own ſtore-houſes, with ſuch rigorous exactneſs, that, if the poor people could have ſubſiſted upon them, they durſt not pull them, but by their order and for their uſe: and both the *Dutch* themſelves, and the natives are maintain'd, as we obſerv'd before, by proviſions ſent them from *Batavia*, and other ports of *Java*

The Dutch arts to preſerve the ſpice iſſands in their own hands.

As to the *Molucca*'s Mr. *Salmon* ſays, they have rooted up all the clove trees in thoſe iſlands, that they may be no temptation to any *European* or *Indian* nation, to invade them. This they did, becauſe thoſe iſlands were ſo diſperſed that it muſt have taken armies of men to have defended every one of them: And ſhould the *Engliſh* have got footing in any one of the *Molucca Iſlands*, whilſt they abounded in cloves, they were not ſure but the *Dutch* behaviour at the *Banda*'s and *Amboyna* might have made them act another part with their *High Mightineſſes*, than they had done, when they depended upon the obligations the *Dutch* were under to *England*, and the faith of a ſolemn treaty.

I ſhall not enter into the reaſons why this nation never did itſelf juſtice in this matter. It is an invidious task, and perhaps the reaſons given by ſome, are not the whole truth. As I am a *Scotchman*, I own my ſelf attach'd to the family of STUART, and it would be unnatural if I were not; and, altho' I will not take upon me to juſtify bad meaſures of government in any of that line that ever ſate upon either of the thrones of *Scotland* or *England*, I ſhall be bold to ſay, that I believe the *Dutch* barbarities in the *Indies* had not been ſo eaſily paſt over by either of the JAMES's or CHARLES's, had they had as much authority in *England*, as the famous ELIZABETH. And I have wonder'd at ſome celebrated, and otherwiſe valuable, writers, who, to lay load upon the family of *Stuart*, ſet them up for aſpirers to arbitrary government, and extol queen *Elizabeth* in oppoſition to them upon that ſcore; whereas, if I have not miſtaken all the accounts of her reign, that I have ſeen (I had not patience to read ſo far in *Rapin*, for he ſhews the cloven

cloven foot of *Dutch Government* long before he comes down ſo far, and, as I am inform'd, has committed more blunders in that reign, than in all the preceding, altho' they are not a few) That princeſs kept the reins of government with a ſtraiter hand than all her ſucceſſors, to the revolution. I would not be thought to have any intention to blaſt the reputation of queen *Elizabeth*, who was a *glorious princeſs*, and had been unblameably ſo, but for her unparalell'd cruelty (and I beg leave to ſay, *unjuſt tyrany*) in the matter of MARY queen of *Scotland*, for which alone I have any diſregard to her memory. All that I ſhall add, with regard to the *Spice Iſlands*, is, that it was pity *England* ſhould have loſt them ſo tamely, and a wonder they did not recover them, *when they got kings to their own mind, who had the intereſt of the nation more at heart, than the* ARBITRARY MONARCHS *of the laſt century.*

SECT. V.

The SUNDA *Iſlands.*

THE iſlands to the weſtward of *Celebes*, all the way to the gulph of *Bengal*, are call'd the *Sunda Iſlands*, from the ſtreights between two of the chief of them, call'd the ſtreights of *Sunda*, which our ſhips paſs in ſailing towards the eaſt. I ſhall not trouble the reader with the little iſlands lying near any of thoſe, unleſs ſomething particular occaſions my naming any of them.

The *Sunda Iſlands*, at leaſt the principal of them, are, *Borneo*, *Java*, and *Sumatra*, taking them, as we do, from eaſt to weſt. To begin then.

The ſituation of Borneo.

Borneo lies from 4 degrees ſ. lat. to about 7 degrees and an half n. lat. But in Sir *Thomas Herbert*'s account, it reaches only to 3 deg. ſouth of the line. By the firſt computation it ought to be 690 miles in length, and by the other 600, but all agree that it is 500 miles broad, being in the ſhape of an imperfect circle, and is one of the largeſt iſlands as yet known.

Being under the line, it is to be ſuppos'd, that it is very hot, but being, as they ſay, refreſh'd by frequent ſhowers and cooling breezes, (I ſuppoſe they mean only the ſea coaſts) it is ſupportable and comfortable living in it; only that they are troubled in the flat country with unwholſome fogs, occaſion'd by the yearly overflowing of the low ground, for whole provinces together, which going off, leaves the country in mud, and the perpendicular ſun raiſes vapours from it very noxious to health. But deſire of riches makes *Europeans* venture thither at any rate.

This iſland is ſuppos'd, like the other iſlands in theſe ſeas, to have been peopled from *China*, becauſe it is ſaid, thoſe who inhabit the inland part of the iſland, retain ſeveral of their cuſtoms; but indeed I believe the heart of the country is ſo little known to us, that it is at beſt but a conjecture, what country they derive from. Thoſe who inhabit the skirts of the iſland are probably of the ſame origine with the other iſlanders already mention'd, *viz.* from the countries bordering upon the *Red Sea*; for they are zealous Mahometans; whereas the inland inhabitants are Heathens.

A good deal of the cuſtoms of what is known of *Borneo* are much the ſame with the iſlands already deſcrib'd, particularly *Mindanao*, only that this, being much larger, has ſeveral ſultans, *viz.* the ſultans of *Borneo*, *Caytongee*, *Paſſeir*, *Negarce*, and *Succadana*, all which, except *Borneo*, are on the ſouthern parts of the iſland; and there were more kingdoms there; but how the north-eaſt parts are inhabited and governed, we cannot tell.

Magellan's people came to this iſland in their ſearch of the *Moluccas*, and were well receiv'd by the ſultan of *Borneo*, and elephants ſent to carry their chief officers from the ſhore to his palace. But, whether with, or without the king's knowledge, they were, afterwards, aſſaulted by his general, who was juſt return'd by ſea, from an expedition in another part of the iſland. The *Spaniards* took ſome of their juncks, particularly that wherein the general was; but he was ſuffer'd to eſcape without ranſom.

Long after that, the *Spaniards* had been better acquainted with them; but it was the fate, and indeed the fault of the *Spaniards*, *Portugueſes*, and *Dutch*, to make themſelves hated wherever they got footing. For, about the year 1593, when the *Dutch* went there firſt, the king took them for *Spaniards*, and thought to demoliſh them, for that reaſon, but was civil to them when he found his miſtake. But they had not been long ſettled in his country, 'till he found that they were no better than their old maſters, having no notion of ſubmitting to kings, whatever immunities and privileges they may enjoy under them. *And this is the boaſted* LIBERTY *of* COMMONWEALTH PRINCIPLES, *to oppreſs all that they can get the better of, without any regard to* RIGHT *or* PROPERTY.

Port towns. Banjar Maſſeen.

The chief ports, in this iſland, were *Banjar Maſſeen*, *Succadana*, and *Borneo*. *Banjar Maſſeen* was once a ſea-port town about 12 miles up the river *Banjar*, which enters the ſea in the ſouth part of the iſland, in 3 deg. 18 min. ſ. lat. This river

ver runs, in a ſouth courſe, from 2 deg. north of the line, to the place where it enters the ſea, and is above a mile broad at the mouth of it. At the head of this river is to be found the greateſt quantity of pepper of any other part of the iſland. But *Banjar Maſſeen* has been long ſince deſerted, and at preſent there is no veſtige of it, the inhabitants having remov'd to *Tatas*, ſix miles farther up the country, upon the ſame river.

Succadana. *Succadana* lies on the weſt ſide of the iſland, not a degree northward of the line. It was, ſome time ago, much frequented by *Europeans*, but by the conveniency of the rivers near *Tatas*, (for beſides the great river *Banjar*, there are two others, that have a communication with it, call'd *China* and *Tatas*) the *European* trade is, for the moſt part, centred there.

Borneo town. *Borneo* was the reſidence of the chief ſultan of the iſland. It lies in the north-weſt ſide of a bay that runs a good way into the land, and makes very ſafe and convenient anchorage.

Sir *Thomas Herbert*, or whoever wrote his travels, ſays, this iſland was firſt diſcover'd accidentally by Mr. *De Breu*, that it was, in his time, ſubject to the *Spaniards*, that it had many villages, well peopled, but poor, and are miſerable idolaters. What other account he gives of the iſland, ſhall be inſerted when we come to treat of the produce of it.

The water-houſes. The towns up the great river, where is the greateſt reſort of *Europeans*, are built upon the water, on floats of timber; but ſometimes the ebb-tide is ſo ſtrong, that ſome of their moorings give way, and ſome houſes are carried down to the ſea.

* See *Salmon's* Preſent State, Vol. II. p. 109. The tides. But there is ſomething very particular ſaid * of the tides here, *viz.* that it flows only once in 24 hours, and that always in the day-time. If this be true, it is worth their while for the learned to find the reaſon of it. The periodical winds, or monſoons, are weſterly from *September* to *April*; during which time it rains almoſt continually, with ſtorms of thunder and lightning. From *April* to *September* is the dry ſeaſon, but ſhowery when the ſea-breezes come.

The natives. The natives of this iſland are of two ſorts, as the natives of the other iſlands in thoſe parts of the *Indian* ocean are, and like them divided in their religion. The Mahometans inhabiting the coaſts and plain country, and the *Byayos*, inhabiting the woods and mountains, are Pagans.

Men. Theſe laſt are ſtronger and cleverer people than the others, which is, perhaps, owing to their active, ſtirring life, whereas the lowlanders are lazy and idle. The *Byayos* ſpend their time in hunting and looking after their cattle, and have little or no communication with the *Banjareens*, much leſs with *Europeans*. They are reckon'd barbarous; but that may be miſrepreſentation.

All the people of the iſland are tawny, but none black, which ſhews, that blackneſs of the skin is not entirely owing to the nearneſs of the ſun. The women are little, but well-ſhap'd, and not ill-featur'd; they have an agreeable air, and, which we have not had occaſion to obſerve in many eaſtern countries, they walk gracefully. Women.

The *Byayos* go naked, only a girdle for modeſty; and they paint their skins, which makes them look as if they were cloth'd. But all the common people thro' the whole iſland have a wretched cuſtom of beſmearing themſelves with ſtinking oyl, enough to poiſon people of delicate noſes, and is almoſt as nauſeous as muſk. The leaders and chief people of the *Byayos* pull out ſome of their fore teeth, to ſupply their places with golden ones. But altho' the commons in the low country are little better cloth'd than the mountaineers, their princes and nobles are dreſs'd in blue or red ſilk waiſtcoats, and, when the weather will allow it, in *European* cloth, with a ſilk ſaſh wrap'd about their middle, and the end reaching to their knees. They wear drawers, but no ſhirt, neither ſhoes nor ſtockings. Their black hair ty'd in a roll upon the crown, with a piece of callicoe or muſlin, but much leſs than the Turks turbants. Dreſs.

They are an hoſpitable people, and often invite ſtrangers to eat with them, where they entertain them with boil'd rice, hard eggs, fowls, fiſh, and veniſon. In the great people's houſes, their diſhes and bowls are of gold or ſilver, but of braſs or earth in the ordinary houſes. Their drink is only water or tea. But, notwithſtanding the ſtrict prohibition of wine by the Alcoran, they drink all ſorts of ſtrong drink with the *Europeans*, without any ſcruple. After their meals, they ſmoke tobacco, men and women, all together, but out of one pipe; the maſter of the family firſt fills the pipe with tobacco, in which they put a pill of opium; after he has ſmok'd his pipe, which is finiſh'd in 4 or 5 whiffs, it goes round the family; the opium makes them lively for a while, but then they grow duller than before. The reſt of the day they chew *Betel* and *Arek*.

Their diverſions within doors are gaming and comedies, as the other *Indians*, and ſhooting for a wager, and hunting of deer without. Their diverſions.

Their ſalutations are made by joining their hands together, and lifting them up to the breaſt, or higher, according to the reſpect they would ſhew. If they meet a prince, they join their hands, and

fall flat upon their faces, and creep towards him, and if he ſpeaks to them, they continue in that poſture 'till the converſation is over, and then creep away; but unleſs he firſt ſpeak to them, it is ill manners for an inferior to ſpeak firſt.

English *factory loſt at* Banjar.

The *Engliſh* had once a factory at *Banjar Maſſeen*, but by ſome hot-headed merchant ſome affront was offer'd to the king of *Caytongee*, for which he forbad them the place, and the next ſhips that went thither were fain to deny that they belong'd to the company, or elſe they had been order'd away. The king of *Caytongee* muſt be ſent to, at any ſhip's arrival, with an account who they are, and from whom they come, and this meſſage muſt be accompanied with a preſent, without which there is no acceſs to any *Indian* king.

Capt. *Beeckman*, who was there very lately, was treated handſomely by that king, as an *Engliſhman*, but as having nothing to do with the company, againſt which the king expreſs'd himſelf warmly.

The produce of Borneo.

The produce of this iſland is gum-dragon, canes, cocoas, lemons, oranges, citrons, plantanes, melons, bonanoes, pine-apples, cotton, but above all *Pepper*.

Pepper.

Pepper being the charm that brings ſtrangers to *Borneo* more than their gold, we ſhall ſay ſomething of it here once for all. It is of 3 ſorts. 1. That which is call'd the *Molucca Pepper*, which is the beſt. 2. The *Caygontee*, and 3. The *Negaroe*, which is the worſt of the three.

But there is a white pepper double the value of the other, as being ſcarce. How it grows I have not met with, and muſt take Mr. *Salmon*'s conjecture, 'till I find a truer. Having, I think juſtly, rejected the idle ſtory of the black pepper being ſwallowed by a certain bird, and the huſk being the only part that this creature's ſtomach has any influence upon, it comes through it white, as we have it, Mr. *Salmon* believes * that the white pepper are thoſe corns, which, being ripe ſooner than the common time of pulling them, fall of themſelves, and are blanch'd by the weather. For ſince the *Europeans* buy white pepper in places where they have ſeen woods of the other, and not one tree of this kind; and ſince the country people affirm that they find it upon the ground, and that a ſmall quantity of it can only be procur'd, we may conclude this author's conjecture right. How the pepper grows we have ſaid elſewhere.* There is a red pepper in *Bermudas*, which we mention'd in our account of that iſland, in the firſt book of our TRAVELLER.

* Admiral *Beaulieu* is of his opinion. See p. 479.

* Un. Tr. p. 478.

Animals.

The animals of this iſland are, elephants, ſmall horſes, oxen, buffaloes, deer and goats, bears, tygers, and monkeys.

Oaran Oatan.

But there is one creature ſaid to have been found there, and capt. *Beeckman* had one of them aboard his ſhip for ſome time. It is call'd *Oaran Oatan*, ſhap'd liker a man than a monkey, has no hair but in the part of the body that men have, walks upon two legs, has no tail, is ſtrong and nimble, and throws ſtones with great dexterity. That which capt. *Beeckman* had was ſix foot high, altho' but a year old, and was ſtronger than any man aboard. He was fond of punch, and all ſtrong liquors; he would take a bottle of brandy out of the caſe, and having taken a draught of it, would put it in its place, and then go to ſleep with his head upon his arm. If the captain was angry with him, he would ſigh and look dull 'till he was reconcil'd. But he died in the voyage.

Luree, *a ſort of parrot.*

They have no birds but ſparrows, paraketes, and parrots, of which laſt they have one beautiful ſort, call'd *Luree*, of the common ſize, but red mix'd with blue and green, which caſts a ſhade not to be imitated by any pencil. Our traders have bought ſeveral of them at 8 or 9 ducats a-piece, to bring home; but they cannot live in a colder climate. They have likewiſe a flying cat, or rather ſox, whoſe wings are ſo large, that, when ſtretch'd out, they are ſix foot between the tips of them, and they fly in ſuch flocks that they darken the air.

Flying cat.

Their fiſh (beſides thoſe in common with us, of which they have plenty, eſpecially prawns of 8 inches long, and catfiſh, of which they have many in the north of *Scotland*, which take their name from the reſemblance of the head to that of a cat, and are excellent meat) they have many others unknown in our ſeas, one of the beſt of which is call'd *Cockup*.

The trade of Borneo

The trade of this iſland, according to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, is in gold, diamonds, bezoar, alloes, muſk, civet, benjamin, amber, gum-dragon, wax, rice, and canes. But he takes no notice of pepper here, I ſuppoſe, becauſe *Sumatra* and *Java* were the chief places in his time, where the *Engliſh* traded for that commodity. The goods imported, and moſt valued here, are, guns from 100 to 200 weight, ſheet lead, cutlers ware of all kinds except forks, iron and ſteel bars, graplings of 40 *L.* wt. nails, red leather boots, clock-work, ſmall arms with braſs mounting, gunpowder, looking-glaſſes, ſpectacles.

The *Chineſe* junks come hither every year with all the *Chineſe* commodities, with whom the *Engliſh* might deal to great advantage, if they were as well ſettled here as the *Dutch* are in *Batavia*; and the *Macaſſars* bring cloves, mace, and nutmegs hither, in ſpite of the *Dutch*, and ſell them to the *Engliſh*.

But

But in trading with the *Borneans*, much caution muſt be us'd. One muſt ſhew no diſtruſt of them, altho' they muſt be well look'd after, or elſe they will cheat. In ſhipping the pepper, the duſt of it muſt not be caſt into the ſea, leſt the *Banjareens* skim it off, and mix it with the next pepper they ſell, to augment the weight. But the greateſt caution is, not to affront the women who come freely to trade with ſtrangers, for that is a crime they will not forgive. Another rule given is, to ask twice as much for any goods, you ſell to them, as they are worth. But this I take to be a bad advice, for if merchants would deal upon the ſquare, and ask no more than what they can afford to ſell their goods at, the people would deal with them with more aſſurance than they do, and there would be no handle given to cheat.

Coin. Their coin is dollars, half, and quarter dollars, and rings of baſe metal, upon ſtrings, which ſerve for ſmall money.

Weight. Their weights, a *Catee*, which weighs 22 ounces of ours, and 100 *Catees* make a *Pecul*. Their ſmall weights are, *Marborongs*, 3 of which make a *Tela*, 6 *Telas* a *Mas*, 16 *Mas*'s a *Tecul*, which weighs one ounce and 8 pwts.

Meaſure. The common meaſure is a *Ganton*, much the ſame with the *Wincheſter* quart.

Gold of different ſorts. They have 3 ſorts of gold in this iſland. What they call the *Head Gold* is ſold at 11 times its weight of ſilver, the *Belly Gold* at 10 times, and the *Foot Gold* at 9 times. The *Head Gold* is the fineſt, but the *Belly* the moſt profitable. But when the *Europeans* buy it, they cut the bar half thro' with a chizel, and then break it off, to diſcover whether it be adulterated, which is no uncommon practice with the natives. There are ſeveral other mines in this country, as iron, tin, and good load-ſtone.

No learning. As for learning, there is none of any kind. They have no phyſicians, but pretend to cure diſeaſes by conjuring. For, as they take all maladies to proceed from ſome ſpirit that is angry, they go to the fields, and offer fowls, rice, &c. to the incens'd dæmon, and if the ſick man recovers, they offer another entertainment by way of thanks. They ſtare to ſee the *Europeans* draw blood; and, unleſs for curing hurts, they have no notion of phyſicians. They are ſo little acquainted with aſtronomy, that they are frighted at an eclipſe, and he that can foretell the time of its happening, would be reckon'd a conjurer.

Their language about *Banjar* is the *Malayan*, but in the high-lands it may be *Iriſh* for what any body knows.

Government of Borneo. As to the government of this iſland, it is under different kings. The moſt powerful, for the time being, ſets up for ſovereign of all the reſt. The king of *Borneo* was moſt powerful in the laſt century, but now the ſultan of *Caytongee* is above him. But the clans own no Mooriſh kings, and are only ſubject to their own chiefs.

Religion. Their religion is Mahometiſm, with a conſiderable mixture of *Chineſe* ſuperſtition. They charm for diſeaſes, and pretend to ſee ſpirits, but it is always at night, and when they are alone. The highlanders ſtick by their ancient heatheniſm, and dare not converſe with people of another religion, for fear of being made ſlaves as well as proſelites.

As to their marriages, the girls are married at 8, and have children at 9. It is no crime to be wanton before marriage, nor is a woman thought the worſe of for having one or two baſtards. But they are faithful wives.

Marriages. Capt. *Beeckman* was preſent at a marriage in 1711. The dinner was in the bride's father's houſe, and was over before the bridegroom came. About the evening he appear'd before the houſe upon the water, in a pageant made like a ſhip, reſting upon a huge float of timber. He ſate on a throne, upon the quarter deck. As ſoon as the machine ſtop'd before the houſe, 12 young virgins came aſhore, each with a bowl in her hand, ſome of gold, ſome of ſilver, others of braſs, within which were the bridegroom's preſents to the bride. She being ſeated upon a throne within doors, receiv'd them, and return'd hers to the bridegroom. After this was over, he came out of his wooden palace, and was met at the door of the houſe by one of their prieſts, who muttering ſome prayers ſtrew'd ſome rice upon his head, which was all the marriage the captain ſaw. And then all the company ſhouted and fir'd their pieces, as they had often done ſince their firſt coming to the houſe. When the prieſt had done, the bridegroom aſcended the throne, and took his place upon the lady's right hand, and then all the company withdrew, and left them alone.

The men purchaſe their wives here, as in ſome other places in the *Indies* already deſcrib'd; ſo that a man who has a parcel of handſome daughters is rich, but if they are ugly, they are a clog upon him.

They are proud of having many wives, and therefore, if one dies, or is divorc'd, they take another, as young and beautiful as can be had, let them be never ſo old themſelves.

There being little difference between their manner of burying and that of other Mahometan countries upon the continent, we ſhall not weary the reader with repeating what has been ſaid before.

Mr.

Mr. *Salmon* gives an account (which he ſays he had from a principal officer, who was upon the ſpot) of the deſtruction of the *Engliſh* factory of *Banjar Maſſeen*, of which this is the ſubſtance.

An account of the Banjar Maſſeen *factory.*

Capt. *Coatſworth*, having, in the year 1700, carried Mr. *Landan*, appointed preſident, and 4 or 5 merchants, as counſellors to him, to the iſland of *Borneo*, they obtain'd the ſultan of *Banjar*'s CHOP, or ſeal, in order to ſettle there; and accordingly they furniſh'd themſelves with 3 floating houſes, according to the cuſtom of the country, with another behind them, upon the ſhore, ſupported by poſts, as has been already deſcrib'd. Thoſe floating houſes have poſts driven into the bottom of the water, to which the houſe is faſten'd by rings, to prevent its being carried away by the ſtream. Of theſe houſes they make towns upon the water. There were above 300 of them at *Banjar Maſſeen* when the *Engliſh* arriv'd, inhabited by *Chineſes*, *Malayans*, *Macaſſars*, and *Borneans*. The *Borneans* remov'd, upon the arrival of the *Engliſh*, but the others ſtaid, being 200 families, and were ſo pleas'd with the preſident and his council, that they put themſelves under their protection, and Mr. *Landan* was call'd governor of the floating town. And many junks came thither to trade, both from *China* and from the adjacent iſlands. The *Borneans*, from time to time, brought pepper, which they ſold to the *Engliſh*; ſo that, for about 3 years, they liv'd in good correſpondence together, and the *Engliſh* had a conſiderable factory, reſerving their land houſe for a warehouſe.

But the factors having imprudently truſted the natives with 20,000 dollars, for pepper, which they were to have brought to the warehouſe; they having no way to evade the contract, and being determin'd not to refund the money, plotted the deſtruction of the factory. In the mean time, they ſold their pepper underhand to the *Chineſe* junks; but when the preſident preſs'd for his bargain, they made twenty excuſes.

The *Chineſes* who liv'd in the floating town gave warning to the preſident, that the natives had ſome ill deſign upon them; but the *Engliſh*, being conſcious of no provocation, could not be perſwaded of the truth, 'till they ſaw the river cover'd with boats of 40 or 50 tun, full of armed men, coming in a hoſtile manner, and caſt anchor at ſome diſtance.

An *Engliſh* ſhip call'd the *Borneo*, built on purpoſe for that trade, happen'd luckily to be then in the river. The preſident conſulted with capt. *Barre*, who commanded her; the reſult of which conſultation was, that, having 50 *Engliſh*, between the ſhip and the factory, they ſhould hire the *Bugaſſes* out of the *Macaſſar* veſſels and floats, and mount two pieces of cannon upon a *Gunting*, or large boat, and having furniſh'd themſelves with a ſufficient number of praws and ſmall boats, they ſhould attack the *Banjareens*.

This being concluded, they ſet ſail, but having made a ſhort progreſs, the *Borneo* ſtruck againſt a chain, laid croſs the river by the enemy, and faſtened to the trees on each ſide; but the *Bugeſſes*, haſtening aſhore, untied the machine from the trees, and ſoon gave the ſhip free paſſage. As the *Engliſh* advanc'd towards the enemy, the *Banjareens* plied them with their great guns, but were ſo bad markſmen, that of a great many ſhots, not one touch'd either the ſhip or the boats. When capt. *Barre*, on board of whoſe ſhip was the preſident, came within eaſy ſhot of their fleet, he let drive a broadſide among them, which, having been better level'd than theirs, did ſuch execution among them, that they fled with great precipitation. The *Engliſh* took 3 of their guntings, but the men leap'd over-board, and eſcap'd to the woods.

The *Borneo* purſued them to *Tatas*, up the *China* river, but the *Banjareens* were too nimble for them, and had taken every thing that was valuable out of the town, except a quantity of pepper, which the preſident order'd to be ſhip'd, and, having ſet fire to the town, came back to their factory.

Hearing no more of any enemy, ſome days after, capt. *Barre*, taking ſome arm'd *Guntings*, and 40 or 50 *Praws*, ſail'd up the *Banjar*, about 200 miles above the floating city, almoſt as far as *Negaree*, in the heart of the iſland. When he was within 12 or 14 miles of that town, he perceiv'd a great machine upon the water, of 100 foot long, and 40 broad, (as they afterwards meaſur'd it) with two decks. Upon the lower deck were mounted 4 iron and 2 braſs guns, and above, were 50 patararo's. Upon the ſides, they had made a ſort of palliſade of twiſted cane, to cover them from ſmall ſhot.

Capt. *Barre* advanc'd upon this machine, notwithſtanding their fire, both from great and ſmall guns, keeping up his own fire, 'till he was very near, and was ſo lucky at his firſt diſcharge, that a ball entering one of their port-holes, diſmounted one of their great guns, and kill'd ſeveral of their men. The captain perceiving they did not fire any more, believ'd they had ſome ſtratagem to play upon him, and therefore advanc'd cautiouſly; but not hearing the leaſt noiſe aboard,

aboard, altho' he was cloſe up with them, he order'd ſome of the *Bugaſſes* to board the floating caſtle, which they did, but found no body, the *Borneans* having fled, at the firſt fire, out of a port they found open on the ſide towards the neareſt ſhore. The captain took the machine, and ſeveral *Guntings*, but all empty of men, and not thinking it proper to ſail further up the river, he return'd towards the factory. But the caſtle was ſo unweildy, that, altho' it was along the ſtream, they were 14 days in getting down. The preſident, who had kept aboard the ſhip to protect their town, preſented the captain with the two braſs guns he had taken on board the machine, which he afterwards carried to *England*.

The Banjareens flee.

But the preſident, judging right, that it could never be for the intereſt of the company, that they ſhould continue in a ſtate of war with the natives, which muſt hinder the pepper trade, and make their being there uſeleſs, having taken two *Banjareen* fiſhermen, he ſent them with a letter to the ſultan, complaining of the ill treatment they had met with from his ſubjects, and deſiring him to make his people do them juſtice, and offering ſafe conduct to any of his people who ſhould come from him with a flag of peace. And, to induce him to it, they ſent a preſent with the letter.

Having waited ſome time without receiving an anſwer, they fitted out another fleet like the former, and ſail'd up the *China* river towards *Caytongee*, about 40 miles above *Tatas*. Near *Caytongee*, they found another floating caſtle, quite croſs the river, which was better fortified than the laſt, and well man'd and planted with great guns. But the preſident and captain, being acquainted with the ignorance of the natives, in the art of gunnery, advanced boldly towards the machine, when they were agreeably ſtop'd by a praw, with a white flag, in which was an officer from the ſultan, who offer'd to ſend ſome of his miniſters to treat about an accommodation, upon ſafe conduct ſtipulated by the *Engliſh*; which the preſident ſolemnly promis'd, whether they ſhould conclude a peace or not.

Another expedition againſt the natives.

Upon this promiſe, the ſultan ſent his deputies, one of whom was a ſon of his own, without ever deſiring hoſtages, ſo much, as our author well obſerves, did the *Borneans* truſt to the honour of the *Engliſh*.

When the commiſſioners met, the preſident expreſs'd his concern for being oblig'd to make war upon the ſultan, tho' in his own defence. He then repreſented the charge he had been at in the war, which the *Borneans* were obliged to pay, as having forced him to it. In ſhort, after ſome debate, it was agreed, that the *Banjareens* ſhould pay, in pepper, the 20,000 dollars they had formerly bargain'd for, and as much more for the charge of the war; the pepper was to be deliver'd at ſuch ſet times, agreed to in the treaty, and full liberty of trade without taxes of any kind, was confirm'd to the *Engliſh* by the ſultan's *Chop*. And this treaty was ſeal'd and ſign'd with great ſolemnity, before their chief prieſt.

A treaty concluded

But the performing the treaty was another affair. They made new excuſes for not bringing in the pepper, and, inſtead of the value of 40,000 dollars, all that they got was 1000; ſo that, not caring to put themſelves to the charge of a new war, they reſolv'd in council to leave the iſland, 'till they could return with ſuch a force as ſhould be able to do themſelves juſtice. And accordingly having ſent a meſſage to the ſultan, to tell him, that their affairs call'd them to *Java*, but that they expected the treaty to be made good at their return, they embark'd on board capt. *Barre*'s ſhip for *Batavia*, from whence capt. *Barre* ſail'd for *England*, and the preſident for *Bengal*.

but not perform'd.

The Engliſh leave Borneo.

The *Engliſh* company having had an account from the captain, and by letters from the preſident, of what conſequence the ſettlement of *Banjar Maſſeen* might be to their trade, ſent Mr. *Royet* thither, as preſident, in the year 1704. He, having been one of the former factory, was well receiv'd by the natives, and making no demand of the old debt, traded with them above a year, with great freedom, and perhaps the *Engliſh* might have been there ſtill, if the fear of being inſulted by their good neighbours, not far from them, had not put the company upon the invidious project of fortifying themſelves in *Borneo*, as the *Dutch* had done at *Batavia*.

A new factory ſent thither.

To put this project in execution, which might juſtly alarm the *Banjareens*, they ſent capt. *Barre* thither, in 1705, who was not only a brave man, but a good engineer, and knew the country, and, Mr. *Royet* dying, ſoon after his arrival, he was made preſident.

The captain finding it neceſſary to erect his deſign'd fort, without giving umbrage to the natives, employ'd ſome *Chineſes* to make bricks for him at *Tomborneo*, (a place about 80 miles diſtant from *Banjar* river,) where he had choſen ground to build upon; and in the mean time, he agreed with a *Dutchman* to furniſh him with timber from the coaſt of *Java*; but, leſt it ſhould come to the general's ears at *Batavia*, the timber was to be tranſported in *China Junks*: This is a common trick of the *Dutch* merchants, who will trade underhand, for private

gain, without any conſideration, either of their own company, or of *Vather Landt*. And it is well there are ſuch, for, without it, our trade in thoſe ſeas might be worſe than it is.

Whilſt capt. *Barre* was buſy in driving ſome thouſands of piles in the place he had pitch'd upon for his fort, and ramming the voids, between the piles, full of earth and ſtones, to raiſe his work above ground, and to be a barrier againſt the water, it happen'd, unluckily for the *Engliſh*, that one of the junks, laden with timber from *Java*, was driven aſhore to the weſtard of the river *Banjar*, in the government of *Gouſtee Ganton*, who taking cognizance of its being deſign'd for *Banjar* fort, order'd the veſſel to be confiſcated, and the throats of all the poor *Chineſes* belonging to it to be cut, in his preſence, except one who eſcap'd, and told the news.

A Borneo governor ſeizes a ſhip in the Engliſh pay.

The captain having complain'd of this outrage to the ſultan, to no purpoſe, becauſe he pretended *Gouſtee* was too powerful to be puniſh'd, was reſolv'd to revenge the affront himſelf, and being inform'd, that this hector was to go by water from *Tatas* to *Banjar* river, the captain man'd his pinnace, and taking ſeveral armed praws with him, way-laid him. After waiting a while, *Gouſtee* appear'd, with ſeveral veſſels along with him; but as ſoon as they diſcover'd the pinnace, they plied their oars ſo nimbly, that it was impoſſible to come up with them.

The captain being vex'd to have loſt his prey, fir'd upon the boat that look'd like *Gouſtee*'s, and the ball enter'd that boat where *Gouſtee* indeed was, but, to the misfortune of the *Engliſh* company, the ſultaneſs was there too, unknown to the captain. This was aggravated in ſuch a manner by *Gouſtee*, that the ſultan would never forgive it.

In revenge of this capt. Barre diſobliges the ſultan

After this, the captain went on with his fort, and had brought it a conſiderable way above ground; but when he had mark'd out his ground for his baſtions, in the form of a pentagon, he fell ſick and died, to the great loſs of the *Eaſt-India* company, and to the deſtruction of their trade in *Borneo*.

Capt. Barre dying, is ill ſucceeded

The captain's poſt was fill'd by Mr. *Cunningham*, who, it ſeems, by the account our author gives of him, was a fitter member of the Royal Society, than either to build forts or defend them. Soon after his advancement to this poſt, there came an account of the natives having taken arms, which our author ſays, ſo frighted the new preſident, that he would not lie in the factory, but on board the *Blenheim*, of which capt. *Barre* had been the worthy commander; and if our author's informer did not do injuſtice to Mr. *Cunningham*, the factory was loſt by his cowardice. I am ſorry there ſhould have been occaſion for ſuch a reproach upon my countryman, for ſuch his name ſpeaks him, but as *the corruption of the beſt things* IS THE WORST, I have leſs regard for a *Scotch* poltroon than for any other under heaven.

In ſhort, the *Banjareens* attack'd the factory, and another *Engliſh* ſhip commanded by capt. *Philips*. They were beaten off from the factory, by the bravery of a few who defended it; and altho' they boarded the *Carlton*, and cut the brave captain *Philips* to pieces on the quarter deck, which, out of too nice a punctilio of honour, he would not quit, his men retiring into cloſe quarters, clear'd the deck of the *Banjareens*, with great ſlaughter, by their fire arms.

The Banjareens attack the factory.

After theſe two repulſes, it was thought the enemy would have given over, and retir'd, at leaſt for that time; but, inſtead of purſuing the advantage, the preſident order'd the factory to be ſet on fire by his own people, and that the *Blenheim* and *Carlton* ſhould cut their cables, and fall down the river, leaving their topmaſts and rigging, with good ſtore of arrack, rice, and other proviſions, aſhore, and, which was worſe, 50 poor ſlaves, and other ſervants, in the warehouſe, who were cut to pieces by the *Banjareens*, when they had got ſo unexpected a victory.

The iſland abandon'd by the cowardice of the preſident.

They were ſo elevated with this ſucceſs, that they purſued the ſhips, and about 300 of them attack'd the *Blenheim*, but the captain gave them ſuch a reception, that few went back to give an account of the action. Thus was that promiſing factory loſt by putting one unfit perſon at the head of it, and the *Eaſt India* company cut out of the *Chineſe* and *Spice* trade, which they might by this time have been, at leaſt, able to have ſhar'd with the *Dutch*, if they could have protected the *Indian* junks, and other veſſels, who brought goods to them at *Borneo*.

The preſident went to *Bengal*, and there ſhip'd for *England*; but, as if the ſhip was aſham'd to carry him home, ſhe was never more heard of. I have taken this account entirely upon Mr. *Salmon*'s credit, of whoſe veracity I have no reaſon to doubt. But if there be any miſrepreſentation of Mr. *Cunningham* in it, I ſhall do his memory and myſelf publick juſtice, when the truth ſhall be made appear to me; but if the ſtory was as Mr. *Salmon* has told it, and I from him, I am not afraid that any of my countrymen will claim kindred to a coward. And thus I ſhall take leave of *Borneo*.

JAVA is the next of the conſiderable *Sunda Iſlands* that comes in our way; of which

which we had occaſion to ſpeak in the * p. 380. II. chap. of this book, * and therefore ſhall be the leſs prolex here.

Java. This iſland lies ſouth from *Borneo*, almoſt in a line from the eaſt to weſt, being 146 leagues (or as Mr. *Salmon* has it, I ſuppoſe, from later obſervations, 700 Miles) long, and between 100 and 150 broad from north to ſouth. We put it, by the authority of Mr. *Edmond Scot*, (whoſe deſcription of *Java* we then gave,) between the 7th and 9th deg. ſ. lat. but Mr. *Salmon* and *Moll*'s maps place it between five and an half and eight deg.

This iſland is ſo full of marriſhes, that the *Europeans* found it very unwholſome. But we are told that *Jacatra*, now call'd *Batavia*, is an exception to that obſervation: But whether the healthineſs of the place be owing to the *Dutch*, by dreining the marriſhes, or to their conſtitutions by having been bred in water at home; I ſhall not determine. But there is one plain reaſon for the unwholſomeneſs of the country in general, *viz.* That a great part of the plain country is overflow'd every year, at a certain ſeaſon, and getting leave to ſtagnate there, the fogs that are exhal'd from the mud impregnated with the ſtinking water, has a bad influence upon the air; and upon the coaſt, where the ſalt water mixes with the rain and river water, it is ſtill worſe.

Bantam was the metropolis of *Java*, and the king of that place was the moſt powerful of any in the iſland, and the king of *Jacatra* was his vaſſal, when the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* firſt traded there. But when their *High Mightineſſes* left *Bantam* and ſet up their ſtandart at *Jacatra*, and brought not only the town but the whole kingdom under worſe vaſſalage than they had ever been in to the king of *Bantam*. They did not ſtop there, but endeavour'd to ſubdue the adjacent kingdoms. They had an old quarrel at the king of *Bantam*, becauſe he had turn'd them out of his city for their inſolence. This, join'd with their fear of the *Engliſh* ſettling at *Bantam*, and ſo hindring them from making a monopoly of the pepper trade of the *Sunda Iſlands*, ſet them upon uſing all arts to make every other port of *Java* except what they were poſſeſſed of, uſeleſs to all other nations of *Europe*.

Having had occaſion, in the ſeveral voyages upon the *Eaſt India Company*'s account, to relate the many tricks, hardſhips and injuſtices, done by that upſtart people, againſt the *Engliſh*, and their friends and allies in the *Indian* ſeas; I ſhall not reſume them, altho' they were not the 10th part of what might be gather'd, from authentic hiſtories of their behaviour in thoſe ſeas. I ſhall only, at preſent, take notice of their making war upon the king of *Bantam*, where after ſeveral different encounters with various ſucceſs, for ſome years, they, at laſt, got the better of him, burnt *Bantam*, and depos'd the king. So that the city of *Bantam*, from being the capital, in a manner, of all *Java*, is now quite gone to decay. *Bantam burnt by the Dutch.*

Jacatra having been forc'd to ſubmit to the *Dutch*, in 1629, after they had put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, they chang'd the name of it to *Batavia*, and made it the ſtrongeſt place in all the *Eaſt Indies*. It lies upon the north ſide of *Java*, about 40 miles eaſtward of *Bantam*, and between 50 and 60 from the *Sunda Streights*. It has all the advantages, by nature, that are neceſſary to make it a fine harbour for ſhips. For it not only lies in a fine bay, but it is ſhelter'd from all winds that can hurt them, by a cluſter of iſlands, between that and the north, and having the land on the other three ſides, all the fleet of *Holland* may ride as ſecurely there as in any port of *Holland*, eſpecially conſidering that, to help nature, they have built two peers half a mile into the ſea, on either ſide one; between which they have conſtantly 100 ſlaves at work, to keep the harbour from being choak'd up by the mud and filth brought into it by the river running thro' the town. *Batavia.*

Batavia is built after the *Dutch* model, having been as good as new rais'd from the foundation by the *Dutch*. It is, according to Mr. *Salmon*, about the bigneſs of *Briſtol*, of a ſquare form, built with ſtone, full of canals like the *Dutch* towns, which makes the ſtreets very broad, having rows of ever greens planted along the canals, which make a beautiful appearance. The whole city is ſurrounded with a wall fac'd with the ſame ſtone, upon which are 22 baſtions at proper diſtances, well furniſhed with ſtout cannon, which equally command the city and country, to guard them from enemies without, or inſurrections within. *The buildings*

The caſtle ſtands at the weſt end of the town, is a large ſtrong fortification, with four royal baſtions faced with ſtone. Within the caſtle is a magnificent palace for the general, and houſes for the principal officers, whether military or thoſe belonging to the company. In the middle of the city, there is a large ſquare, on the weſt ſide of which is the great church, on the ſouth, the ſtadthouſe, a fine row of buildings on the north, and the great canal on the eaſt. *The caſtle.*

This city, and ſuburbs which reach half a league without the wall, are inhabited by different ſorts of people. The chief merchants and the maſters of the inns and taverns are all *Dutch*. The *Chineſes* *The inhabitants of the city and ſuburbs.*

Chineſes, who are very numerous, deal in retailing goods, and many of them are employ'd in the exciſe and cuſtoms, and others of them apply themſelves to gardening and husbandry, as alſo to mechanicks, at which they are very good. The *Malayans* for the moſt part live upon fiſhing, but ſome of them apply themſelves to trade, which they come to underſtand very well. Theſe three live for the moſt part in the town. The ſuburbs, in which they have large gardens and orchards, are divided into different diſtricts. In one of theſe live the natives of *Amboyna*, and their deſcendants, who, for the moſt part, are addicted to handy crafts, particularly to carpenters work, and building. Theſe are reckon'd ſtout men, but ſomewhat mutinous. In another part of the ſuburbs, live the native *Javaneſes*, whom the *Dutch* dare not truſt within the walls. They apply to husbandry, building boats, and fiſhing. In a third quarter of the ſuburbs, the *Macaſſers*, who are alſo call'd *Bugaſſes*, whoſe anceſtors came from the *Celebes*, as alſo ſeveral families of thoſe who were at firſt tranſplanted from *Timor*. But there is a ſort different from all theſe, who are allow'd to live indifferently either in the city or ſuburbs. Theſe are the *Topaſſes* or *Mardykers*, a mungrel brood between *Dutch*, *Portugueſes* and *Indians*; but, for the moſt part, conforming to the *Dutch* cuſtoms in every thing. The better ſort of them are rich merchants, others husband men, or mechanicks. All theſe different nations live at *Batavia* much after the manner of the countries they came from, only with this difference, that thoſe, whether men or women, who went naked in their own country, wear ſome clothes here.

Army. Out of all theſe, the *Dutch* have an army of 10 or 12000 regular troops, who are only employ'd to garriſon the city, and caſtle; with ſome forts, built at ſome diſtance for defence, all which take 1000 men conſtantly upon guard.

They had a double policy in tranſplanting the *Iſlanders* to *Batavia*. For they not only have their forces recruited from time to time, and all their work done by thoſe poor people, whom they uſe no better than ſlaves, but likewiſe, by diſpeopling the iſlands from whence they bring them, and by having thoſe they bring away, as hoſtages for the fidelity of thoſe who ſtay behind, they prevent any inſurrections or combinations againſt their intereſt among the *Iſlanders* themſelves, and their joining with any other *European* nation againſt the *Dutch*.

Long after the *Dutch* had poſſeſſion of *Jacatra*, there were ſettlements of *Europeans* of different nations, ſuch as *Engliſh Danes*, and *Portugueſes* at *Bantam*. And the king of *Bantam*, who was the moſt powerful prince in the whole iſland, thinking himſelf ill uſed by the *Dutch*, not only for their former inſolence at *Bantam*, but for their having poſſeſt themſelves of *Jacatra* by force, which was tributary to him, made war upon them both by ſea and land. *Dutch wars with the k. of Bantam.*

We ſhall not enter into the detail of the *Dutch* wars in *Java*, but only ſay in general, that by their playing the little kings againſt one another, they weakened them to that degree, that when they had leiſure they were able to bring the contending parties under their yoke.

But they had battled the king of *Bantam* to very little purpoſe, for many years, and altho' they had defended *Batavia*, he was a very troubleſome neighbour; but his encouraging other nations to trade at *Bantam* was their greateſt eye ſore; for, they did not know, but the *Engliſh*, (provoked by the many injuries they receiv'd from the *Dutch*, in thoſe ſeas, for which no reparation was ever made, altho' promis'd,) might ſome time or other join with the king of *Bantam*, and procure a fleet from *England* to trouble their new plantation, and perhaps change it from *Batavia* to ſome more chriſtian name. This apprehenſion ſtill hanging about them, *and it was pity that it was ſo ill grounded*, they contrived all ways imaginable, to get the *Engliſh* out of *Bantam*; but they ſaw it was impracticable whilſt the mortal enemy of the *Dutch*, the king of *Bantam* kept his kingdom, and how to diſpoſſeſs him of it they could not deviſe.

In this fleeting uncertain ſtate they continued till the year 1681, when an unforeſeen accident, according to their own accounts, gave them what they had labour'd many years in vain to obtain.

The old king of *Bantam*, the mortal enemy of the caſtle of *Batavia*, being a ſtrict *Mahometan*, turn'd ſo much a devotee in his old age, that for religion's ſake he abdicated the government, and made a formal renunciation in favour of his younger ſon, the elder being as great a fool as his father, if he was not forc'd to it. The new king having as much too little religion, as his father and brother had too much, oppreſs'd the people in a moſt grievous manner, ſo that the old king was diſturb'd in his devotions by conſtant complaints againſt the Son. But no redreſs being to be had, the people went to the place where the elder brother was retired, and by violence ſet him upon the throne. *The occaſion of their ſubduing Bantam.*

This revolution, rouz'd the old king from his religious life, ſo that reſuming the adminiſtration; and his former reputation

tation procuring him a great party, he beſieg'd his eldeſt ſon in the caſtle of *Bantam*, where he was with a ſmall party. The ſon being afraid not only of loſing the crown, but his life to boot, if his father ſhould take the caſtle, by a fatal Meſſage for his father, himſelf and his country, invited the *Dutch* to come to his aſſiſtance, which they chearfully comply'd with, being what they had long wiſh'd for. They made haſte therefore, and fitting out a fleet and army came to the aſſiſtance of the young king, and having firſt defeated the father, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch as adher'd to the ſon; they plunder'd the goods of the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſes*, and drove them from *Bantam*; and then made themſelves ſo much maſters of the kingdom, that their new ally was their vaſſal, and had only the empty name of king, whilſt they uſurp'd the whole adminiſtration of the government; and ever ſince *Bantam* has been a poor miſerable place.

I am not ſure but this is what ſome authors call the emperor of *Materan*, a town within ten leagues of *Bantam* eaſtward, ſubject to the king of *Bantam*, which they ſay was the capital of *Java*, altho' there is another *Materan* on the ſouth part of the iſland. It might have been the capital once, for ought I know. But ſince the *Europeans* had any commerce with this iſland, *Bantam* was the moſt conſiderate place till about the time of our *Revolution*, that *Holland* flouriſh'd both at home and abroad, more than ever it had done before. Then *Batavia* gave laws to all the *Europeans* in the *Indies*, and, with good reaſon, took the proud title of COMMANDERS *of all the* SEAS *in the* WORLD, PROTECTORS (they ſhould have ſaid OPPRESSORS) *of all* KINGS *and* PRINCES, *and* SUPREME MODERATORS *of all the* AFFAIRS *of* CHRISTENDOM.

Having thus ſubdued the king of *Bantam*, and emperor of *Materan*, if indeed they are different, they found little difficulty in all the north ſide of *Java*. The two chief factories on that ſide of the iſland are *Japara* and *Cheribon*. The ſouth ſide of the iſland, not being ſo fit for the trade of the continent, nor of the *Spice Iſlands*, they did not much trouble themſelves about, ſo that the natives got leave to keep poſſeſſion of it.

The government of *Java*, formerly was under different monarchs, and ſome ſay the emperor of *Materan* had ſeveral of them tributary to him. But in all the places near the *Dutch* plantations, they have ſo manag'd matters, that altho' the kings retain the name, the *Dutch* have all the authority. Thus, at *Bantam*, for inſtance, ſince the *Dutch* ſtole it from the religious king abovementioned, they treat the kings of *Bantam* with ſeeming ſtate; they fire their caſtle guns when he comes in or goes out, they allow him guards; nay they give out orders in his name; but he has not power to make a conſtable. They allow him his women, and horſes, and fine gilded chairs, and his people proſtrate themſelves to him; but the *Dutch* have all the power.

In *Batavia* they do not ſo much as give the old kings of *Jacatra* the name of king; ſo that I ſuppoſe either the whole race has been murder'd by them, or elſe have retir'd themſelves to the ſouth ſide of the iſland to get rid of ſuch bad neighbours.

The general of *Batavia* is more a ſovereign, and appears in greater ſtate than their boaſted king of *Holland* ever did or durſt do. He never goes abroad without his guards, both of horſe and foot, and his fine chariots and coaches, and madam general has hers. Their liveries are magnificent, and the guards both horſe and foot are richly cloath'd, being yellow ſatin trim'd with ſilver lace. It is computed, that between *Batavia* and *Bantam*, they have, of regular troops, no leſs than 20,000, the one half of which are *Europeans*. But indeed, except the generals guards, the reſt make but a ſcurvy figure, being very poorly cloath'd, and ſo ſubject to the civil power, that the worſt mechanick of *Batavia* has greater privileges than an officer of the army.

Revenues.

Without doubt there muſt be a conſiderable revenue to ſupport this magnificence, and army. But conſidering the great trade they have, and the vaſt number of ſtrangers, who not only trade with them, but live conſtantly among them; and that they put what taxes they pleaſe upon them, which they muſt pay or do worſe, they may have what revenue they think fit, without being a charge to the company at home, or ſpending their profit abroad.

Marriages.

In ſpeaking of the marriages in *Java*, we muſt diſtinguiſh, as it will be obvious to the reader, between the natives and their new maſters the *Dutch*. The *Dutch* have but one wife, and if they go aſtray, the wife may ſue for a divorce; for the *European* women were, at the beginning of their ſettlement ſo ſcarce, that they gave them more than ordinary privileges, and to this day they are by much fewer *Dutch* women than men, ſo that a *Dutch* man may marry an *Indian*, if ſhe will but go to the *Dutch* church; which many of them do, upon more conſiderations than one.

For, beſides the inclination which the

Indian women, in general, are ſaid to have to the white men, it is no ſmall inducement, to think that they are to have a husband entirely to themſelves, to have more reſpect and more liberty than the reſt of their country-women; the *Dutch* women having no other privileges than the *Indian* women have after they marry a *Dutchman*. And as to the matter of religion, they are ſo eaſy about it, that a woman need have no great difficulty to ſubſcribe a *Dutch* creed, without either knowing or believing much of Chriſtianity, if ſhe underſtand *what's to be tal'd*. The ceremony of ſuch a marriage is much the ſame as in *Holland*; the contract is drawn up by a publick notary, and they appear before a magiſtrate, who gives them a licence to marry.

As to the *Indians*, they obſerve, in their marriages, the cuſtoms of the different countries they belong to, and the *Javans* being Mahometans, are little different from the other *Indians* of that religion; ſo that we ſhall not ſpend time in repeating what has been ſaid before upon that ſubject.

Burying. Nor is there, as far as I can find, any thing new in their manner of burying, from what we have already related, in the ſevetal countries to which the preſent inhabitants of *Java* belong.

Palamboang not ſubject to the Dutch. I ſhall take notice of one place more in *Java*, from Mr. *Salmon*, *viz.* *Palamboang*, a city on the ſ. e. part of *Java*, over-againſt the iſland of *Bally*, or *Java Minor*, in 8 deg. and an half ſ. lat. which, our author ſays, is the capital of an independent kingdom of the ſame name. He ſays capt. *Beeckman* was there in 1714, which gave a terrible alarm to the natives, who ſent an account of his arrival to their king, then at *Cata*, a town, in his dominion, farther up the country. The occaſion of this fright was, that they believ'd it to be a *Dutch* invaſion. But being aſſur'd by the *Sabander* of *Palamboang*, who was a *Chineſe* by birth, and underſtood enſigns and pinnets, that the ſhip was *Engliſh*, their fear vaniſh'd, and the captain was invited to come aſhore, and the king, coming in haſte to town, boldly went aboard the ſhip the day following, where being pleas'd with his entertainment, he afterwards made a magnificent feaſt for the officers of the ſhip, at the end of which 30 women brought in baskets of fruit, which they preſented to the officers, and the king ſent oxen, deer, ducks, geeſe, &c. and rice, to the ſhip.

The king civil to the Engliſh.

He tells us, that the captain was inform'd, that this part of the iſland abounded in gold, pepper, and cotton. They had a breed of ſmall fiery horſes, abundance of buffaloes, goats, and the largeſt oxen the captain had ever ſeen out of *England*. The king appear'd to be abſolute, and his *Orankays* ſhew'd him as much reſpect as the nobility do to the greater monarchs upon the continent. His religion, and that of moſt of his ſubjects, is *Pagan*, but they tolerate the *Mahometan* religion among them. This prince ſeeming ſo much afraid of the *Dutch*, and having ſhew'd ſo much civility to the *Engliſh*, is a good proof that the *Engliſh* would be made welcome to ſettle there, if they could make them ſenſible that they were able to defend the country from the oppreſſion of the *Dutch*, and, at the ſame time, behave themſelves ſo, as that the king and his people had no reaſon to apprehend that they could imitate the *Dutch* in being enemies to kings and kingly government. We ſhall now proceed to

Sumatra. SUMATRA, the moſt conſiderable weſterly iſland of thoſe call'd *Sunda Iſlands*. In our account of voyages in the firſt and ſecond chapters of this book, we had often occaſion to mention this iſland, as well as that of *Java*. We ſhall not repeat the *Engliſh* firſt acquaintance with the king of *Achen*, Q. *Elizabeth*'s letter to him, and his anſwer; the advantageous conditions of trade granted by his order to the *Engliſh* under admiral *Lancaſter*; nor the endeavours of the *Portugueſes* at that time, and of the *Dutch* afterwards, to cut the *Engliſh* out of that trade, in the end of the XVIth and the beginning of the XVIIth century. I refer the reader to the places quoted above.

Situation. This iſland, a great part of which lies along the coaſt of the peninſula of *Malacca*, is almoſt of equal extent on both ſides of the equinoctial line, being reckon'd to lie ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt, from 5 deg. and an half ſ. lat. to the ſame number of degrees n. lat. being 900 miles in length, and from 100 to 150 miles in breadth.

Diviſion. It was anciently ſaid to be divided into many kingdoms, the chief of which were *Achen*, *Pedir*, *Pacem*, *Deli*, *Bancalis*, *Andragary*, *Jambi*, *Palimbam*, *Sillebar*, *Bencoulen*, *Manacabo*, *Padang*, *Indapour*, *Poſſaman*, *Priaman*, *Ticon*, *Baros*, and *Daia*. Moſt of which are ſtill the moſt conſiderable towns known to *Europeans* in *Sumatra*, altho' the kingdoms are ſwallow'd up by the great ones, (of which the king of *Achen* is the moſt powerful, and indeed was ſo at the firſt *European* diſcovery of the iſland, as all our travellers and merchants have agreed,) or elſe by the *Dutch*, eſpecially the ſouth kingdoms.

Theſe towns, once capitals of kingdoms, lie in this order.

Achen, the metropolis, is the point fartheſt north of the whole iſland, of which

which we have ſaid enough elſewhere. *Pedir* is in the ſame latitude with *Achen*, not above 10 leagues eaſtward. *Pacem* lies ſouth-eaſt from *Pedir*, in a large bay, about ſome 50 leagues, if our maps be true. *Deli* is ſ. and by e. of *Pacem* about 40 leagues. *Bancalis* is almoſt oppoſite to the city of *Malacca*, and only divided from it by the narrow ſtreights of that name, and is not two degrees from the line northward. *Andragary* lies within the firſt degree of ſ. lat. *Jambi* is ſituated 50 miles from the ſea, upon a navigable river of the ſame name, in 2 deg. ſ. lat. *Palimbam* in 4 degrees, in a bay which runs a good way into the country. This town was deſtroyed by the *Dutch* in 1659. All thoſe lie in that ſide of the iſland oppoſite to *Malacca*, and on the ſouth-eaſt part of it, oppoſite to *Borneo*.

Upon the other ſide of *Sumatra*, paſſing the *Sunda* ſtreights, the firſt town mention'd in the above diviſion is *Sillebar*, upon the ſouth-eaſt coaſt. It is almoſt over-againſt *Palimbam*, quite croſs the iſland ſouth-eaſt. Not far from thence is *Bencoulen*, north-eaſt from *Sillebar*. This was an *Engliſh* factory not many years ago, an account of which we ſhall give before we finiſh this ſection. *Manacabo* and *Indapour* lie upon the two ſides of a river, in about 2 deg. ſ. lat. North-weſt from *Manacabo* is *Padang*, a large city in 1 deg. and an half. Between which and the equinox lie *Priaman*, *Ticou*, and *Paſſaman*, almoſt at an equal diſtance from each other. *Baros* is plac'd in 2 deg. and an half n. lat. and *Daia* in 4 and an half.

Beſides theſe towns mention'd, as having been formerly kingdoms, we find, in our maps, ſome others which, as they are mark'd, ſeem'd to be as conſiderable as any we have nam'd, except *Achen*, *viz.* *Camper*, which lies between *Bancalis* and *Andragary*, in the ſtreights of *Sincapora*. *Baros* and *Telomb*, between *Jamby* and *Palimbam*, upon the north eaſt ſide of the iſland. *Jampin*, a conſiderable city in a large bay, in the ſtreights of *Sunda*. *Paſſaman*, between the ſouth point and *Sillebar*. *Cattoun* and *Ippo*, on each ſide of a river, north-weſt of *Bencoulen*. *Bantal*, a large town northweſt of *Cattoun*; and *Mocho-Mocho*, farther north of it, beſides ſeveral others of leſs note.

King of Achen the moſt powerful.

All that part of *Sumatra* which is be-north the line is ſubject to the king of *Achen*, nor can any *European* nation pretend to have poſſeſſion of any of his ports, altho' ſeveral nations have, in their turns, had factories in more than one of them. But the kings of that country have had the good ſenſe, or the good luck, to keep both the *Portugueſes* and the *Dutch* from fortifying in any of the trading towns, which has enabled them to keep poſſeſſion of their royalty, whilſt others are ſlaves either to the one or the other.

The inhabitants of this country are, like the other iſlands, of different ſorts of people, and conſequently of different manners and religion. The old proprietors, as it is thought, who inhabit the heart of the country, are much the ſame with thoſe in *Java* and *Borneo*, already deſcrib'd. As to the ſtory of canibals in theſe mountains, it is probably a politick of the court of *Achen*, to prevent ſtrangers going to the mountains in ſearch of the gold mines. *The natives.*

Thoſe who inhabit the coaſt are for the moſt part Mahometans, and of the *Arabian* race, who drove the firſt proprietors of the other iſlands into the woods and mountains, and may be call'd the *Goths* and *Vandals* of the *Indies*, who probably finding their own country overſtock'd, at a certain time left it, not with any certain deſign upon any particular place, but reſolv'd to ſettle where they could, and having ſettled in this iſle and that of *Java* firſt, ſent their colonies by degreees to the more remote iſlands. They are repreſented as a lazy people.

I cannot find any thing new, either in their dreſs, complexion, diet, diverſions, ſtudy, or ought elſe in their way of living, but that they eat rice, fiſh and fleſh, drink water and tea, ſmoke tobacco, and chew betel, uſe opium, *&c.* as the people of *Java* and *Borneo* do, and therefore I ſhall not take up time in repetitions. I ſhall therefore proceed to the trade. *Diet, dreſs, and manner of living the ſame as before.*

The chief trade of *Sumatra* is, as it always was, ſince we came to hear of the iſland in *Europe*, at *Achen*. But, of all foreigners, *England* enjoys the greateſt privileges there, which ſhews the kings of *Achen* to have been men of honour, and that the *Engliſh* did not abuſe their friendſhip. *Trade.*

When an *Engliſh* ſhip arrives, and has given an account of their country, at the guard houſe at the mouth of the river, all that they are requir'd to do is, to take an oath to obſerve the articles agreed upon between the king of *Achen* that then was, and Mr. *Henry Gray*, once chief of the *Engliſh* factory at *Achen*, the chief of which we are told were, *that the* Engliſh *ſhould be allow'd* free trade, *without paying any* taxes *except the duty of the* Chop. *That they ſhould have ground given them for building a houſe and warehouſe, which they might ſell at their departure. That they ſhould be govern'd by their own laws, and have the free exerciſe of their* religion. In return for which, it was ſtipulated by the ſaid Mr. *Gray*, *That the* Engliſh *ſhould make the uſual* preſents, and *that they ſhould be* faithful *to the intereſt of the* king *and* government *of* Achen, *during their ſtay there.* No ſhip *Engliſh privileges at Achen.*

was

was to have the benefit of thoſe articles, unleſs they brought a letter from the chief of ſome place in the *Indies*, from whence they laſt came, ſignifying that they belong'd to the *Engliſh* company.

The manner of taking this oath was, that ſome of the chief officers belonging to the ſhip, after hearing the articles read, were to lift a ſhort dagger, in a gilt ſcabbard, three times to their head; which, to be ſure, every honeſt *Engliſhman* will believe to be as much the oath of GOD as kiſſing the *Goſpel*, and, for that reaſon, will perform it with decent gravity, not only for fear of diſobliging the *Indians*, but as a ſolemn act of religion, (as they *juſtly* think it is) and as faithfully make it good.

Other *Europeans*, but particularly the *Dutch*, muſt pay thro' the noſe, if they trade here, for which reaſon, they ſeldom trouble *Achen*, nor are they welcome when they do, and are well watch'd while they ſtay.

Produce of the iſland.

The produce of the iſland, and conſequently the trade, are pepper, ſugar-canes, tin, gold, ſilver, and other metals, honey, wax, ginger, alſo jewels and precious ſtones. The gold is in great plenty in the mountains, as may be collected from the great quantity of it ſold by the *Acheners* to ſtrangers; but no *European* ever ſaw the mines, or never return'd to give an account of them. The mountaineers have them in poſſeſſion, and ſell great bargains of the gold to the *Malayans* and other inhabitants of the low country, for rice and cotton, and other neceſſaries. But theſe are too well acquainted with the value we put upon it not to ſell it to *Europeans* at a conſiderable price. And to keep ſtrangers from any commerce with the mountaineers, they have given them ſuch a frighful notion of each other, that an *European* would not venture to the mountains to gather gold, for fear of being ſerv'd up for a canibal's ſupper, nor would a mountaineer ſuffer them to come near the mines, leſt they ſhould make them and their poſterity ſlaves. And who can blame them for their caution, conſidering the behaviour of moſt nations in *Europe* to the poor *Indians* they were able to maſter? It is no wonder that people who have gold for the taking up, ſhould be jealous of every man that has cloaths upon his back, or a face half a degree fairer than their own.

But, except gold, the produce of the king of *Achen*'s own dominions was not the bait which brought the *Europeans* to ſettle there, but the concourſe of people from all parts of the *Indies*, by the encouragement that king had given to trade; ſo that, altho' his own dominions could not furniſh ſo many ſhips with pepper, or other commodities, yet goods of all ſorts were to be ſold there at reaſonable rates, before the the *Dutch* got the keeping of the ſtreights of *Malacca* and *Sunda*, with a numerous fleet; and the king made a conſiderable advantage of the cuſtoms and taxes, beſides his being a wholeſale trader himſelf.

But after the *Dutch* had gotten the monopoly of the *Spice Iſlands*, the trade of *Achen* began to dwindle, and the *Engliſh*, who kept a factory there for many years after, finding it did not turn to account, gave it up at laſt, and only trade occaſionally at *Achen*. And the *Dutch*, ſeeing the advantage the *Engliſh* had above them in the favour of the king, left off trading at *Achen*, for the conveniency of being nearer to *Batavia*; not that they gave up *Sumatra*, but becauſe they would be at a greater diſtance from the metropolis of ſo powerful a prince as the king of *Achen*, they remov'd farther eaſt, where they could manage the weaker or leſs politick kings. They therefore ſet up at *Jambi*, which is ſtill the moſt conſiderable ſettlement they have on the eaſt ſide of the iſland. And having deſtroy'd *Palimbam*, as we ſaid before, they reduc'd moſt of the kingdoms of the ſouth parts of *Sumatra*, as they had done thoſe of *Java* before, altho' ſome of the former have, ſince, recover'd their liberty, and ſhaken off the yoke.

Dutch ſettle at Jambi.

From the eaſt ſide of the iſland, the *Dutch*, paſſing the ſtreights of *Sunda*, made ſettlement on the weſt ſide. The firſt was at *Indapour*, from whence they proceeded to the other towns, mention'd between that and the line; which was the *ne plus ultra* of the *Europeans* that way.

The *Engliſh*, on the other hand, finding *Achen* not ſo fit for their trade, by reaſon of the ſovereignty the *Dutch* had aſſum'd over the ſtreights of *Malacca* and *Sunda*, in which they were ſupported, not as a private company, but by the government of the united provinces; the *Dutch* being too wiſe to ſtarve their factories abroad, for want of men and ſhips to ſupport them. The *Engliſh*, I ſay, determin'd to remove to the weſt ſide of the iſland, as being of freer acceſs to the *Molucca* and *Banda* iſles, and finding a good bay between *Bencoulen* and *Sillebar*, protected from the ſouth-weſt winds by an iſland lying near the coaſt, they ſettled a factory there, not by ſubduing and enſlaving the natives, but by trading upon the ſquare with them, and treating them civilly.

The Engliſh remove to Bencoulen.

But, altho' the building of forts ſeems to have been neceſſary for protecting the factories from inſults, eſpecially from the *Dutch*, yet they gave great uneaſineſs to the natives: And the *Dutch* had made ſo bad

bad use of them, to subdue the *Indians*, wherever they settled, that the *English* erecting *York* fort at *Bencouleu* made them grumble.

York fort.

But *Bencoulen* being a most unhealthy place, where many of the *English* died; after they had staid there above 30 years, they resolv'd to remove their quarters, or, at least, their garrison, 3 miles farther south, towards half way between *Bencoulen* and *Sillebar*, and having pitch'd upon a spot of ground which they thought, and indeed it was, a better situation than the other, they laid the foundation of a regular fort upon the high ground, in all probability, without consulting the proprietors, or asking leave of the *Indian* governors, with whom they were in league, and with whose consent they had settled at *Bencoulen*.

Their building a new fort alarms the natives.

Their beginning to erect this new fort, (to which they gave the name of *Marlborough Fort*) whilst the other was still subsisting, gave the natives a notion that their friends the *English* were going to turn *Dutchmen*, and, by multiplying forts in their country, to make them slaves; and from that moment, they plotted the ruin of the factory.

The *English*, knowing nothing of the imminent danger, went on with their building, and expected to finish it in a year, having their materials all provided before-hand; when they were alarm'd by an information, from the captain of the *Chineses* in the *English* pay, who was the undertaker of the *English* sugar and arrack plantation, that *Bantarin*, one of the neighbouring *Indian* lords, had gotten 500 men together, and design'd to attack them.

They rise in arms.

Mr. *Cook*, who was deputy-governor, sent a message to *Bantarin*, to know the reason of his having so many men in arms, and to desire him to come and speak to him, promising to redress any grievances he should have against any of the factory. To this message he sent a slight answer, that he was a friend to the *English*, and had never offer'd any injury to them; but he took no notice of the chief part of the message, concerning his arming; nor did he come to the fort.

This giving great cause of suspicion to the governor, he sent to two *Malayan* kings, who had all along been confederates with the *English*. They came to the fort, and making light of the force *Bantarin* had with him, promis'd to bring him to Mr. *Cook*, and having taken a new oath of observing the articles of peace formerly agreed upon between them, they were suffered to go home, after they had promis'd to provide boats the next day, if *Bantarin* did not come to the fort in the morning.

After they were gone, that same evening, the sugar plantation was set on fire, by which they saw plainly the war was begun; and therefore, hearing nothing from the kings, and *Bantarin* not coming as they had promis'd, the deputy governor sent Mr. *Adair*, the ensign of the fort, with a party of *English*, supported by a considerable number of *Chineses* and *Bugasses* in the *English* pay, to attack *Bantarin* before his troops increas'd. But, there being a river to be pass'd, before they could reach his town, and the kings having neglected to send boats, as they had promis'd, they were at a full stop. However, seeing the enemy on the other side, Mr. *Adair* order'd to fire upon them, which they returning, this kind of fight continued some time, 'till the *Chineses* and *Macassars* deserting, Mr. *Adair* thought fit to march back to the fort, where he told the governor, that he had seen the two kings among the enemy, by which, and the desertion of their auxiliaries, they concluded the plot was concerted, by common agreement of the kings and lords of the country.

A party of the English fire upon them cross the river.

The next day, a nephew of one of the kings, formerly mention'd, came to the deputy-governor, to tell him, that his uncle had brought 200 mountaineers to their assistance, and had sent him to get arms and ammunition for them. Mr. *Cook*, who knew this to be a lie, because Mr. *Adair* had spoken cross the river to that king, in the enemy's army, the day before, told the *Malayan*, that when his uncle came himself, with those mountaineers, they should be provided with arms, but he would give none to him.

The day after, having provided boats, the posse of the *English*, together with a new reinforcement of auxiliaries, went to the river side, but as they were order'd to embark, the *Chineses* and *Bugasses* refus'd to pass the river, unless they were immediately paid. The officer who commanded the *English* sending an express of this to the deputy, he finding it impracticable to engage the auxiliaries heartily, against the country interest, and thinking it madness to attack the enemy with a handful of *English* only, order'd the party back to the fort. The captain of the *Macassars* laid the blame upon his men, but the *English* did not believe him.

The English auxiliaries refuse to engage.

By good providence, an *English* ship had come into the bay a day or two before this quarrel happen'd; for, without that, in all appearance, the whole factory and garrison had been cut off. A council therefore being call'd, at which the captain assisted, it was agreed, that they should privately put all the company's effects, and the best of their own, aboard the ship, and that all merchants,

The Engliſh put the company's effects aboard a ſhip.

as well as ſoldiers and ſeamen, except ſuch as were neceſſary to guard the ſhip, ſhou'd prepare to engage the enemy. The firſt part of this reſolution was immediately put in execution, and the books, money and other effects belonging to the company, were ſafely ſhip'd, which they had ſcarce done, when they got the alarm, that the natives were marching from three different quarters to attack them: And by and by they ſaw a fire break out at *Bencoulen* near the fort, and ſoon after at ſeveral farm houſes round about, belonging to the *Engliſh*, which they concluded muſt have been kindled by their own *Indian* ſervants and auxiliaries.

The fort is accidentally ſet on fire.

Being reſolved not to quit the place but at the laſt extremity, they fired a great gun upon a party of the enemy, the wad of which falling unluckily upon the cane top of one of the houſes within the fort, ſet it in a blaze, which communicating the flame to the next to it, in ſpite of all they could do, they were forced to abandon the fort, and march'd out in the beſt order they could to fight the enemy, who came from all quarters, with their treacherous *Macaſſars* at the head of them. They had ſome ſlight skirmiſh with them, but ſeeing ſuch numbers of them, Mr. *Cook* gave orders to retreat, fighting, to their boats, which were under guard in a ſafe place. This was immediately put in execution, and with ſmall loſs, they got aboard their boats, and ſo to the ſhip. Their deſign was to ſail to *Bental*, an *Engliſh* factory farther north, in order to aſſiſt them, in caſe the natives had been in concert with the *Bencouleans*; but the wind being contrary, they were forced to ſail for *Batavia*.

The Engliſh fight their way to the ſhip, and ſail to Batavia.

The *Dutch* receiv'd them kindly, as I do not doubt they would all the *Engliſh* factories, in the *Indies*, to have them in the ſame condition. My reaſon for this reflection, notwithſtanding their civility, is, becauſe they refuſed to let them have any veſſel to ſend ſome of their people to *Bental*; and when that deſign was laid aſide, they refus'd to take charge of ſome of the company's money to be ſent to *Bental* by the firſt *Engliſh* ſhip that ſhould touch there. A ſufficient indication that they intended to contribute as much as they durſt, to ſend the factory at *Bental* after that at *Bencoulen*. But they had not their wiſh.

The reaſon aſſign'd for the inſurrection.

The relation, of which this is the ſubſtance, was ſent in a letter written by Mr. *Cook* himſelf to the governor of fort S. *George*, and ſign'd by him and two merchants belonging to the deſerted factory; in the poſtſcript to which, ſign'd by him only, he gives, as the reaſon of this inſurrection, an account of an affront done by his predeceſſor Mr. *Palmer* to *Bantarin*. It ſeems the *Chineſes* in *Engliſh* pay had kill'd ſome of *Bantarin*'s buffaloes, who had got among the ſugar canes: For which he had ſent a party with his brother at the head of them, to chaſtiſe the *Chineſes*, and in the ſcuffle a *Chineſe* ſlave was kill'd, but the *Engliſh* coming to their aſſiſtance there was no more miſchief done, their captain was brought priſoner to the fort, but in a ſhort time releas'd. This affront of putting his brother in priſon, *Bantarin* could not digeſt, altho' he diſſembled it for ſome time.

Whether this, or the building *Marlborough* fort was the occaſion of the inſurrection, I ſhall not determine; but ſoon afterwards the kings in the neighbourhood of *Bencoulen* repented of their having expell'd the *Engliſh*, and having more reaſon to be afraid of the *Dutch*, who were not very far from them; they ſent an invitation to *Bental* to the *Engliſh* to return, telling them that they had not ſo much as touch'd what was built of *Marlborough* fort. In a ſhort time a new factory was ſent, and finiſh'd that fort, which is much healthier than *York* fort at *Bencoulen*, and we hear of no rupture ſince. The kings or *Raia*'s take care to preſerve the pepper for the *Engliſh*, ſince the reconciliation; and have half a dollar cuſtom for every *Bahar*, which is there, 560 pound weight, and the common price to the owner, is ten *Spaniſh* dollars per *Bahar*.

The Engliſh invited to return.

They finiſh Marlborough fort.

Having formerly treated ſo particularly of *Sumatra*, and eſpecially of *Achen*, in admiral *Beaulieu*'s voyage, * I ſhall not here mention the plants, animals, cuſtoms, &c. but refer the reader to that and other parts of our TRAVELLER, which treat of *Achen*.

* Trav. p. 480. & ſeq.

But I muſt beg leave to reſume the diſcourſe of the government of *Achen*, becauſe captain *Dampier* ſays, that kingdom is always govern'd by a *Woman*, and ſhe a *Maiden*. I will not diſpute the truth of what that gentleman aſſerts from his own knowledge, that the kingdom of *Achen* might have been govern'd by a *Maiden Queen* when he was there; but I cannot aſſent to what, he ſays, the *Engliſh* at *Achen* told him, that *it had always been ſo*. For

Whether Achen is govern'd by a king or by a maiden queen.

We have an account of a king there before the year 1600 in capt. *Davis*'s voyage, and in 1601 we have the king *Achen*'s letter to queen *Elizabeth* in capt. *Lancaſter*'s. Captain *Sharpy*'s people found a king there in 1608. The king of *Achen* wrote to king *James* in 1612. *Beaulieu* ſaw a king there in 1617, who he ſays was a great tyrant. This laſt author gives a particular account

count of the making of a king, upon the failing of the royal line, and of the *Orancays* chuſing him, but not a word of a *Maiden Queen.* If they have chang'd their government ſince, it is more than I know; but I ſhould rather be of opinion that *Dampier*'s queen ſucceeded, as the women do to the crown of *England* for want of iſſue male in the ſame degree. But be they govern'd by kings or queens, that people have preſerved their liberty beyond all that live upon the coaſt of any iſland where the *Portugueſes* or *Dutch* got footing.

There are ſeveral iſlands on each ſide of *Sumatra*, but the trade having center'd in the great iſland, we have little or no account of the ſmaller iſlands. We ſhall therefore proceed to

SECT. VI.

The Iſlands of CEYLON, *and the* MALDIVIAS.

THE next conſiderable iſland weſtward, is that of *Ceylon*; which, altho' formerly mentioned occaſionally, we ſhall now treat of at large. And ſince the beſt account that we meet with of it, is given by Mr. *Robert Knox*, who was a priſoner at large there for 20 years together. We ſhall firſt give a ſhort narrative of his captivity and eſcape, and then proceed to his account of the iſland.

Capt. Knox's voyage to the Eaſt Indies.

In the year 1657 capt. *Robert Knox* ſail'd from the *Downs* aboard the *Anne* frigate, bound for fort *S. George* upon the coaſt of *Cormandel*, in the ſervice of the *Eaſt India* company. When he had unloaded his cargo at that place, he traded a whole year, according to order, in the *Indian* ſeas; and that time being expir'd, as he was lading his ſhip in the bay, of *Maſulipatan* in order to ſail for *England*, a dreadful ſtorm drove him to the ſouth, and having been oblig'd to cut his maſt by the board, he found himſelf upon the coaſt of *Ceylon* near *Cotiar*, on the north eaſt ſide of the iſland, call'd likewiſe in our maps *Trinquemal.*

A ſtorm forces him Ceylon.

At their firſt approach, whatever their diſtreſs was, they were very cautious in going aſhore, ſending only two or three hands at once to buy what they wanted, but thoſe finding the people kind, and meeting with no diſturbance for 15 or 20 days, they acted more above board, and went aſhore in greater numbers, and were welcom'd by the natives, who traded freely with them.

As ſoon as the king, who liv'd a great way up in the country, was adviſ'd of their being upon his coaſt, he diſpatch'd a ſtrong body of troops under one of his *Diſſauvas* or generals to ſee of what country they were, with private inſtructions, which the captain knew nothing of. Upon his arrival at *Cotiar*, he ſent a civil meſſage aboard, to deſire the capt. to come aſhore and talk with him. Capt. *Knox* fir'd ſome guns to do honour to the meſſage; but not thinking it convenient to go himſelf, he ſent his ſon *Robert*, and the ſupercargo aſhore. The *Diſſauva* asked them ſeveral queſtions, and hearing they were *Engliſh*, welcom'd them in the king's name, telling them he had a letter from his maſter which he could not deliver to any but to the captain.

He is invited to come aſhore,

The town was 12 miles up the river, and the ſhip had not enter'd the river: young Mr. *Knox*, therefore, told him that the captain could not leave the ſhip, ſo long as would be neceſſary to come ſo far up the river, but if he pleas'd to go to the ſea ſide, near to where the ſhip lay, the captain ſhould come aſhore and receive the king's letter with all reſpect. The *Diſſauva* told them, if they would ſtay with him that night he would go with them the next day, which they agreeing to, they were well entertain'd, and the *Diſſauva* diſpatch'd a preſent of fruit, meat, and other proviſions to the ſhips, which arriv'd in the morning, giving the captain an account of the reaſon of his ſon's ſtay; and civilly inviting him to meet the general upon the ſhore, which he, ſuſpecting no trick, readily agreed to; and going aſhore in his boat with ſeven of his men, waited to meet the great man at his arrival.

He had not been there long, when he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by a party of ſoldiers, ſent the night before to lurk ſecretly near the place, and before they knew of any plot, they were all ſeized, and, for the greater honour, the captain was carried in a thing like a hammock to meet the general, who had not ſtir'd from the town.

and is there made priſoner.

The crew aboard, knowing nothing of what had happen'd ſent the long boat, with about nine or ten hands, aſhore to cut a tree to ſplice their maſt; but they were no ſooner landed, but they were likewiſe ſeiz'd, tho' they made ſome reſiſtance.

A deſign upon the ſhip,

The *Diſſauva*'s next deſign was upon the ſhip. To effect this he ſent for the captain, whom he had order'd to be lodg'd in *Cotiar*, and told him, that he was in no danger, becauſe he was only detained till the preſent ſhould be gotten ready, which his majeſty deſign'd for the king of *England*. And therefore he adviſed him to ſend his orders aboard, for the ſhip to ſail up the river. The capt. got leave for his ſon to go to the ſhip with this order which he gave publickly, but

but the ſon had ſenſe enough to ſee that it was his father's intention they ſhould not obey him. And therefore he return'd with a letter he had made them write, declaring, *That they would not obey the captain in ſuch orders, and if any attack ſhould be made upon the ſhip from any of the natives, they would defend themſelves.*

The general, being diſappointed of this project, ſtill behav'd civilly to the captain, allowing his ſon to ſtay with him, and ſuffering him to ſend to the ſhip for what he wanted; ſtill pretending that he every day expected orders to releaſe him. But the captain ſeeing the ſeaſon advanced, and that he was not like to have his liberty, ſent orders (under colour of wanting ſomething out of the ſhip) to his firſt mate, to take charge of the ſhip to *Porta Nova*, and ſo to be farther directed by the company's agent there, which was executed accordingly.

which the captain prevents by ordering the mate to carry her off.

As ſoon as the ſhip was gone, the *Diſſauva* return'd to his king, and the poor *Engliſh* were diſpers'd to ſeveral places, where they were quarter'd like ſoldiers, and, by the king's orders, maintain'd at the country's charge. The captain and his ſon were ſent to *Bandar Cooſwat*, in the province of *Hotcurly*, 30 miles from *Candi*, which lies almoſt in the middle of the iſland, care being taken to have them far from the ſea, to prevent their making their eſcape. Here they had their proviſions brought them twice a day at free coſt. The place was pleaſant, and they no ways confin'd from walking abroad. But the captain's misfortune ſtuck cloſe to him, ſo that being ſeiz'd with an ague, his grief and that diſtemper carried him off in 3 months.

The two Knoxes *ſent up into the country.*

The father dies.

Mr. *Robert Knox*, the ſon, having buried his father with great difficulty, was brought very low with the ague, and ſorrow for having loſt his father. He often went abroad to the fields and woods, and diverted himſelf with angling. As he was at that diverſion one day, with a black boy, who attended him, and had been with the captain when he traded in the *Indies*, an old man came up to the boy, and ask'd him *if his maſter could read*; and ſhewing a book which he ſaid he had gotten from the *Portugueſe* houſe at *Colombo*; the boy, looking on the book, went and told his maſter that it was an *Engliſh Bible*, which Mr. *Knox* was extremely pleas'd at, reſolving to give all he had for it, rather than not have it: But the boy having more cunning than the maſter, adviſ'd him to make light of it; and ſo the black purchas'd it, to the great joy of his maſter, for a knit cap.

He had not liv'd three years in this country, before he could ſpeak their language to perfection, and having a good houſe and ſome land aſſign'd him, either by the king's order, or by the favour of the governor of the province, he applied himſelf to husbandry, in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that in a ſhort time he came to be in good circumſtances. He fed goats, hogs, and hens; which ſerv'd his table.

But all theſe advantages, and the civility of the natives, could not make him forget *England*; he long'd to get from this Pagan iſland, but could not tell how to bring it about.

After he had liv'd in this manner by himſelf for about 14 years, there happen'd to come to the town where his houſe was, an *Engliſhman*, one *Stephen Rutland*; but whether he was one of his father's crew, or of the ſhip call'd the *Perſia Merchant*, ſhipwreck'd upon the ſame iſland two years before capt. *Knox*'s misfortune, I cannot tell.

The arrival of a countryman was a great comfort to Mr. *Knox*. He told him of ſeveral other *Engliſh* in different villages; that they were not hinder'd from going abroad; that they had got into the way of knitting caps, diſtilling arrack, and ſuch of them as were handy-craft men, us'd their trades. This *Rutland* ſtaid two years with Mr. *Knox*, and having often projected their eſcape in that time, *Rutland* perſuaded him to go about the country with pedlar wares, that ſo they might, under colour of that, get towards the north part of the iſland, where they knew there was a *Dutch* colony.

In order to this, they bought up a quantity of tobacco, combs, cutler's ware, &c. which they bought in one part of the country to ſell in another. And ſo, from time to time, leaving their houſe, they ſtaid abroad, ſometimes two days, ſometimes a week, and then longer, ſtill returning, that the people might think themſelves ſure of them. This trade they drove for about two years. But they had two rubs in their way towards making their eſcape. The firſt was, that the roads thro' the woods, which was the only way that people travell'd in that country, were ſtrongly guarded. The other was, that, there having been no rain for a long time, there was no water to be got in their journey northward.

They made ſeveral attempts, notwithſtanding theſe impediments, and had more than once travell'd above 20 leagues from their houſe, but ſeveral accidents happen'd that made them reſolve to return. The natives were ſo us'd to theſe excurſions, that they took no notice of their going and coming, and they got thus acquainted with all the country about; and, as if it had only been to furniſh out chat, they had inform'd themſelves of the roads, guards, and other particulars

of

of the northern parts; ſo that they determin'd to risk their lives rather than ſtay any longer among infidels, how civil ſoever they had been to them.

After many years of trading and contriving their eſcape, at laſt, having provided knives and ſmall axes for their defence, which they carried under their cloaths, and as many ſmall wares as they could conveniently carry, under pretence of trade, they ſet out from their houſe for the laſt time, upon the 22d of *September*, 1679. And having no intention to diſpoſe of their wares, but only to ſhew them, in caſe they ſhould be challeng'd, they made the beſt of their way, thro' a wilderneſs, which was ſaid to be full of wild elephants, tygers, and other wild beaſts. It was a journey of three days to the confines of the king of *Candi*'s dominion, and there was a guard kept at *Annorodgburro*, between this king's and the *Wanees* country.

The two Engliſh *leave their houſe.*

They kept from all houſes as much as they could, having ſome proviſions with them, and eating of what fruits they met with; and being oblig'd to lie in the woods at night, they cut timber, and made fires all round them, to ſecure them from beaſts of prey. When they ſaw or heard any people in the day-time, they ſate themſelves down unconcernedly, and fell to knitting caps, a trade which Mr. *Knox* had learn'd from his comrade.

But there was a place call'd *Colonilla*, where there was a governor left on purpoſe to examine all that paſs'd, and, as they had been inform'd before, there was no way to get farther north but by paſſing by his guard. Neceſſity made them bold; ſo that they came confidently up to the guard, and deſir'd to be carried before the governor. As ſoon as they came into his preſence, having ſaluted him according to the cuſtom of the country, they preſented him with ſome tobacco and betel, and ſhewing him their wares, told him they were going a little farther into the country, to truck thoſe wares for dried fiſh, for which there was a great demand in the country they came from. The governor was very civil to them, and kept them two or three days, in expectation of rain, that he might treat them with deer's fleſh; but none happening in that time, they told him they would accept of his compliment at their return; in the mean time beg'd permiſſion to leave part of their goods at his houſe, 'till they took a ſtep to *Annorodgburro*; and having given him 5 or 6 charges of gunpowder, which was a great regale, he wiſh'd them a good journey.

Are well receiv'd by the governor of Colonilla.

But before they left this place they had a terrible fright. For, the night before their departure was fix'd, there came a party of ſoldiers, whoſe officer brought orders from the king to the governor to ſtop all ſuſpected perſons. This was a cruel ſhock to our pedlars; but the governor, knowing that this order was given to ſtop the relations of a certain nobleman, who had fallen under diſgrace, did not recall the liberty he had given them before; ſo that, the next day, they ſet out for *Annorogburro*.

Being arriv'd, they found there was an abſolute neceſſity of paſſing by the guard at the frontiers, a little north of the town; and being afraid that they might not paſs ſo eaſily there as they had done at the laſt, they chang'd their route, and having taken 10 days proviſion, a pot to boil their meat, two calabaſhes for water, and ſome freſh meat and tobacco, and a deer's skin to make a faſhion of ſhoes of, they ſet out of the town, at night, the ſame way they had enter'd, and then ſtriking towards the weſt, they travell'd a great part of the night, having no other deſign but to get far enough off before morning; for they knew the natives would not purſue them in the dark, for fear of wild beaſts. They had ſoon the benefit of the moon, by the light of which, being now ten or twelve miles from the town they had left, they ſaw an elephant in their way, and not being able to make him quit his ſtation by their cries, they were forc'd to light fires, and ſtaid there 'till day-break.

As ſoon as it was light, and the paſſage clear, they went on, and coming to the river *Malwatoya*, they determin'd to purſue the courſe of it to the ſea, perceiving it to run north-weſt. But, when they thought themſelves free of all incumberances, they got unexpectedly in among a throng of towns, which they found were call'd *Tiſſea Wava*. To conceal themſelves from the inhabitants, they got into a hollow tree, where they ſtaid 'till it grew dark, and then, being ſure of not being purſued, becauſe no body ſtirs out of doors in the night, they proceeded in their journey, and got rid of *Tiſſea Wava* before morning.

Having eſcaped this danger, they travell'd ſtill upon or near the river, for ſeveral days, hearing ſeveral wild beaſts in the night, and ſeeing others by day, but, by good providence, none of them aſſaulted them. At laſt, with much fatigue, and their bodies torn in ſeveral places, (for they were ſorrily cloth'd) they arriv'd at a part of the river which was fordable, or, at leaſt, where they had an eaſy entrance and exit, if they were oblig'd to ſwim; and, having paſs'd the river, they were out of the king of *Candi*'s territories. There they lighted fires, and reſted all the reſt of the day, and

They get out of the king of Candi's *dominion*

and the night following; and early next morning purſued their journey. At laſt they met luckily with two *Bramins*, who treated them civilly, and for ſome ſmall preſents, particularly a knife, of which they were very fond, they conducted them ſafe to the *Dutch* quarters; and they got guides from town to town, 'till they arriv'd at the fort of *Arrepa*, upon the 18th of *October*, having been 26 days upon the road.

arrive at the Dutch *fort.*

Here they were well entertain'd, and, having reſted ſeveral days, and got new cloaths, they were ſent to *Columbo*, another town belonging to the *Dutch*, on the north-weſt coaſt of *Ceylon*, the governor of which town, *Van Gons*, ſon to the general of *Batavia*, having occaſion to go to *Batavia*, took them along with him, and from thence, they went with an *Engliſh* merchant to *Bantam*, and ſo to *England*, where they arriv'd, to their exceeding great joy, in *September*, 1680, almoſt 23 years after Mr. *Knox*'s departure from it. Mr. *Knox* was ſoon ſent, by the company, maſter of the *Tarquin*, to the *Eaſt Indies*; and, at the requeſt of ſome of his friends, wrote a deſcription of the iſland of *Ceylon*, which he had good cauſe to know. The ſubſtance of which, with ſome other additions of later date, we ſhall here give as ſuccinctly as we can.

and ſo to England.

We ſhall not inſiſt upon the enquiry whether this iſland of *Ceylon* be the *Taprabana* of the ancients; much leſs, whether it was *Solomon*'s *Ophir*; but ſhall proceed to deſcribe it, as Mr. *Knox* left it, as we have now related.

Ceylon.

Ceylon lies between 6 and 10 deg. of n. lat. and is reckon'd 62 leagues in length, and 47 in breadth. But Mr. *Salmon* makes it 250 miles long, and 200 broad; and ſays, the *Dutch* liken it to a *Weſtphalia* ham, it being much of that ſhape. It is oppoſite to the ſouth-eaſt point of the coaſt of *Cormandel*, about 45 miles from the continent, due ſouth from fort St. *George*.

Being oblig'd to follow Mr. *Knox*'s diviſion of this iſland, it is to be obſerv'd, that he gives it as it was divided in his time, *viz.* the places upon the coaſt, under the juriſdicton of the *Dutch*, and the inland country, ſubject to the king of *Candi Uda*.

Diviſion of the iſland as to the Dutch.

The places under the *Dutch* were *Jaſnepatan*, upon the north-coaſt, *Trinquimali* and *Baticala*, upon the eaſt, *Punto di Gallo* on the ſouth, and *Colombo*, *Negumbo*, and *Colpentene* on the weſt coaſt, beſides other ſmall ſorts. Each of theſe here nam'd had more or leſs territory belonging to them, as the *Dutch* had leiſure or power to wreſt it out of the hands of the lawful proprietors.

The reſt of the kingdom, ſtill in the king's power, our author divides into provinces, and diſtinct counties. 1. *Naurecalava*, in the north parts, conſiſts of 5 counties, that of *Hotcourly* (whither our author was baniſh'd) being the chief. 2. *Mautaly* lies towards the eaſt, and is divided into 3 counties, beſides 4 independent counties, bordering upon that province, *viz.* *Tammauquod*, *Bentana*, *Vellas*, and *Paunoe*. 3. *Ouva*, towards the ſouth, contains 3 counties, in which a good part of the king's army is quarter'd, under 32 captains. 4. To the weſtward of *Ouva* lie the diſtricts of *Walloponaboy*, *Poncipot*, *Goddaponaboy*, *Cotimol*, *Horſpot*, *Tunponaboy*, *Oudanour*, and *Tottanour*, all diſtinct juriſdictions; in the laſt of which is the royal city of *Candi*. The two laſt counties are very fruitful and populous, and the principal men of the iſland have their reſidence there; ſo that it is a common ſaying among them, that, *if they want a king, any man of* Oudanour *or* Tottanour *is fit to be choſen*. Weſt of theſe are *Audipollit*, *Dolasbang*, *Hoteracourly*, *Portalion*, and *Tuncourly*, which laſt reaches to the weſtern coaſt. All the reſt of the iſland is in the hands of the *Dutch*.

The diviſion of the king's part of it.

The chief cities under the dominion of the king of *Candi Uda* are, 1. *Candi*, call'd *Mauneur*, and *Kingodagul-neur* by the natives. This city was about the centre of the iſland, was well water'd, and commodiouſly ſituated for all ſorts of proviſions and neceſſaries to be brought to it; it was ſtrongly fenced by nature with hills and woods, and the paſſes had always a watch, and in time of war a ſtrong guard. The king us'd to reſide there about the beginning of the laſt century, but the *Portugueſes* having taken and burn'd it more than once, the king had not liv'd in it for ſome years before Mr. *Knox* went thither.

The chief towns in the king's part.

2. *Nelemby-neur* lies ſouth of *Candi* about 12 miles, in the diſtrict of *Andipollet*. In this city the king kept his court, when our author went thither.

3. *Allout-neur*, north-eaſt of *Candi*, in the county of *Bittam*; here the king was born, and has a magazine of corn and ſalt, with other ſtores, in caſe of war. This town has the great river *Mavelogonga* running thro' it, and the country is full of woods, where there is plenty of deer, but inhabited by wild people.

4. *Badoula*, lying in the province of *Ouva*, eaſtward of *Candi*, a good country for cattle; but our author ſays, the cattle bred there will live no where elſe.

5. *Degligy-neur*, where the king liv'd after the rebellion in 1664, having been forced to leave *Nelemby*; of which anon.

It

It lies between *Candi* and *Badoula*; the country about it is none of the beſt; but the place is naturally ſo ſtrong, by rocks and woods, that a few can defend the paſſes to it againſt an army; which was the reaſon of the king's chuſing it for his reſidence.

The inhabitants of Ceylon.

The inhabitants of this iſland are of ſeveral countries. The *Dutch* are very numerous, the 4th part of the iſland being in their hands. Beſides them, there are *Malabars*, who are a free people, only paying a duty to the king of *Candi Uda* for their lands, as the *Ceyloneſes* do. The *Moors*, like our *Jews*, have no land, but trade both with the *Dutch* and with the ſubjects of *Candi*. A great many of both theſe live near the coaſt, and ſome of them profeſs Chriſtianity, having been converted by the *Portugueſes*. And where they happen to be near the *Dutch*, they ſubmit and pay tribute to them.

But the natural inhabitants of *Ceylon* are call'd *Chingulays*; but from whence they came our author does not determine. Of theſe, he ſays, there are two ſorts, wild and tame. He repreſents the wild *Chingulays* as a ſort of people who live only in the woods, without any towns or houſes; their food being fleſh only; for they ſow no corn, nor trouble themſelves about roots. If by chance they meet with any of the king's officers, they will acknowledge the king's authority, and bring them elephants teeth, wax, honey, and deers fleſh; but they oblige them, in return, to give them arrows, cloth, and other goods. And he tells us, that they will come to a ſmith's ſhop, in the night, where they hang up a load of deers fleſh, together with a leaf made in the ſhape of ſuch arrows as they would have him to make for them. If he makes the arrows, againſt a certain time, he leaves them in the ſhop, as they did the fleſh, and when they come to take them away, they bring the equivalent in fleſh: But if he neglects to make them, he may look to himſelf; for it is ten to one, but they are reveng'd of him. Theſe wild people are call'd *Vaddahs*.

The tame *Chingulays* are a quiet civil people, under the king's government, and are well favour'd, liker to the *Europeans* than any people in the *Indies*. They wear cloth about their loins, and a kind of waiſtcoat after the *Engliſh* faſhion, with ſhort skirts, and the ſleeves button'd to the wriſt. A *Tunis* red cap upon their heads, a ſhort hanger by their ſide, and a knife ſticking in their ſaſh on the right ſide. They are active and nimble, ingenious mechanicks, in every thing, except iron work, which they leave to the blackſmiths; but all other things belonging to the building and furniſhing a houſe every man almoſt can do for himſelf. But, withal, they are not to be truſted, for they lie and cheat, without being aſham'd when diſcover'd; ſo that, in dealing with them, one muſt have his eyes about him. They are a ſober people, ſatisfied with ſpare diet, and little ſleep.

Their dreſs.

They have their *Caſts*, or tribes, like the *Bramans*, and will neither match nor eat with any other, at leaſt not with inferiors. They agree among themſelves, and it is very extraordinary to hear of a quarrel, nor is ever any blood ſhed among them; nor will they ſtrike any of their ſlaves. The inhabitants of the ſea coaſt are a poor helpleſs people, but honeſt and good-natur'd. [I ſuppoſe that is owing to their having been cow'd by the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*.] But thoſe who live towards the mountains, altho' they are more complaiſant in their ſpeech and behaviour, yet are not ſo fair in their dealings. But they make a great difference between cheating and ſtealing, as ſome honeſt people nearer home do. The laſt of theſe crimes they abhor, altho' they make no bones of the other. In ſhort, our author ſums up their character in this. That they are grave and ſtately in their carriage and behaviour; quick and apprehenſive in their underſtandings; ſubtle and crafty in their deſigns; courteous and full of flattery in their diſcourſe; temperate in eating and drinking, but not ſo in the uſe of women; provident in their families; mild in their diſpoſitions; not hard to be reconcil'd when angry; unfaithful in their promiſes, but willing that others ſhould keep their word to them; ſlothful, and not caring to work, but when neceſſity obliges them.

The women.

The women wear a waiſtcoat of calico, flouriſh'd with blue and red, which is cloſe to their body, and long or ſhort according to the quality of the perſon, which they take care to diſtinguiſh. They wear jewels in their ears, and other ornaments about their necks, arms, and wriſts, and walk with *Portugueſe* gravity. But they have ſo much liberty, that they walk where they pleaſe, and either at home or abroad, converſe familarly with any men they meet. [And I believe that confidence their husbands put in them, keeps them more from horns than the impriſoning the poor women in other places.] They take a pride in being thought ſaving, and we are told, it is a common ſaying among the ladies there, that *Scraps and parings will ſerve them, that they may keep the beſt fare for their husbands.* And the greateſt ladies among them, however ſtately they appear abroad, will put their hand to any work at home, altho' they have ſervants and ſlaves to do it for them.

The

The natives of this iſland are of a middle ſtature, well ſhap'd, have juſt features, dark complexion, but not near ſo black as the *Indians* upon the continent. They have black hair and eyes. The men comb their hair back, and tie it up when they travel to any diſtance, and the women comb their hair back, and wear nothing over it at home, and keep it oyl'd with cocoa-tree oyl, and when they go abroad, they put a hood over their heads, as ours do, but with this difference, that theirs is of ſtrip'd ſilk, inſtead of our black.

Their towns are very irregular, not built in ſtreets, but the inhabitants encloſe a piece of ground, every man for himſelf, and they build their own houſes, except ſome of the great people, who employ carpenters. *Their houſes.* Their houſes are low thatch'd cottages, built with wattles, and dawb'd with clay, for they are not allow'd to build above one-ſtory high, nor to uſe lime to whiten their walls. Inſtead of nails, to join their timber work together, they tie them with cane, or the rind of other trees, which ſerve for ropes.

The ordinary people have but one room in their houſes, and the better ſort of the commons no more than two, they have no chimneys, but make their fire in a corner of the room, ſo that the roof is black with ſmoke. But the nobility have large and convenient houſes, not being confin'd, as the inferior ſort of people are. The great men's houſes are generally built of two fronts, over-againſt one another, and join'd with a wall on each ſide, which makes a large ſquare court between the houſes, their ſervants and ſlaves, and their families, live in houſes apart.

Furniture. The furniture of their houſes comes within a narrow compaſs. Earthen pots, to cook their victuals, a braſs baſon, to ſerve them up in, baskets to keep their grain, ſome ebony peſtles to thraſh out their rice, a wooden mortar to knock it in afterwards, a grater for their cocoa-nuts, a flat ſtone to pound pepper and turmerick, together with a few mats to lie on, is all that they have for the uſe of the houſe; they have likewiſe axes, bills, and other inſtruments for work, and two or three ſtools.

Diet. They live, for the moſt part, very poorly; rice and ſalt are their common food, with which they ſometimes add green leaves, and the juice of a lemon, and pepper. They chuſe rather to ſell the fleſh and fiſh which they catch, than to eat it themſelves; and they value themſelves upon their hard living, as *becoming ſoldiers*. Yet their nobility keep tolerable tables, and have one or two diſhes of fleſh or fiſh at every meal. This way of living, and the king's officers taking their hens and hogs from them almoſt for nothing, makes them careleſs about breeding any creatures fit to be eaten; if it were not for that, *Ceylon* could furniſh proviſion as cheap as any country; and the ſtrangers who take care to preſerve the breed are well ſupplied with cattle and poultry, of their own rearing.

They are clean and handy in dreſſing their meat. They commonly ſit upon mats at dinner; but if there be a ſtranger, or one to whom they would do honour, he gets a ſtool, and his victuals are plac'd upon a ſtool before them. Their drink is, for the moſt part, water; and any one might drink after them, for they never touch the veſſel with their lips when they drink, but pour the water down their throats by a pipe at a diſtance. The men eat firſt, and the woman what they leave. They waſh both before and after meat.

Our author tells a merry piece of ſuperſtition, with regard to their cookery, *viz.* that the women will not put the rice in the pot, if people talk whilſt they are about it; for they fancy the rice will not ſwell if it be put in whilſt people preſent are talking to one another. They keep lemon juice a long time, by boiling it, 'till it grows thick and black, like tar, and then mix a little in any ſauce.

They make ſeveral kinds of ſweet-meats, which our author ſays are very good; ſuch as *Caown*, made of rice, flower, and jaggory, (which is like brown ſugar) into a ſort of fritters, and fried with cocoa-nut and oyl. *Oggula* is a compound of parch'd rice, jaggory, pepper, cardanum, and cinamon, made up in balls. Some others he names, but not much different from theſe.

The worſt thing that we have found in their way of living, is their lazineſs, in ſuffering the poor women to thraſh out the rice with heavy ſticks of ebony of 4 or 5 foot long, which cuſtom has made them dexterous at; at every ſtroke they ſhift the peſtle from one hand to the other; and when they have thus beaten it out of the husk, they put it into the mortar, and with hard labour beat it to pulp, 'till it be as white as we ſee it. They likewiſe ſuffer the women to bring in all the wood and water.

Their manner of viſiting. When any of the natives viſit any where, they are entertain'd with green leaves call'd *Bullat*, which they chew with lime, [I ſupoſe it muſt be limes] and they are ſerv'd with betel and tobacco. And the ſtranger will be affronted if the maſter of the houſe does not ask him, after a while, *What he came for?* For, it ſeems, they are not ſo ſociable, as to come out of pure kindneſs, but always want ſomething of the perſon they go to viſit; there

there being no feaſting among them, except at a wedding.

Their ſalutation. They ſalute by holding out their hands with the palms uppermoſt; but to an inferior they hold out only one hand; and a great man only nods to an ordinary perſon who ſalutes him. The women ſalute by holding up their hands edgewiſe to their forehead. The firſt who ſpeaks ſays *Ay*, which our author ſays is *How do ye?* to which the anſwer is, *Hondai*, or *Well.*

Produce of the ground. The fruits and produce of the iſland are of divers kinds. Our author tells us of five different knids of rice: Not that they look or taſte variouſly, but only differ as to their time of ripening; ſome requiring 7 months, other 6, a third ſort 5 months, another 4, and the laſt 3.

As I am very much a ſtranger to all manner of agriculture, the reader muſt take all I ſhall ſay, upon this ſubject, entirely upon other people's credit; and if there be any thing wrong in the account I am going to give of the manner of the people of *Ceylon*'s managing their rice, I waſh my hands of it.

Their managing rice. We are told, that the rice grows in water, and that the natives who underſtand the ſowing and cultivating of it, ſow the different ſorts of it according as they judge their water will hold out, which they are at a great deal of pains and labour to convey, by canals, from the rivers and ponds, into the ground in which they are to ſow the ſeed.

Where they have no rivers to ſupply their ground with a ſufficient quantity of water, (as is the caſe in the northern counties) they ſave the rain waters in large ponds, of which there is one or two in every town. And where this happens, they ſow the rice of three months, leſt the water ſhould fail before it be ripe.

Having laid the land under water, which they deſign to ſow, after the water is almoſt ſoak'd up, they tread the mud with buffaloes, and then let in more water; and when that is likewiſe ſoak'd up, they carry a light plough, which our author ſays is no bigger than a man's arm, which, one would think, did no manner of good in a field that is hotch-potch before, with the feet of thoſe creatures. But after it is thus trodden, they ſow the ſeed, which is as oddly prepar'd as the land. For,

They lay the rice in water for one night; they take it out the next day, and lay it in heaps, like malt, for 5 or 6 days, 'till it begins to grow, and then they wet it again, and ſo let it lie 'till it has blades and roots, which will happen in 8 days. Then they ſow it in the ground prepar'd as before, and ſow it with as much exactneſs as gardeners ſow ſome of the niceſt ſeeds in beds. And then they put no more water to it, 'till it appears 3 or 4 inches above ground, and then they overflow it again, and let it lie under water 'till it is a ſpan high, at which age the women go and weed it, tranſplanting the grains which are too thick to places which are in the other extreme. After which they muſt ſupply it with water; ſo that the field muſt be overflow'd 'till the grain is ripe; and then the whole town go together to reap the fields, according as they are ready for the ſickle; the owner of every field being at the charge of their maintenance whilſt they are at work for him. The women follow the reapers, to gather it together, as they cut it down. When it is brought home, the poor women do all the reſt, as we ſaid before. But I had almoſt forgot to tell the reader, that when it is brought home, they make a pit on purpoſe for it, with certain magical ceremonies to keep it in. [And, this being *All Saints Eve*, I cannot help remembering, upon the occaſion of this magical pit, the old ſtories told in my country of the *Fairies*, who were ſaid to ride about the country, as this night, and take away the *Fuſion*, (as my good old grandmother term'd it) or ſubſtance, of ſeveral eatables and drinkables, where proper methods were not us'd to regale the merry gentlemen, during that night's cavalcade.] And this ſhall ſuffice as to the plantation of rice; only that our author ſays, that ſome rice grows without being overflow'd, but that it is not ſo good.

They have ſeveral other grains in this iſland beſides rice, *viz. Caracan*, as ſmall as our muſtard-ſeed; which they pound in a mortar, and bake into cakes upon the coals; but it is apt to give the gripes to ſtrangers. *Tanna* is a grain much us'd in the north parts, where it is difficult to bring rice to perfection, for want of water. One pottle of ſeed will yield as much as ſerves a large family. The women pull the ears off the ſtalk, when it is ripe, and parch them in a pan, to ſtrip the grain of the huſks; and when the corn is beaten like rice, it is a wholſome meal. They have alſo *Moung*, *Omb*, *Minere*, *Bumas* and *Tolla*; the four firſt they boil like *Rice* and *Tanna* for food, but the *Tolla* is made into oyl, for anointing their bodies; altho' they ſometimes mix it with *Jagory* for eating.

Fruits. They do not take all the pains they might in cultivating fruit-trees; becauſe, if the king's officers ſee any that they like, they tie a ſtring about the tree, and the proprietor dares not touch the fruit after that; and, which is worſe, he may, perhaps, be oblig'd to carry the fruit to the king, however diſtant he may be, when it is ripe. Our author ſays *Betel* grows *Betel.* like

like nuts, on the top of a tall tree, not much bigger than the calf of a man's leg; the nut is 2 foot long, and a foot and an half broad; and yet he says there are found 1000, sometimes 1500 nuts, upon one tree. The leaves are 6 foot long; they serve for basons to eat their rice in, and for knapsacks, to carry provisions in a journey. [This tree must make a taring figure; the branches must be very long, and the nuts very light, or else the nuts and leaves together were sufficient to bring down the tree, altho' it were bigger than one's leg.] But our author mentions another *Betel* tree, which grows like ivy. But I suppose the first is the famous *Betel*, so commonly us'd, as we have often said before.

Jacks. *Jacks* grow upon a large tree, and are as big as a peck loaf. When the outward prickly rind is taken off, they boil the fruit, which has a taste much like cabbage. But in the heart of them there is the quantity of 3 pints of kernels as big as a chesnut, which they roast before the fire, and the taste is not much different from a chesnut. One jack will serve 6 people for a meal.

Jombo. *Jombo* resembles an apple in colour and taste, and is prettily streak'd red and white. Besides many other fruits resembling cherries, barberries, plumbs, &c. They have no lemons, but limes in abundance. There are likewise citrons, mango's, and other fruits common to the *Indies*.

Trees not bearing fruit. The most remarkable trees which do not bear eatable fruit are, 1. The *Tallipot* tree, which grows tall and strait, like the mast of a ship. The leaf of it is large enough to cover many men. It is a good defence against sun and rain, and folds like a fan. The soldiers make tents of it.

Tallipol *tree.*

Kettule. 2. The *Kettule* (which Mr. *Salmon* calls the *Reffule*) tree, grows tall and strait, little less than the *Cocoa*, often mention'd before. This tree yields a liquor call'd *Tellegie*, no stronger than water, but sweet, and very wholsome; and, when boil'd up, makes the *Jaggory* spoken of before. But the most valuable, and indeed the peculiar tree to this island is

Cinamon. 3. The *Cinamon* tree, of which, not having had occasion to say any thing particular, that I remember, we shall give a description in this place, because the cinamon of *Ceylon* is the best in the world. This tree, which the natives call *Corunda Gouhah*, is pretty large, but not so big as the others last mention'd, and they grow on the west side of the river *Mavelagonda*, in as great plenty as our hazle trees in *Europe*. Its leaf is almost like that of lawrel, but as red as scarlet when young, and being bruis'd smells like cloves. The tree has a fruit like an acorn, but it has nothing of the taste nor smell of cinamon. All the use they make of it is for making oyntment for pains and aches, or else for burning in their lamps. But the most valuable part of the tree, and which is more precious than a gold mine, is the inward bark. For, after they peel off the outward bark, they cut the second horizontally, quite round the tree with a knife, in several places, at eight or ten inches distance; and then slit the second bark strait down; between those cuts, at perhaps an inch distance; and peeling off those slips, which look whitish on the tree, they set them to dry in the sun, which gives it that colour, of which we see it, and turns it in those folds it comes home in.

This is the great loadstone which drew the *Dutch* to *Ceylon*, and still keeps them there; and having got the better both of the *Portugueses* and the natives, they guard the cinamon trade with as much care, as the *Hesperides* orchard was of old, for fear of the fictitious golden apples being stollen. Mr. *Salmon* says, that the agreeable flavour of the cinamon groves is so strong, that he, and some others aboard found out, by their noses, that they were near *Ceylon*, when they who kept the ship's course thought they were 100 miles from it, or any other land.

The other trees growing in the island are, 4. The *Urula*, which has a berry like an olive, which they use for purges, and for dying. Urula.

Dounc-kaia. 5. *Dounckaia Gouah*, of whose leaves and roots they make ropes.

Capita. 6. The *Capita*. Its leaf is of a bright green, but no cattle will eat them. It is common in all the island, except in *Ouva*, which is said to be the reason why the cattle of that district die when carried to any other county, as we said before. Sweeping a room with a broom of this tree keeps the fleas from it. [I wonder, among our other *outlandish wares*, many of which do us abundantly more harm than good, we have not some *Capital broom-sticks*, to see if they could preserve us from *vermine*.]

Rattans. 7. *Rattans*, a sort of shrub, which creeps along the ground, or about the trees, like honey-suckle; the berries are in clusters like grapes, of a beautiful yellow; but when that yellow husk is taken off, there is a white sour plumb within.

Canes. 8. *Canes* are much the same with the others, but larger.

Bagaha. The last tree we shall mention is the *Bagaha* tree, which is much esteem'd, thro' the whole island, not for its usefulness, but out of devotion. For they have a tradition among them, that *Buddou* (whom they worship as a God) sate frequently under this tree; and therefore they set lamps in it, and place tables under it, where they offer sacrifice at certain times.

times. And, it is believed by the natives, that whoever plants one of these trees shall soon after die, and go to heaven. But, our author says, there are none planted by young people, because they have a mind to let their seniors go to heaven before them.

Herbs and roots. They have a great variety of herbs and roots both for food and physick. Their roots of different kind are call'd by the common name of *Alloes* in their language, but the *Portugueses* call them *Inyames*, and the *English Yams*. Of these they not only make sauces, but whole meals when rice is scarce.

They have excellent herbs, some of which taste like *Asparagus*; and others of a nature quite different from any we have, but very relishing. Nor are they without many *European* pot herbs and roots, brought in by the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, such as carrot, coleworts, &c. *Medicinal herbs.* And medicinal herbs and plants, with which they perform almost miraculous cures, of which our author gives two instances, in the last of which he himself was the patient. He tells us, a *Chingulay* doctor undertook to set a broken arm, the bones of which, by the application of a pultise of herbs he had gather'd in the woods, should be knit in two hours, and he says, he was as good as his word. The other instance of the power of their medicinal plants is, that they cure an impostume in the throat, by making the patient chew the rind of the *Amaranga* for the space of 24 hours, and swallow the juice. This cur'd our author in that space of time.

Flowers. There is likewise great variety of flowers growing wild all over the island. Roses red and white, and other sweet flowers which both men and women tie in their hair. And there is one very uncommon flower, call'd *Sindric-mal*, which, *Sindric-mal serves for a clock.* altho' it grows wild, some people transplant into their gardens, to serve them, in hazy weather, instead of a clock; for they open at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and keep open till the same hour in the morning, thus dividing the time in two equal parts. Another flower, much valued, because the king makes use of it, is *Pichamaul us'd by the king.* the *Pichamaul*, much like our *Jessamine*, and of a fine flavour. The king has a nosegay of it, brought to him every morning, by persons appointed for that office, who carry it upon a stick between two of them, wrapt up in a white cloth; and as it is carried along the street, all people must turn out of the way. The officers who carry these flowers to the king, hold land of him for that service, and therefore are careful to plant a sufficient quantity of *Pichamauls* for his use. *Hop-maul.* *Hop-mauls* are a flower growing upon trees, it is beautiful and grateful to the smell, and much us'd by young people in their hair.

They abound in animals of different kinds. Their beasts are buffaloes, cows, hogs, deer, goats, hares, dogs, jackcalls, apes, tygers, bears and elephants; but they have no horses, asses, sheep, lions, nor wolves. [Here our author gives an account of the manner of catching the elephants, with the tame females; which we pass over, having formerly given a description of it.] The people of the island are afraid of the elephants, for they do much mischief among their corn, and and often kill the people. Mr. *Tavernier* tells an odd story which he says is certainly fact, viz. That the elephants of other countries pay homage to those of *Ceylon* as if they were vassals to them; for as soon as one of them is brought before the elephants of the breed of other parts, they stoop their necks and lay their trunks flat on the ground; [which if true, I suppose proceeds from fear; the elephants of *Ceylon* being said to be much the most warlike.] Their other wild beasts are more harmless than those of the same species in other parts of the world. They have three sorts of apes or monkies. Some are as big as a large spaniel, grey, with a black face and white beard from ear to ear; others of the same size, but milk white all over. These are harmless creatures; but the third sort have white faces, no beard, but long hair upon the top of their heads, which parts like a man's. These destroy corn and fruit wherever they come, and are troublesome to the people who live near the woods. The natives eat all the three sorts, as also squirrels, which are reckon'd good food. They have many ingenious methods of catching the wild beasts, as gins, traps, &c.

Animals.

Elephants, &c.

Apes.

As to insects, the principal are bees and ants. The bees are of three sorts. 1. The *Meemass*, much like our hive bee, which build in hollow trees, from whence the natives drive them by blowing into their holes, and so take their honey and wax. 2. The *Bamburo*, larger and of a brighter colour than our bee. They make their nests on the outside of trees, and are so numerous, that all the people of a village come abroad, at the proper season, and go home loaded with the spoils of their nests, their honey is thiner than the other, but very good. 3. The *Connamoia* is as small as a large fly, but their honey is like tar and little esteem'd.

Bees.

The ants or pismires, are likewise of different kinds. Some are like ours; others, call'd *Dimbio* are a great deal bigger, of a red colour, and make their nests upon the boughs of a tree as big

Ants.

as

as one's head; and their ſting is ſo ſharp, that none will venture to pull the fruit of the tree, where one of their neſts is. There are two other ſorts large and black, which live under ground. Beſides all theſe, there is one different from them all, which they call *Vaca*, with a red head, and the hinder part white. Theſe are a great nuſance to the country; they build in the houſes, and eat every thing that comes in their way, except iron and ſtone, and when they come to maturity, they have wings, and fly in ſwarms as high as they can, and then fall down dead, which makes a good feaſt for the poultry.

Fowl. As to the feather'd race they have abundance, both wild and tame, as ducks, pidgeons, hens, turkeys, woodcocks, partridges, peacocks, parrots, *&c.* Beſides theſe they have ſeveral ſorts of ſpeaking birds no bigger than black birds, ſome black, others yellow. *A curious bird.* But the moſt beautiful bird they have, is a ſmall one about the bigneſs of a ſparrow, white as ſnow in the body, with a jet black head, and a tuſt of feathers on the top of it, and a tail of a foot long; this is the male. The female is of the colour of a ripe orange, with a tuft of black feathers on its head. Another remarkable bird they have, call'd *Carlo*, as big as a ſwan, but black, with *Carlo.* a monſtrous head, a long bill, but turn'd like that of a hawk. He has white ſpots on each ſide of his head, and a white creſt upon the top like a cock's comb. This fowl never touches the ground, but perches upon trees, and never reſts in the day, but hops from bough to bough. They ſing as ſweetly as our peacocks; but they are ſaid to be good meat.

Ceylon is well ſtor'd with fiſh in the rivers and ponds, and the natives feed more *Fiſh.* upon them than upon fleſh. Some of the fiſh in *Mavela-gonga* are as large as a ſalmon, and very good meat. They uſe no nets, and are not acquainted with angling; but the common way of catching fiſh is with a wicker basket, ſhap'd like a bell, and open at both ends; thruſting the big end down in the water, what fiſh happen to be within it, they take out by thruſting their hand into the basket at the upper end, and then they caſt their basket in another place. Several ponds are ſtock'd with fiſh for the king's diverſion of feeding them. Theſe rivers likewiſe produce numbers of *Alligators* or crocodiles.

But beſides the fiſh taken in the rivers and ponds, there is great plenty of fiſh in the ſea about the coaſts of this iſland, but the natives are ſo lazy that they will not look after it. And even the pearl fiſhing, which is conſiderable, they let the *Moors*, *Malabars* and *Chriſtians* run away with. For another author * tells us, that there are 4000 ſhips that fiſh there for pearl in a year; altho' he ſays they agree with the king for liberty. [But this was before the *Dutch* had driven the king from the coaſt to inhabit the higher ground.] * *Riberius.*

Altho' cinamon is the commodity moſt valued of the growth of this iſland, there are many others, which, if the natives were induſtrious, and that their kings had *Other commodities of* not too much reaſon to be jealous of the *Europeans*, would make this iſland as conſiderable for trade, as any in the *Indian* ocean. For, beſides the cinamon, (which is here in ſuch plenty as would ſerve all the earth, if it were twice as big as it is,) they have variety of precious ſtones; chriſtal, white, red, and green; minerals of ſeveral kinds; plenty of ebony and other hard wood for joiner's work, as alſo pepper, which might multiply conſiderably if due care was taken of it. Elephants teeth, cotten, and many other valuable things, which once made *Ceylon* a place of vaſt trade, before the *Portugueſes* firſt, and then the *Dutch* gave the king juſt reaſon to have a jealous eye over all ſtrangers, eſpecially *Europeans*. *Riberius* ſays, the moſt valuable jewel they have is call'd *The Cat's Eye*, from its ſhewing of different colours according to the different poſitions; they never poliſh it, but only waſh it clean, and it ſhews all the colours which light can produce. Theſe ſtones they find in rivers. [But it is ſtrange that no body has brought them to *Europe*, or tried what they would be when ground.] The ſame author ſays, they have the fineſt rubies in the world; and that the *Moors*, who underſtand precious ſtones to perfection, eſteem the topazes of *Ceylon* at a great price; and that they have fine ſaphirs, beſides vaſt numbers of ſmall ſtones all tranſparent, which the natives value no more than we do flints. But *Tavernier* obſerves, that the natives here and in *Pegu* call all colour'd ſtones by the name of *Rubies*, viz. *Saphirs* are call'd blue rubies; *Amethiſts*, violet rubies; *Topazes*, yellow rubies, *&c.*

A ſhort view of the ſtate of the iſland. But that the reader may have a better notion of the trade of *Ceylon*, it will not be amiſs, from other authors, ſuch as *Purchas*, *Tavernier*, and Mr. *Salmon*, to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of this iſland, both before and ſince the *Europeans* got footing in it.

Ceylon was ſaid to be divided into nine kingdoms, before the *Portugueſes* ſettled *The Portugueſes ſettle at* there, of which the kingdom of *Culmuchi* was the chief, all the other eight kings being tributary to that king. The *Portugueſes* having diſcover'd it in 1505, they ſettled a factory there, ſome ten or Columbo. twelve

twelve years after, and the ſovereign, whom they call'd king of *Ceylon*, as being the chief monarch of the whole iſland, liv'd in friendſhip with them, 'till about the year 1530, that he took umbrage at their building a fort at *Colombo*, to which he laid a formal ſiege; but the *Portugueſes* happening to be too well fortify'd to be forc'd, he made an alliance with them, promiſing to furniſh them with a certain quantity of cinamon yearly at a ſtated price. This correſpondence continued for ſome time, and a great many of the *Chingulays* were converted to the Chriſtian faith, and the trade of that iſland had, in all probability, been, to this day, in the hands of the *Portugueſes*, but for their inſolent, domineering, temper.

The kingdom uſurp'd by a barber.

However, they kept poſſeſſion all that century, and had factories in ſeveral parts of the iſland, which they kept by ſtrong hand, 'till, about the end of the century, a barber (as Mr. *Purchas* has it) murder'd the chief king, and, uſurping the ſoveerignty, got the better of the tributary kings, and either put them to death, or expell'd them the iſland. This uſurper (*as great* KNAVES *have the* BEST LUCK, PROVIDENCE *ſuffering ſuch to riſe ſometimes, for a* SCOURGE *to a wicked nation*) ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the *Portugueſes*.

Aſſiſted by the Dutch, he falls upon the Portugueſes.

But, unhappily for the poor iſland, they attack'd them, by the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, in the year 1603, under the conduct of *De Weart*, who behaving himſelf inſolently, and treating the king as his vaſſal, becauſe he had aſſiſted him to drive his enemies out of a part of the iſland, the natives were ſo affronted at it, that, without any ceremony, they cut him to pieces. Nor were they reconcil'd 'till the year 1613; (but whether the uſurper was ſtill alive, I do not know) then there was a new alliance ſtruck up between the then *King* and the *Dutch*, wherein it was ſtipulated by the king, that no *European* nation, except *Holland*, ſhould have any ſhare in the cinamon trade, but that all *Indian* nations ſhould enjoy free trade.

Dutch build a fort at Cotiar.

Upon this, the *Dutch* built a fort at *Cotiar*; but the *Portugueſes* beat them out of it, and there were continual broils between the natives of *Ceylon*, the *Portugueſes*, and *Dutch*, for above 40 years, and both thoſe *European* nations had factories in *Ceylon* ſome part of that time together. In the year 1638, the *Dutch* beat the *Portugueſe* fleet near *Goa*, and ſent a reinforcement to their ally, the king of *Ceylon*; but before they arriv'd, the *Portugueſes* had forced him to fly to *Candi*, whither they purſued him, and he retiring farther into the country, they ſet that city on fire. But in their retreat with the plunder of *Candi*, the king's army fell upon them, and cut the great part of them to pieces.

The *Dutch* reinforcement being arriv'd, the king join'd them, and laid ſiege to *Battecali*, another *Portugueſe* fort, about the middle of the eaſt coaſt, and took it. The king being ſo much in love with his allies, that he gave them all the moſt advantageous terms they could deſire; and they liv'd tolerably well together for ſeveral years, the *Portugueſes* being ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome forts there, eſpecially *Punto di Gallo*, on the ſouth, and *Colombo* on the ſouth-weſt part of *Ceylon*; which laſt was their chief ſettlement.

The king's army being join'd with the *Dutch*, who had, in the year 1655, taken *Punto di Gallo*, laid ſiege the year following to *Colombo*, upon this expreſs ſtipulation, that the caſtle, when taken, ſhould be put into the hands of the king's forces. But after the *Portugueſes* had defended it bravely for the ſpace of a year, being, at laſt, compell'd to ſurrender, for want of proviſions, they gave it up, by capitulation, to the *Dutch*, who immediately took poſſeſſion of it, *May* 11, 1656, not ſuffering any of the king's forces to enter, notwithſtanding their engagement to put the king in poſſeſſion of it.

The Dutch take Colombo.

The king of Ceylon's letter to the Dutch general.

As ſoon as the king was inform'd of this piece of treachery, he wrote a letter to their general, " complaining of the " *Hollanders* breach of faith with him, " in former treaties, which he had paſs'd " by, without reſenting, upon the *Di-* " *rector General's* coming to his court, " directly from *Holland*, with authority " from the prince of *Orange*, and the " *Eaſt-India Company*, to treat with " him. Upon whoſe promiſe, confirm'd " by oath, to deliver up the forts of *Ne-* " *quimbo* and *Colombo* (when taken) into " the hands of his *Diſſauvas*, he had " ſent forces to aſſiſt them againſt the " *Portugueſes*, and to reduce *Colombo*. " But now that he found ſo plain a trea- " ty, ſolemnly made in their name of the " prince of *Orange*, and the *Company* in " *Holland*, infring'd by their ſeizing his " fort at *Colombo*, they were to expect no " more friendſhip from him, nor would " he put any confidence in a people who " had ſo notoriouſly broken publick " faith. "

This letter he made one *Bloem* tranſlate into *Dutch*, as he tells them in a *Poſtſcript*.

But the *Dutch*, who were reſolv'd, right or wrong, to keep poſſeſſion of all the forts they could take from the *Portugueſes*, and who had only made thoſe promiſes,

miſes, in order to procure the king's aſſiſtance, (without which they were not able to have effected their deſign) pretended that general *Hulſt*, who had made that treaty with the king, mention'd in his letter, and who was kill'd in the ſiege, had not ſufficient authority to make ſuch a treaty, not having inſtructions from the *States General*, who were their *only Sovereigns*. Thus they play'd faſt and looſe with oaths and covenants; at one time making their *Stadtholder* paſs for an abſolute monarch, and themſelves for his dutiful ſubjects, and making alliances with the *Indians* in his name: But when thoſe alliances did not ſuit their convenience, they were only to be determin'd by the *General* and *Council* of *Batavia*: And if they, to ſerve a preſent turn, had pledg'd the faith of the company, in any, the moſt ſolemn manner; when it was found for their dear intereſt to break it, they had recourſe to the authority of the *States General*, which they then alledg'd was the ſovereign authority, to which only they were ſubject.

Their pretence for breaking faith.

Thus they evaded all their engagements, in more places than one in the *Indies*. But the king of *Ceylon* became their mortal enemy, eſpecially upon their having attack'd his forces, without any declaration of war; and, to be reveng'd of them, he made peace with the *Portugueſes*, and often ſallied out upon the *Dutch*, as they were gathering the cinamon, and cut off ſeveral parties of them, retiring into the woods when they had done.

The king becomes their mortal enemy.

Things were in this poſture in *Ceylon*, when Mr. *Knox*, as we have related above, was taken priſoner, with his father, *Catiar* being ſtill in the king's poſſeſſion, and he being at open enmity with the *Dutch*. But having been oblig'd to retire from the coaſt towards the middle of the iſland, where the chief ſtrength conſiſted in the enemy's ignorance of the roads, he gave orders to ſeize all foreigners, and placed guards at all the paſſes, that none ſhould eſcape to be a guide to the *Europeans* to find the way to *Candi*, or any of his royal towns in that part of the iſland, which was the occaſion of the difficulty Mr. *Knox* and his companion found in making their eſcape.

Soon after this, as Mr. *Knox* tells us, there was a conſpiracy form'd againſt the king, by his own ſubjects. For, it ſeems, he had grievouſly oppreſs'd them, and, what by the charge of the continual war, firſt againſt the *Portugueſes*, and then againſt the *Dutch*, and by the *Dutch* having cut them out of a great part of the cinamon plantation; and their trade being loſt by the king's ordering all foreigners to be arreſted and detain'd: In the year 1664, a cabal of the *Chingulays* enter'd into a plot to murder him, and to ſet his ſon, a youth of about 15 years old, upon the throne.

A conſpiracy againſt the king.

The king had his reſidence, at that time, at *Nellemby*, about 14 miles from *Candi*; but the queen, with her ſon, reſided at *Candi*. About 200 of the conſpirators (having a correſpondence with many about the king's court) march'd to *Nellemby* in the night, where they arriv'd about midnight, upon the twelfth of *December*. The king's palace was only defended by a clay wall; but, it ſeems, their plot had not been well concrted; for, the conſpirators without, not attacking the palace at their arrival, but (after they had kill'd ſome of the nobility, who kept guard, and were not in the conſpiracy) lying upon their arms, 'till it ſhould be day-light; their confederates within, imagining, by the alarm given, and their friends not aſſaulting the palace, that they had miſcarried in the attempt, they not only ſuffer'd the king to make his eſcape, but ſeveral of them, being yet undiſcover'd, went along with him; ſo that he fled to the mountains, with only 50 in his retinue.

He eſcapes.

The rebels, as ſoon as they heard he was gone, purſued him; but not being ſtout enough for ſo bold an attempt, they kept without gun-ſhot, becauſe they knew his majeſty to be a good markſman, and that he had ſome excellent fuſees in his company. So that, by their cowardice, he got ſafe to *Galuba*, a hill 15 miles from his palace, where, altho' they might have atack'd and defeated him, being 4 times his number, yet, their hearts failing them, they retreated, and began their march to *Candi*, contenting themſelves with his flight.

As ſoon as they arriv'd at *Candi*, they proclaim'd the young prince, king, telling the *Engliſh*, who were priſoners at large in that city, that what they had done was with mature deliberation, and with the conſent of the generality of the kingdom, in order to retrieve their trade. This they ſaid, to perſuade all foreigners to join them; but we do not find that the *Engliſh* meddled in this affair; for, if they had, they could not have eſcap'd being cut off, when the plot miſcarried, as it did ſoon after.

The young prince, who had been bred up with his mother, and, for fear of giving umbrage to the jealous king, had never convers'd but with women, (*a ſtrange education for a prince!*) was ſo ſurpriz'd at their doing him homage as king, that he did not open his lips, either to thank, or reprove them, for what they had done, but look'd confounded; which diſcourag'd the rebels. But the king's ſiſter having found means to ſteal the prince away,

The plot proves abortive.

away, and to carry him to his father's camp, which, by this time, was encreas'd to ſuch a number, that he was preparing to attack the rebels; this laſt diſappointment ſtruck ſuch a damp upon their ſpirits, which appear'd to be none of the moſt reſolute before, that they fell into parties among themſelves, and afterwards to cutting one another's throats. The king, taking advantage of this diſſenſion, ſoon got the better of them, and ſeverely puniſh'd the heads of them, and likewiſe ſome of thoſe who had fled with himſelf; which our author blames as a piece of tyranny, and ſo ſhould I too, if I did not think there was ground to believe, from his account of it, that they had been engag'd in the treaſon, and only follow'd their maſter, becauſe they thought the deſign diſappointed. If this was the caſe, and that there was ſufficient evidence of it, I humbly conceive they were as guilty as the others who appear'd in arms.

But one piece of cruelty was occaſion'd by this rebellion, which was moſt deteſtable. Altho' the poor prince had no hand in the conſpiracy, nor contributed to it either by word or deed, but willingly follow'd his old aunt, rather than accept of the crown unjuſtly offer'd him; yet his father, ſeeing that the rebels had ſuch regard for the prince, that they would have crown'd him before his time, took ſuch umbrage at it, that he determin'd the poor youth's ruin, and ſoon afterwards, under colour of ſending him ſome phyſick for a ſlight indiſpoſition, he took care to make it up with an ingredient that cur'd him of all diſtempers, for he died of the phyſick in a few days.

The king poiſons his ſon.

But this king was ſtill at enmity with the *Dutch*, inſomuch that he was fond of encouraging any nation that would help him to get them out of his country.

To effect this, the king, (contrary to his former politick of detaining all *Europeans*) in the year 1673, receiv'd 3 gentlemen ſent from Monſieur *De la Haye*, the *French* admiral, with whom an ambaſſador was ſent by *Louis* XIV. to ſettle a trade there. Thoſe the king treated magnificently, and ſent them back to their ſhips with handſome preſents. Upon this, the ambaſſador went to court, with 6 gentlemen, where he was receiv'd with great joy, the king thinking he had now at laſt, found an ally, who was able to revenge him of the *Dutch*. And therefore, the ambaſſador telling him, that the ſhips were to go to the coaſt of *Cormandel*, but that he would ſtay at *Cotiar*, 'till their return, provided his majeſty would let them build a fort before the admiral ſail'd, that they might be ſecure from the *Dutch*; he not only conſented to it, but gave them all the aſſiſtance they deſir'd, and victualled their ſhips for the voyage. As ſoon as the fort was finiſh'd, they receiv'd ſuch a number of the king's forces into the garriſon, as he thought fit to join to the *French*, whom the admiral left there; ſo that, at *De la Haye*'s departure, things ſeem'd to be in a fair way.

A French fleet arrives at Ceylon.

Is well receiv'd.

But ſeveral things contributed to ruin the *French* credit in the iſland of *Ceylon*. The ambaſſador, not having judgment enough to make a difference between the *European* and *Indian* cuſtoms, thinking to ſhew the grandeur of his maſter, would needs make his publick entrance on horſeback, altho' he was adviſ'd to forbear that ceremony, becauſe the king would be affronted (it not being allow'd to the firſt rate nobility in the iſland to enter the royal city on horſeback.) However he would not give it up; ſo that his excellency and his retinue enter'd in a cavalcade, the prime nobility of *Ceylon*, appointed to attend him, walking a-foot. When he came near the palace, they deſir'd him to alight, becauſe it was the cuſtom there for the greateſt princes of the blood to do reverence as they paſs'd the palace gate; but *Monſieur*, believing himſelf entitled to all the greatneſs of his maſter *Louis*, would not diſmount, but rode by the palace gate with his hat and feather, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of civility.

The imprudence of the French ambaſſador.

Altho' this behaviour was very diſguſting to the king and all the court, and ill judg'd of a perſon who was to beg favours, and had a commerce to ſettle; yet the ambaſſador met with no affront in the ſtreets, but was conducted to his houſe, where the king had order'd a ſplendid entertainment for him, and ſent afterwards, three times a day, proviſions from the palace.

But his riding was not the worſt ſtep. For, when he was to have his audience, becauſe he thought they let him wait too long, he got up in a paſſion, and would needs return to his houſe; and when they ſet elephants at the gates, to ſtop his paſſage, he put his hand to his ſword. The courtiers entreated him to wait for the king's coming out; but he was not to be prevail'd upon; ſo that, the elephants being remov'd, he went home in a rage.

This laſt piece of conduct ſo incens'd the king, that he order'd the ambaſſador and all his retinue to be put in chains, which was accordingly done, and the ambaſſador himſelf continued in that condition ſix months; but his family was ſoon releas'd out of priſon, and probably had the ſame fate with the *Engliſh*. The ſhips were either deſtroy'd by the *Dutch*, or caſt away by ſtorm.

He is put in chains.

This

This is the account Mr. *Salmon* gives of this *French* expedition to *Ceylon*, of which *Knox* ſays nothing, altho' it is ſaid to have happen'd during his ſojourning in the iſland. [But, if I may be allow'd to give my opinion of this tranſaction, I believe, the quarrels they pick'd with the ambaſſador, were made on purpoſe to give a handle for making them priſoners, as they had done to the *Engliſh* ſome years before; and their civility to the admiral, and to the ambaſſador, before the fleet ſail'd, was only from the fear of ſo many ſhips; which being over, by their departure, and, perhaps, an account brought to the king, of their miſcarriage, he proceeded according to his old politick. But as this is only conjecture from the account which Mr. *Knox* gives of the king, as we ſhall ſee by and by, I do not inſiſt upon it; nor pretend to contradict any thing that Mr. *Salmon* may have had from better authority.]

This laſt is the only attempt I have met with made by any *Europeans*, of late years, againſt the *Dutch* ſovereignty of at leaſt the moſt conſiderable ſea ports of *Ceylon*. I ſuppoſe the king of *Candi Uda* is, to this day, in a ſtate of war with them; but they have long been in poſſeſſion of the chief part of the cinamon trade. Which I think is ſufficient upon that ſubject.

We ſhall now follow Mr. *Knox* to the king's court, and treat of his perſon and government

We have already ſaid, that the iſland was, of old, divided into nine diſtinct kingdoms; but, in his time, it was under one, as it is, to this day.

The government of Ceylon.

The king, who govern'd at the time our author was there, and during the tranſactions laſt mention'd, was not of the blood royal in a direct line. [It ſeems, the barber's family did not hold the government long.] His predeceſſor, leaving his widow as guardian to 2 young ſons ſhe had by him, ſhe ſoon after married the *Tirinanxy*, or high prieſt, to whom ſhe yielded the government both of the kingdom and of the young princes. The queen having a ſon by her 2d husband, he was bred up with the other two under the regent's direction, who being old, when the prince, who ought to have been king of *Ceylon*, came to age, he divided the kingdom among the three ſons of the queen; but took care to give the yougeſt of them, who was his own, the kingdom of *Candi Uda*, as being the beſt part of the iſland, not uſurp'd by the *Portugueſes*.

But, as dividing kingdoms that have been long united, is of no advantage to the people, and muſt be an eye ſore to the right heir, theſe three kings did not long continue in friendſhip; but, altho' common prudence ſhould have prompted them to unite againſt the *Portugueſes*, who ought to have been look'd upon as the common enemy, and after they had reſcu'd their country from the uſurpation, they might have ſettled the diſpute about ſucceſſion; yet paſſion and ambition prevail'd to make them attack one another; and the ſon of the *Tirinanxy* being the moſt powerful, or the moſt fortunate, he forced the eldeſt, who was king of *Mantoly*, to take refuge with the *Portugueſes* at *Colombo*, and the ſecond, call'd king of *Ouvah*, died in priſon at *Candi*. So that, the king of *Candi Uda*, who, by his father, had no right to the crown, now became king of the whole iſland; and, for what I know, was the neareſt in blood by his mother, altho' he did not come honeſtly by the kingdom, which, whilſt his brothers were alive, could not be his by *Right*. [But that is, perhaps, of as little conſideration there as in *Europe*.]

This was the king who was upon the throne when our author was taken, and whilſt he ſtaid in the iſland, and is ſometimes call'd king of *Ceylon*; as having obtain'd the dominion of the whole kingdom, except what was uſurp'd by the *Europeans*; and ſometimes the king of *Candi Uda*, which was the firſt kingdom he was poſſeſs'd of.

The king's deſcription.

Our author deſcribes him as a well-made, middle-ſiz'd man, of a blackiſh complexion, a brisk, bold look, with little hair, thick beard, and large whiskers; of a graceful behaviour. He ſays, he was between 70 and 80 years old, and yet both in his countenance and actions youthful. [But, whether he means that he was paſt 70 at his going thither, or at his leaving the iſland, I do not know; but probably it was the latter.] His dreſs was entirely according to his own fancy, which was different as the humour took him. But he always wore his ſword in a ſhoulder-belt: It had a gilded hilt and ſcabbard, and he wore a painted cane with a gold head, ſet with precious ſtones, in the lower part of it.

And character.

He was temperate both as to his diet and the uſe of women; for altho' he kept a good table, ſtor'd with all varieties, yet he ate but little of any thing, except herbs and ripe fruit, and thoſe but once a day. His meat was brought to his table by the nobility, who had a cloth tied before their mouth, to prevent their breathing upon the meat. He ſate alone at table, and ate off a plantane leaf upon a gold baſon.

Nor was his temperance with regard to women leſs conſpicuous, and his having a child by his own daughter is no exception to this obſervation, becauſe of the cuſtom of the eaſt, which makes that not to be reckon'd a crime, in order

to

to propagate the royal iſſue. He was ſo much an enemy to luſt, that he puniſh'd either adultery or fornication, in his nobles, with death, and oblig'd them, whilſt they were in waiting, to abſtain even from their wives.

But our author repreſents him as proud and haughty, which might have been the occaſion of his ill treatment of the *French* ambaſſador above related. The *Dutch*, at firſt, gain'd great credit with him by ſoothing his pride, but they loſt it all by falſifying their words and ſolemn oaths.

He was good at diſſembling, and could put on a pleaſant look when he intended miſchief, and ſhew kindneſs when he deſign'd revenge.

But his worſt quality was his cruelty, which increas'd after the rebellion, altho' in good reaſon, it ought to have abated, becauſe his cruelty was the chief reaſon aſſigned for the inſurrection. But abſolute princes, who think their ſubjects born to be their ſlaves, take no pains to make them obey them from a principle of love, which is the ſureſt tie to all the world, (except to a ſet of people, who are incapable of gratitude;) but they endeavour to ſecure their people's ſubjection by fear, and therefore, inſtead of amending thoſe grievances which occaſion inſurrections, they puniſh the authors of tumults, after the ſevereſt manner, to frighten others from attempting the like, whatever provocation may be given them. But altho' I am againſt rebellion for any cauſe, a king, who provokes his ſubjects beyond meaſure will find few of my mind; and if he continues to oppreſs and harraſs them, his ſevere treatment of perſons concerned in one rebellion, will only make the next rebels act with more caution, and endeavour to make their next blow ſurer.

The king an abſolute monarch.

As the government of *Ceylon* is abſolute, the monarch, we now ſpeak of, acted every thing by his own wiſdom, without conſulting any body, and as no body has the power of life and death but the king, he gave ſentence againſt whom he pleas'd, without asking queſtions; and who ever was executed by this tyrannical way of proceeding, was call'd traitor and rebel, and his eſtate and effects confiſcated to the king's uſe.

After the rebellion in 1664, he retir'd to *Digbigy-neur*, a caſtle built between two hills; (if ſuch buildings may deſerve the name of a caſtle) it was compoſed of a number of houſes of two ſtories high, all incloſ'd within a clay wall, as was his palace at *Nelemby*; and the apartments were contriv'd like a labyrinth, ſo that, in caſe he ſhou'd have been attacked unexpectedly, he might have time to eſcape to the hills before the conſpirators ſhould find him. All the avenues to this palace, and the gates leading into it were conſtantly guarded by his nobility in perſon, each of them having ſuch a number of ſoldiers under his command; and he frequently ſent ſpies at uncertain times of the night, to ſee that they did their duty.

His palace.

His immediate attendants were the children of ſuch of his ſubjects as the *Diſſauvas* in different provinces ſent him, about the age of 14, who were kept about the court as it were pages, till they were either prefer'd, or miſcarry'd by doing ſome thing that he diſliked. His women all belong'd to the kitchen, and if he makes uſe of any of them as concubines, it was done in the moſt ſecret manner.

Attendants.

His manner of diverting himſelf, when buſineſs allow'd him, was in viewing his elephants, ſeeing his grooms ride his horſes (for altho' there be no horſes of the breed of the iſland, the *Dutch*, when they were friends, and had a mind to cajole him, ſent him preſents of *Arabian* or *Perſian* horſes.) Sometimes he went to his ponds to feed his fiſh and his hawks, altho' he ſeldom made uſe of either. Trying his fuſees was a great amuſement to him, and he had many of thoſe finely mounted, and he was very expert in the uſe of them.

Diverſions.

Our author ſays, he deſpis'd the religion and gods of his own country, from a principle worthy of a man of ſenſe, *viz.* A perſuaſion that there was a greater power than they. But he does not tell us, that he took pains to propagate that belief among his ſubjects, as he ſhould have done; only he ſays he was no enemy to chriſtianity: And he gave an inſtance of it in not being offended at the chriſtians in his dominions for celebrating the feaſt of chriſtmas, in a time of ſolemn mourning for the death of his ſiſter, becauſe they did it out of religion.

For the government of the kingdom, there are many officers under the king. The firſt rank are the *Adigars*, of which there are two, who are in the nature of chief juſtices, to whom appeals lie from the ſentence of the governors of provinces. Theſe have their ſergeants, who carry ſtaves before them, and they are judges of all cauſes; but if any perſon deſerves death, he cannot be ſentenced but by the king.

Government of the kingdom.

Adigars.

Next to theſe are *Diſſauvas*, who are generals of a part of the forces, and governors of the provinces where they reſide. They are judges of all cauſes, and may puniſh by fine or impriſonment, or corporal puniſhment, ſhort of life. But, as we have ſaid there lies an appeal to the *Adigars*. The *Diſſauva*'s office is only during pleaſure: But whilſt any one has it, he has

Diſſauva's.

has a handſome allowance honeſtly, and he extorts an exorbitant one by oppreſſion: This they do by their under officers call'd *Courlividani*, who fleece the people upon the general's account, and greaſe their own fiſts in the mean time. And what keeps them from puniſhment for theſe oppreſſions, is the hatred of the people, which renders them favourites at court; whereas, if they ſhould gain the affections of the country, they would ſoon be undone by the prince's jealouſy. Beſides theſe, there are overſeers, conſtables and other inferiour officers to execute the *Diſſauva's* orders.

Courlevidans.

Leanna. The next officer of note is the ſecretary, call'd *Lianna* for receiving and writing letters, of which he muſt keep a regiſter.

Undia. And laſtly the collector of the king's revenues call'd the *Undia*.

But there are ſeveral cities and counties exempted from the *Diſſauva's* juriſdiction, *viz.* ſuch as belong to the prieſts, and ſuch as are the king's own lands or towns, but given by him to any of the nobility for a time. For in the prieſts lands the government is in them; and in the others, who ever has the gift of them names officers to rule them.

The forces. The greateſt title any of their great men have in the town where the king reſides is *Ouſſary*, which our author ſays is equivalent to *Worſhipful*; but the ſame perſons in all other places, is *Your Excellency*, or *Your Honour*.

The forces of the kingdom are not liſted, (except upon extraordinary occaſions, when a great army is requir'd) but are hereditary, and enjoy lands, inſtead of pay for their military ſervice, and if any of them neglect their duty, they forfeit their lands; but they are not forced to continue ſoldiers, being allow'd to reſign their land into the hands of their colonel, who makes profit of it, till another perſon takes it, for which he muſt pay a fine to the colonel.

In time of war, which is at any diſtance, (but that ſeldom happens unleſs it be againſt *Europeans*) the ſoldiers have a bad time of it, being oblig'd to carry their own proviſions, and kettles, beſides their ſwords, pikes, bows, and arrows, and guns. And ſo bad is their diſcipline, that when the proviſion is ſpent they muſt return home for more. But neither officers nor ſoldiers know what they are going about. For the king often ſends them to ſuch places nam'd, to wait for farther orders, and then recalls them, without doing any thing. But one wiſe caution they have, *viz.* That before any part of the army marches to any place, the king orders all the paſſes beyond that place to be guarded, to prevent intelligence to thoſe who live at a greater diſtance. By which method he has often cut off parties of the *Dutch*, before they knew that there were forces near them. But they ſeldom engage in pitch'd battles, but watch opportunities of falling upon their enemies by ſurprize, and having perform'd any exploit of that kind, they retire into the woods, felling trees in the paſſes to prevent being purſu'd in form; and watching the enemy from rocks and trees to pop them down as fowlers do game.

Revenues The revenues of the crown are of ſeveral kinds. 1. The *New Years Gifts*, which all people are obliged to bring the laſt week of *March*. Theſe conſiſt of gold, jewels, plate, arms, cloth, and ſome money, and happy is the great man, who can procure ſome rarity to preſent. The king appears himſelf in ſome publick place for ſeveral days together, and all the preſents are brought under a white cloth, (as every thing that is brought to him muſt be) and the nobility doing their homage as they paſs by him, leave their preſent to be carried off by his boys.

But our author ſays, the proud king ſcorn'd to receive the *New Year's Gifts* for many years before he left *Ceylon*. [I dare ſay, that inſtance of pride (if that was his motive) was very agreeable to his ſubjects, for it ſav'd them a conſiderable charge every year.]

Beſides the new year's gifts, they are oblig'd to bring the *Firſt Fruits* of all that grows upon the ground, and likewiſe a ſtated tax of wine, oyl, corn, honey, wax, cloth, iron, elephants teeth, tobacco and money, which amount to a conſiderable ſum.

He has likewiſe a great deal of land, which is properly his own. Theſe lands he obliges his ſoldiers to cultivate for him, and the produce is a conſiderable revenue of itſelf.

When any proprietor of land dies, the king's receivers take a bull, a cow and a calf, with a male and female buffalo. Beſides as many arbitrary taxes as he pleaſes to raiſe. But the *Portugueſes* firſt, and then the *Dutch*, cut him out of the moſt conſiderable revenue of his crown, the advantage of the cinamon trade.

Coin They have very little coin in *Ceylon*, I mean in the dominion of the king; for their common method is bartering. The *Portugueſes* introduc'd a ſilver coin, which the natives call *Tangum Maſſa*, the value of it is about nine pence. Another the king ordered of thin pieces of ſilver, 75 of them to a *Spaniſh* dollar, which it is treaſon to counterfeit. But the people make a third ſort themſelves, in the

the ſhape of a fiſh hook of the beſt ſilver. But Mr. *Salmon* from whom I take it, does not tell its value.

Weights. Their weights are, *Collonda*, ſix of which weigh a dollar or piece of eight, and 20 *Collondas* make a *Pollam*.

Meaſures The meaſures are of ſeveral kinds. That for cloth is the cubit; for grain the *Potta*, which is as much as a man can hold in his hand, heap'd. But this muſt be a very precarious meaſure, and therefore I ſuppoſe there is a ſtandart for it. Four *Pottas* is the king's meaſure, call'd *Bonder Nellia*; four of theſe make a *Courney*, ten of which make a *Pale*, and four *Pales* an *Omounas*, by which they meaſure their ſtock of grain.

Laws. Altho', properly ſpeaking, they have no law but the prince's will, *Car, Tel eſt notre Plaiſir*; yet there are ſeveral cuſtoms which obtain amongſt them, and are pleaded in their courts as law, where the king does not interpoſe his authority, ſuch as,

Proviſion for inheritance. The hereditary poſſeſſion of eſtates, and the right of primogeniture, unleſs the father has divided his eſtate amongſt his children in his life time. But the widow and children can, by cuſtom, ſue for a maintenance of the heir, if he alone enjoys the eſtate.

Tilling one anothers ground. The tilling of the ground for ſuch as are either not able or not willing to do it themſelves. This they call tilling their neighbour's ground at *Ande*, or *Halves*. But cuſtom has made ſo many other perquiſites the right of the tiller, that the proprietor has not above a third of the crop inſtead of his half.

Lending at intereſt. The lending corn at 50 per cent to be paid when their debtor's corn is cut down, and if not paid then, the intereſt doubles, but can go no higher; which is the reaſon that many creditors lie out of their corn a long time. This reſtricting the intereſt from riſing higher was a regulation of the king before mention'd, for the ſake of the poor; for, before his time, the intereſt multiplied ſo, that many were forced not only to ſell their land, but their wives and children to pay their debts. For the creditor has recourſe to the magiſtrate, where the debt is conſiderable, and gets an order to ſeize goods and chattles, and even wives and children. The ſame intereſt with the ſame reſtriction is allow'd upon lending money.

Children free born if their mothers are ſo. The children of a free-man by a bond-woman are ſlaves to her maſter; but thoſe of a bond-man by a free-woman are free. The children always being of the ſame condition with the mother.

Making bargains In making bargains, the giving a ſtone in the king's name is equivalent to a bond under hand and ſeal with us.

Our author tells of two ways of ſwearing in uſe among them to determine law ſuits, or accuſations. One is, to go to the temples of their gods, and there both parties ſwear to their two contradictory aſſertions, and they are diſmiſſed to wait for a judgment from heaven upon the party perjured. But as heaven does not always interpoſe in puniſhing crimes here on earth, this is a very precarious way of determining right. And our author gives an inſtance of a merchant of good reputation being caſt after this way of trial, by a thief. For having ſworn poſitively in the temple, that the thief had robb'd his houſe, the other ſwore as poſitively that he had not; ſo they were both diſmiſs'd to wait the declaration of heaven, which the thief took care to ſhew by ſetting the merchant's houſe on fire privately, by which piece of villany the merchant was caſt, and forced to pay a ſum of money beſides the loſs of his houſe and goods. *Two ways of ſwearing.*

The other manner of ſwearing is by putting the two fingers of their right hand in boiling oyl, with this form of words. *The* God *of heaven and earth is witneſs, that I did not do what I am accuſed of*, the accuſer ſwearing the direct contrary. And being both kept in cuſtody till the next day, as they likewiſe were the day before, that no art might be us'd, he whoſe skin does not rub off his fingers with a cloth, is reckon'd innocent. Our author ſays, that it certainly happens ſometimes, that the skin does not come off, which is reckon'd a proof of their innocence, becauſe great care is taken that no trick be plaid. Something like this we have taken notice of elſe where, and compar'd it to our old cuſtom in *England* of *Trial Ordeal* long ſince exploded with juſt reaſon.

Puniſhments. The common puniſhment for crimes in their courts, is fine or impriſonment, (life being only in the king's power, as we obſerv'd before) but moſt commonly the firſt, as being moſt *in commodum curiæ*, that is, *to bring griſt to the mill.* And the way they exact the fine is ſummary. The officers of the court ſeize the party, wherever they find him, and taking away his ſword and knife, they make him pull off his cap and doublet, and ſit down in the place, with the keepers by him, 'till he pays his fine. *This is cheaper than a ſpunging-houſe, or having goods taken out of one's houſe to three times the value of the fine.* But if he will not comply, they put him in chains.

Strange way of having debts paid. Our author tells us of one odd way of recovering debts. He ſays, the creditor ſometimes goes to the debtor's houſe, with a poiſonous plant in his hand, and demands his debt, threatening to eat the poiſon if he does not pay him; which ſo terrifies

terrifies the debtor, (who muſt pay a great fine for occaſioning the death of the creditor) that he will rather ſell or pawn a child or two, to raiſe the money. And he ſays, they will ſometimes throw themſelves over precipices, or hang themſelves, to bring trouble upon their adverſary.

Language. We ſhall next ſay ſomething of their language, which our author underſtood throughly well. He ſays, it is ſpoken no where in the *Indian* iſlands, nor in any other nation but in *Ceylon*; nor is it underſtood by the *Malabars*, who live upon the coaſt of the ſame iſland. It is copious, ſmooth, and elegant, and, like the *French*, full of compliment. They have 12 different titles for women, and near as many for the men; and theſe are us'd according to their different rank or quality. But if they are to ask any favour of any one, they will, to flatter them, give them titles which they cannot claim; but they do it ſo artfully, that it does not look like a ſneer. And they breed their children in what they call a polite way of ſpeaking, which a rough *Engliſhman* would call *telling of lies*. [I wiſh we would endeavour to keep a juſt mean, between empty *French* compliment (which makes a chimney-ſweeper *have the* HONOUR *to be an* herb-woman's *moſt devoted ſlave, and to be raviſh'd to have the* HONOUR *to ſee her*, and a thouſand other fulſome expreſſions, enough to give one a diſguſt at the word *Honour*, in any language) and the blunt *Engliſh* roughneſs, not much different from *rudeneſs* and *ill manners*. There are many ways of ſhewing *Engliſh Liberty*, without affecting a booriſh behaviour; and people may ſhew civility to one another, without danger of being ſlaves. I would not be thought to reflect either upon the *Engliſh* or *French* nation. I know the people of faſhion, in both, are very polite: But, in general, I hope, I may be allow'd to ſay, without offence to either, that if the generality of the *Engliſh* (I mean thoſe of leſs liberal education) had a *quantum ſufficit* of *French* manners, and the *French* (of the ſame rank) the ſame quantity of *Engliſh* plainneſs, they would be two of the beſt bred nations in the world. I beg pardon for this digreſſion, which I hope no body will take amiſs, becauſe I deſign no affront to either nation by it, but would contribute all that I can to make both more perfect, altho' I do not pretend to be polite myſelf.] But to return to *Ceylon*.

A parallel between the Engliſh *and* French *languages.*

Our author has given us ſeveral of their proverbs, and common ways of ſpeaking. But I do not find any material difference between them and our own. For proverbs being the reſult of experience, are much the ſame every where; and if any nation is to be renown'd for ſignificant expreſſive proverbs, it is *Scotland*, if they were ſomewhat cleaner than they are.

Learning. The learning in this iſland is not of great extent. It is not a ſhame not to be able to read or write, nor have they ſchools for it, but thoſe who are taught to write, it is by drawing letters upon ſand, thin ſpread upon the ground; firſt they begin to form them with their finger, and after they can do that tolerably well, they try their art upon *Tallipot* leaves with an iron bodkin. Upon thoſe leaves all their books are written, and ſtrung between 2 boards. The leaves for a book being cut about 3 fingers in breadth. They write from the left hand to the right, as the *Europeans*. Moſt of their books are either divinity or aſtronomy; the former of which comes under the head of religion; of which by and by.

Aſtronomy. They are pretty well skill'd in aſtronomy, eſpecially their upper order of prieſts, ſuch as the king's father formerly mention'd. But, as all the *Indian* nations do, they pervert it to judicial aſtrology, calculating nativities, and telling fortunes, which has one unhappy conſequence, that they make no bones of deſtroying a child, who, as their prieſts tell them, is born under an unlucky planet. As to their magical art, I ſhall only ſay, that I believe there may be *Friar Bacons* and Dr. *Fauſtus*'s in *Ceylon*, as there were here of old, when a man muſt have lain under the odium of having dealt with the devil, becauſe he had the impudence to have more ſenſe and learning than his betters.

Diviſion of time. They divide the year into 365 days, 12 months, 52 weeks, (every week conſiſting of 7 days) as we do, and inſtead of our leap year, they begin their year, ſometimes upon the 27th of *March*, and ſometimes upon the 28th or 29th. They have no clocks, (except the flower formerly mention'd) but the king has a copper diſh which holds a pint, with a ſmall hole in the bottom, which put into a veſſel full of water, ſinks gradually as the water riſes in it, and when it goes to the bottom, there is one appointed to take it out, and ſet it as at firſt, and the diſtance of time, between its being ſet upon the water, and its ſinking down, is call'd a *Pay*, 30 of which make the day, and as many the night; for their days and nights muſt be equal the whole year round, by their poſition.

Phyſick. As to phyſick, they know it not; only they are well acquainted with ſuch herbs and roots as ſerve for curing wounds, and bites or ſtings of venemous creatures. And ſometimes they purge and vomit themſelves; every body being his own phyſician. But they have antidotes againſt

gainſt all poiſons, which they make uſe of with ſurprizing ſucceſs. But, a Mr. *Salmon* obſerves, they ſing to the patient to keep him awake, which makes *Europeans* think they cure by conjuration.

Religion. The religion of the *Chingulays* is Pagan. But, as the moſt ſenſible men of the Heathen world, in all countries, believ'd a ſupreme Deity, paramount to all others; ſo the *Chingulays* profeſs to worſhip one *Supreme* God, whom they call *Oſſa Pella Maupt Dio*, or the *Creator of heaven and earth*, and they acknowledge, that he ſtill rules and governs the univerſe. But as they have not a juſt notion of his *Omniſcience*, they ſay, that this *Supreme Being* governs the world by *inferior Deities*, as their king does the provinces by his *Diſſauvas*.

Theſe inferior deities are of two ſorts. One ſort are a ſet of kind benevolent gods, appointed by the *Great Creator* to do good to mankind, and to reward them for vertue; the others are malignant, cruel, ſpiteful beings, authoriz'd by *Oſſa Pella* to puniſh them for their vices. Both theſe they canonize of perſons who are ſuppos'd, ſome time or other, to have liv'd in the iſland; the firſt ſort of gods being ſuch as were vertuous, and the other the wicked.

Their idol Buddou. The moſt eſteem'd, of the firſt ſort, is *Buddou*, ſaid to have ſpent moſt of his time under the *Bogaha* tree, formerly mention'd. This *Buddou*, *Riberius* is of opinion, might have been St. *Thomas* the apoſtle, who, by tradition, introduc'd the goſpel into the ſouth parts of *India*. For, by the accounts of the *Chingulays*, *Buddou* liv'd much about the time of the diſperſion of the firſt apoſtles to propagate Chriſtianity. They likewiſe ſay, that he was a ſtranger, and that he left them, and died on the continent. The ſame author ſays, that there are ſome remains of the Chriſtian eccleſiaſtical government, ſuch as dividing the country into diſtricts, ſince call'd dioceſes, with a biſhop over each diſtrict.

Their principles. They believe the immortality of the ſoul, the reſurrection, and a future ſtate, the firſt and laſt of which the wiſeſt and beſt of heathens always held; *it being reſerv'd for our modern, polite Chriſtians, to have the privilege of degrading humane nature to a degree below the brutes*, at leaſt more unhappy than they, as they moſt certainly are, if thoſe two fundamental articles muſt be ſtruck out of the creed. They are ſtrenuous aſſertors of *Fate*, which we call *Predeſtination*. They are very charitable, and lay aſide a certain quantity of rice for the poor, out of every meaſure they make uſe of themſelves. Nor do they ſtint their charity to thoſe of their own religion. Indeed, the great inſtances of vertue among them are ſum'd up in beſtowing liberally to their prieſts, offering ſacrifices, in forbearing to ſhed the blood of any creature, in abſtaining from eating fleſh. (But this laſt is a ſupererogation, which few of the laity ſtick to, and is only reckon'd a greater degree of perfection in one that does) and in ſweeping under the ſacred tree above-mention'd; nor do they ſhut the vertues of juſtice, tempeance, and chaſtity, out of their liſt.

Worſhip of the ſun, moon, and ſtars. Beſides theſe gods, who liv'd upon earth, they worſhip the ſun and moon, as appears from the names they give them, which, Mr. *Knox* tells us, import, *the God-Sun*, *the God-Moon*. They worſhip other planets, altho' they do not give them the ſame title.

Temples. They have innumerable temples to their idols. Of which their old ones are of excellent workmanſhip, which the moderns can no way imitate. The *Portugueſes* defaced ſeveral of them, which were built of hewen ſtone, with many images and figures, in *Relievo*, cut upon them. The modern temples are only built of clay and ſticks, and have no windows.

Images. The idols, or images, ſome of ſilver, others of braſs, are monſtrous in ſhape and ſize. In ſome temples they are like men, with bulls horns and tails. They are adorn'd with ſwords, ſpears, arrows, bills, and other arms; except *Buddou*, who, being a god of peace, is repreſented in a coloſſean form of a man, ſitting croſs-leg'd, with a yellow coat, his hair friz-led, and his hands before him, like a woman's.

But, beſides the publick temples, there are a vaſt many private chapels, built by particular perſons for their own devotion, ſome of which are not above 2 foot ſquare, rais'd from the ground 3 or 4 foot, reſting upon a pillar, like a little pigeon-houſe. In this they put an image to repreſent *Buddou*, with candles or lamps lighted round it, and freſh flowers put every morning before it, and ſometimes victuals.

Prieſts of different orders. Their prieſts are of 3 orders. 1. The *Tirinanxies*, who are all noble, and have temples and convents, which they call *Vehars*, well endow'd with land, which yields them a handſome maintenance; for they let it at a certain rent, and their tenants, as well as they, ſit at their eaſe, all the church lands being exempted from all taxes payable to the crown. But all of this order have not the ſame authority. For, only 3 or 4 are ſuperiors, and the reſt are call'd *Gonni*. Their habit is the ſame, *viz.* a yellow garment from the middle down to their feet, ty'd about the waiſt with packthread, and a piece of

1. Tirinanxies.

the ſame over the left ſhoulder. They go bare headed, and their heads ſhav'd; with an umbrello of *Talipot* leaf, which they have a privilege to put over their head, with the broad part before; and in any houſe, where they eat, their victuals are ſet before them, cover'd with a white cloth; which two honours are peculiar to the king and the *Tirinanxies*. They do no work, nor may they touch a woman, nor drink wine. They eat one meal a day, and that fleſh, if preſented to them; but they muſt not ſo much as conſent to the killing any animal. They may eat fruit, or herbs, at night or morning. They may renounce their order at pleaſure, which is done only by ſtripping off their coat, and throwing it into a river, and waſhing their whole body; and then they may marry.

This ſuperior order is held ſo ſacred, that the king himſelf cannot puniſh them for any crime. At leaſt, it was ſo, before the *Tirinanxi*'s ſon came to the throne; but he taught them, (and juſtly too, if he was the *rightful king*) that no coat ought to ſcreen a rebel; for, when ſome of that order join'd the rebels, and, putting off their habit, appear'd in arms againſt him, he cut off their heads, to the amazement of the vulgar, but with good ſenſe and wiſe council. [For, where the clergy, or any conſiderable body of them, turn rebels, they are the greateſt trumpeters of ſedition, of any ſet of men in any nation; from the influence they have upon the laity, till they once come to find out, that worldly intereſt is the main ſpring of their actions, and then they are deſpis'd; but the miſchief is done. I would not be thought to have any inclination to imitate my countryman Dr. *Gilbert* in laying load upon the clergy. I thank GOD I have a greater regard for the order, than to give the leaſt handle to ſuch as have no affection for religion to beſpatter them. But, *as the corruption of the beſt things is the worſt*, a biſhop or prieſt who renounces his juſt allegiance to his ſovereign is the execration of mankind, and the plague of a nation; and I ſhall neither be afraid nor aſhamed to give it under my hand at any time, that ſuch do not deſerve kindneſs or reſpect; nor ſhould I wonder if I ſaw them under the utmoſt contempt, altho' they had by their intereſt eſcap'd hanging. But, the excellent doctrine of the *Church* of *England*, with regard to *Loyalty*, will, for ever, preſerve the clergy, *if they live up to it*, from any imputation of this kind; and obliges me to make an apology for having mentioned it.

After this order, (which belongs properly to the idol *Buddou*, altho' they are likewiſe concerned in all the worſhip they pay to the *ſupreme* GOD, as we ſhall ſhew by and by,) there is

A ſecond order call'd *Koppuhs*, who are the prieſts of the other inferior gods of the benevolent kind, whoſe temples are call'd *Dewalls*. Theſe are not diſtinguiſhed by any peculiar habit, but by their waſhings before they perform any religious ſervice. They have ſmall pieces of land appropriated to the *Dewall*, by which, together with the offerings to the idols, they make a ſhift to live. They may likewiſe follow other employments; and only attend at the accuſtom'd hours for worſhip, eſpecially *wedneſdays* and *ſaturdays*.

The third order are the *Jaddeſes*. Theſe are the prieſts of ill natur'd gods, which they call *Deyautum*, and their temples *Covils*. They have no revenues, but live as others do. Nor have they any form of being ordain'd; but every one that is able and willing builds a *Covil*, and becomes prieſts of it. As theſe temples, and the prieſts belonging to them, are deſign'd for the worſhip of their malignant deities, and that the *Chingulays* believe that thoſe wicked ſpirits are appointed, by *Oſſa Pella*, to afflict them; and as people are naturally more given to pray for averting or removing of miſchief, than to give thanks for benefits; the *Covils* are oftener viſited than either the *Vehars* or *Dewalls*: Their common ſacrifice is a red cock. But they do not offer it, but upon condition. For, when any one is ſick, or under any other affliction, he ſends for the *Jaddeſe* neareſt to him, whoſe *Covil* is dedicated to the idol he wants to offer to, and preſenting the cock to him, they deſire him to dedicate it to ſuch an idol, whom they imagine to be the author of their trouble. The prieſt takes the cock in his hand, with an arrow, and tells the idol, calling him by his name, that, *if he will relieve the party afflicted, he ſhall have that cock, ſacrificed at his Covil.* Then the cock is ſuffered to go with the reſt of the poltry, till they ſee the event, and if it happens well, the *Jaddeſe* ſends for his cock.

Their *Covils* are adorn'd with figures of *Savage* men and all deſtroying weapons, as being dedicated to the ſpirits of the worſt people that they remember or have heard to have liv'd among them. And the more cruel a man has been in his life, he has the more worſhipers after death.

Theſe *Jaddeſes* pretend to be inſpir'd, when people are ſuch fools as to inquire future events, or to ask advice about any thing they have to do, the prieſts take up ſome weapon or inſtrument belonging to the idol, and working themſelves, by antic motions, either into a real or pretended frenzy, they give anſwers, which are taken for oracles.

But as there are many of thoſe *Evil Genii*

Genii worſhip'd among them, they are at a loſs to know which of them is the tormentor. To find out this, they hang a pair of ſcizzars upon a bow ſtring and keep the ſtring ſtretch'd, perhaps, by bending the bow, and then they call over the muſter roll of their malignant gods, and when the ſtring ſhakes or vibrates, that is the idol who muſt have the cock. [This puts me in mind of the vain and wicked charm uſed, in my country, of the *Sieve* and the *Shears* (as they commonly call ſcizzars) to find out which, of all the perſons nam'd, is the thief. And the notion that the common people had not long ago, of the certainty of this charm, made many guilty perſons confeſs and reſtore privately, rather than be expos'd by what they believ'd the infallible oracle of *Sieve* and *Shears*.] But as to our authors ſaying that thoſe gods of theirs us'd to bawl out, and frighten both men and beaſts, and that he had heard them himſelf, I ſhall leave the reader to conjecture, whether it was the idol or his prieſts that made the noiſe. But the method they took to ſilence the devil, was to bawl out, in a menacing tone, and bid him *Be damn'd*, or ſome other angry expreſſion to that effect.

But, beſides their occaſional devotions, and the weekly ones, which were generally *Wedneſdays* and *Saturdays*, they had ſolemn anniverſary feſtivals.

1. Paraker. The firſt is call'd *Paraker*, and ſeems to be the only devotion they pay to the *Supreme* CREATOR. It is kept in *June* or *July*. I ſuppoſe, according as the new moon happens, towards the end of one, or the beginning of the other, and is celebrated in the following manner, at *Candi*.

A ſolemn proceſſion The chief prieſt brings forth a painted ſtick, ſet round with ſtreamers, flowers, and ribbons, to which all the people bow in ſign of adoration, and offer gifts as they think fit; which the prieſt having ſent to the temple from whence he came, mounts an elephant, with the ſtick over his ſhoulder, where he ſits with a cloth about his mouth, to prevent his breathing upon the ſtick, which is the only repreſentation they make of the *Supreme Being*.

The proceſſion begins with 40 or 50 elephants led along the ſtreets, all hung with bells, which gingle as they move. Then follow a number of men dreſs'd up in antic garbs, repreſenting the ancient race of giants. Theſe dance about after the elephants, being interlin'd by a tribe of drums, trumpets, and pipers, who make muſick proper for the giants dancing. Then follows the elephant before mention'd, with the prieſt who carries the ſtick, behind whom, upon the ſame elephant, ſits another prieſt, holding an umbrello over the ſtick, and the prieſt's head who holds it upon his ſhoulder. As attendants upon the *Great* DEITY, two elephants follow in a breaſt, at a yard diſtance. Each of theſe has two prieſts. Two of the four carry the images of two ſubordinate gods, and the other two umbrello's over them. Round theſe three elephants are a multitude of women as finely dreſt as they can, who are all cooks, with long whisks to drive away the flies. And after them a great number of ladies of the beſt quality, in their richeſt attire, by three in a rank, having each other by the hand. And after them the nobility and king's officers, with their attendants and ſoldiers. The king us'd to attend this proceſſion; but did not while our author was there. And it was obſerv'd, as he ſays, that he forbade it in 1664, ſoon after which the rebellion happen'd, which was look'd upon as a judgment for his contempt of religion.

This proceſſion continues from the new to the full moon, and is perform'd once every day, and repeated at night, during that time; all the ſtreets being adorn'd with ſtreamers and enſigns, in the beſt manner, hung upon poles, and all illuminated at night.

But our author tells us, that a day or two before the new moon they have a ſuperſtition, too ridiculous for him to deſcribe, perform'd with dancing and jugling, to charm the demons to their *Covels*, leſt they ſhould diſturb the proceſſions.

Cawtha Pawjah. They have another feſtival, at the full moon in *November*, which laſts only one night, and conſiſts in illuminations, hanging lamps (upon the longeſt poles they can cut out of the woods) before the temples and the king's palace. The poles are ſet with lamps from bottom to top. This feaſt is call'd *Cawtha-Pawjah*.

But their favourite idol *Buddou* has more conſtant worſhip paid him. For, ſome or other make preſents to the *Vehars* every new and full moon, ſuch as images of ſilver, braſs, clay, or ſtone, in honour of him. And ſometimes they put thoſe images in rocks and caves, and carry victuals to them at ſuch times.

Buddou's feſtivals. But his ſolemn feaſt is at the new year. This is not perform'd at any temple dedicated to him, but at a certain mountain, or under a tree. All who are able to go to the mountain, which they call *Hammaletta*, but the *Portugueſes* gave it the name of *Pico d'Adamo*, or *Adam's Peak*. It is the higheſt mountain in the whole iſland, and has, upon the top, the print of a foot; which, our author ſays, they belive to have been made by *Buddou*, when he went up to heaven; and this they worſhip with great devotion.

The print of his foot at Adam's Peak.

This

[This account contradicts that of *Ribeirus*, formerly mention'd, of *Buddou*'s dying on the continent.] At the print of this foot they offer gifts and sacrifices.

But they who cannot, without great inconvenience, go to the mountain, which is in the south part of the island, a great way from *Candi*, make their devotions at the tree near *Annorodgburro*, sacred to *Buddou*. This tree, according to them, flew over the sea and a great part of the island, having left its own first station upon the coast of *Malabar*, to fix itself there. [As *Joseph*'s house, or, at least, the *B. Virgin*'s oratory, belonging to it, removed from *Judea* to *Loretto*, to the great edification of Christians, by easing many of good sums of pernicious money, and giving others an opportunity of wholsome exercise, by travelling a-foot, to pay their devotions to it.]

His tree, which flew thro' the air, to Ceylon.

Near this tree, the very individual tree, where *Buddou* rested 1700 years ago, (as truly as the chapel of *Loretto* is the very oratory of the *Blessed Virgin*, and as well attested) temples were built in former times, but are now in ruins. But the worshippers of *Buddou* resort to it, at new year's tide, carrying rice, oyl, cotton, and money, to offer to him. And before the time of beginning their journey, the ladies of the highest quality send their maids, drest in their richest apparel, to beg rice, oyl, and cotton yarn, for him. And the ladies of inferior rank go about in person upon the same errand. And poor people make a little image of this idol, which they carry on the palm of their hand, to beg with; which procures them large alms, the house-keepers adoring the image, and giving liberally to the carrier, for which he returns his blessing in these terms. *Let the blessing of the* gods *and the* Buddou *go along with you; let your corn ripen, your cattle encrease, and your life be long.*

Private chapels.

But, altho' this miraculous tree at *Annorodgburro* is the great place of stated worship, they, at other times, dedicate small chapels at other *Bogahah* trees, and set up images in them of wood or metal. And our author observes, that when an artist in wood, or any other matter, is about making the image, it may be tos'd about his shop as a common thing, altho' it be quite finish'd, to the eyes, which are always the last part done; but as soon as those are made, as if that gave it an inherent holiness, they worship it, and carry it with great solemnity to the shrine.

Those chapels are, in some places, built quite round, with booths, leaving a void space between the tree and the booths, of about 12 foot, for the dancers. Those booths are made for the ladies, who go thither upon all occasions, to see the dancing and *Leger demain* tricks, as well as for devotion.

By our author's account of the king's contempt of the religion of his people, from the notorious impotence of their gods; and by his willingness to submit to a more rational religion, shew'd by his encouraging an impostor who preach'd up an *Unknown God*, ('till he discover'd that he was, under colour of religion, aiming at royalty) and from his indulgence to Christians in several parts of his dominion, it is highly probable, that if the *Portugueses* had not attempted to enslave his country, the known zeal of the missionaries for propagating Christianity might have prevail'd with him to submit to instruction. As for the *Dutch*, no body ever expected that they should convert any nation; their behaviour every where in the *Indian* ocean being so very great a scandal upon Christianity, that the story which is told of the *American, that he would rather go to hell with his* ancestors, *than to heaven to live with* Spaniards, may justly have been applied to the *Dutch* and said by the *Indians* in *Sumatra*, *Java*, the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, *Amboina*, *Ceylon*, and indeed wherever they have been: I am sorry that their behaviour should have put it out of the power of others to have perform'd the charitable work of converting the *Indians*. But I hope it is not yet too late. I shall conclude the account of the religion of *Ceylon* with a hearty prayer to Almighty GOD, that *he would put it into the hearts of those, in whose power it may be, to rectify what has been amiss, in the management of the* INDIAN *affairs, and that they may sincerely labour to propagate* CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, *as well as to retrieve the* English *trade, in all their settlements abroad.*

Marriages.

As to the marriages in this island, we have a very odd account. Our author represents all the women in a very odd light, which I am very unwilling to believe. He says, they are all whores, which I think is impossible in any part of the world. Custom may, in a great measure, take off that shame, which restrains many women from a loose way of living. But it cannot be imagined, that, in a whole country, there should not be some women who love their husbands, and are belov'd by them: And that alone will keep them honest, if no other consideration can. And indeed *Mandelslo* gives them quite another character. He says, that, altho' they go with their breasts bare, (according to the custom of the country) they are very modest both in their dress and conversation, ----- and are good housewives.

After having represented them as very free

free of their fleſh, and that with their parents conſent, if not command, before marriage, only with reſtriction, that they muſt not grant favours to men beneath their rank. [A conſideration, which ſeems to obtain in this part of the world, where the whore of a man with a high title, does not ſeem to be degraded, but meets with ſuperior reſpect from what ſhe could have claim'd by being honeſt.] Our author Mr. *Knox* ſays, they make a ſort of marriage by the mediation of their parents, without any religious ceremony; but after the bridegroom ſends, or carries ſix or ſeven yards of calicoe and a waiſt-coat, according to the rank of the perſon, they live as man and wife, till one of them is tir'd, and then they part with as little ceremony as ſome others do, and both provide themſelves of other bed-fellows: And if there be any children in the caſe, the males follow the husband, (for if our accounts are true we cannot call him their father) and the females the mother. He tells us many other ſtories of the women in this iſland, which I forbear to retail from him, becauſe I believe he was miſinform'd; and I beg pardon of my female readers for having ſaid ſo much.

Their manner of treating their dead is different according to the rank of the perſon. The ordinary ſort, after they have waſh'd the corps, and the women have bawl'd over it for a night or two, with their hair looſe, the men ſtanding by ſighing, they carry it to the neareſt wood, wrapt in a linnen cloth, and digging a hole, bury it; and a day or two after, they ſend for the prieſt, who ſings ſome hymns, and prays for the ſoul, for which he is well rewarded, becauſe they have had the art to make them believe, that their deceas'd friend is treated well or ill, in the world of ſpirits, in proportion to their rewarding the prieſts here.

The bodies of great men are burnt upon piles of wood 4 foot high, with canopies over the corps, with flags and ſtreamers, according to their *Caſt*, or tribe. The king's officers muſt not be burnt without an order from court; and becauſe that is ſometimes tedious in coming, they bowel and embalm the corps, and bury it in the floor, taking it up and burning it, when the king's order comes. If they have no order, it lies there.

Having thus given the reader as ſuccinct an account as we could of the ſubſtance of what Mr. *Knox* and others have told us of the iſland of *Ceylon*, we ſhould proceed to

The Maldivia Islands. But having treated as fully of them, in the voyage of *Perard De la Val*, * as the ſmall conſequence they are of to trade ſeems to deſerve, we ſhall not trouble the reader with any further account of them, but refer him to the *French Voyages*, eſpecially that now mention'd, and the place mark'd in the margin, and ſo conclude this long chapter.

*Un. Tr. p. 467, & ſeq.

CHAP. XII.

Of Turky *in* Asia.
Taken from Purchas, Sandys, Tavernier, Thevenot, Salmon, *and others.*

THE *Turkiſh* empire is ſo wonderfully extended, by the divine permiſſion, for the puniſhment of wicked Chriſtians, and the ſupine negligence of others, that many, once flouriſhing, *Churches*, are now turn'd to *Mahometan Moſques*, and the countries once bleſs'd with the goſpel in its primitive purity, where our. B. Saviour and his apoſtles confirm'd the truth of their doctrine by miracles, are now under a miſerable ſlavery to the *Ottoman* power; and, which is worſe, the Chriſtians, who are ſuffer'd to live among the *Turks*, are ſo far from improving by perſecution, as their predeceſſors, the glorious martyrs of the firſt ages, did, that they are over-run with ignorance and ſuperſtition, and, which is more unaccountable, in their unhappy circumſtances, with a ſpirit of envy, hatred, and malice, towards one another.

Altho' our deſign, at preſent, is to confine ourſelves to *Aſia*, yet the *Turks* having large territories both in *Africa* and *Europe*, as well as in *Aſia*, we ſhall give the reader a full view of the whole *Turkiſh* dominion in its utmoſt extent, reſerving the particular deſcription of thoſe countries, ſubject to them, in *Africa* and *Europe*, to the ſecond volume of our Traveller, which we intend (GOD willing) to publiſh, as we have done this, without any interruption.

The *Turkiſh Empire* is divided into

Division of the Turkish empire. three parts, with respect to the three parts of the world, *viz. Turky* in *Asia*, *Turky* in *Africa*, and *Turky* in *Europe*.

Turky *in* Asia, *Turky* in *Asia*, according to Mr. *Gordon's Geographical Grammar*, comprehends six great divisions, *viz. Natolia*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Diarbeck*, *Turcomania*, and *Georgia*, with the islands.

in Africa. *Turky* in *Africa*, according to the same author, consists of *Egypt*, part of *Barbary*, and part of *Bildudgeril*. But Mr. *Salmon* confines it to *Egypt*, because, as he observes, altho' the coast of *Barbary* is reckon'd among the *Turkish* dominions, the several princes are independent of the *Grand Signor*.

in Europe. *Turky* in *Europe* is, by Mr. *Gordon*, divided into two classes, *viz.* that part of it which lies north of the *Danube*, comprehending *Hungary*, *Transilvania*, *Vallachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Lesser Tartary*. And 2. That part of it which is south of the *Danube*, including *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Greece*.

Turky in *Asia*, the subject of this last chapter of our first volume, comprehends, as we have said, six great divisions, above-nam'd; and lies, according to the *Geographical Grammar*, between 12 deg. and 46 n. latitude; and between 27 and 60 deg. of longitude from the meridian of *London*; and is in length from n. e. to s. w. 2100 miles, and in breadth from n. to s. 1740 miles. But Mr. *Salmon*, by cutting off the south *Arabia* from it, places the *Turkish Asia* between 29 and 45 deg. of latitude, and gives a particular description of *Arabia* by itself. But, considering that a great part of it is subject to the *Turkish* empire, and a much greater under the sultan's influence; and that in the accounts already given of Sir *Henry Middleton*, and other *English* voyages to the *Red Sea*, the most southern parts of it were subject to the *Turkish* government, we shall follow Mr. *Gordon's* division of *Turky* in *Asia*, only taking notice, when we come to *Arabia*, what part of it is subject, and what part independent of the *Grand Signor*. We therefore begin with

SECT. I.

Of NATOLIA.

THERE being, for method's sake, a necessity of beginning from one of the cardinal points, we shall, with Mr. *Gordon*, first treat of *Natolia*, as being the most northerly part of the *Turk's* dominions in *Asia*, except *Georgia*, which, not being entirely subject to the *Turks*, we shall leave to the last.

Natolia, call'd *Anatolia*, from the *Greek* word which signifies *East*, formerly went under the general name of *Asia minor*, and is bounded on the north by the *Black Sea*, and the *Thracian Bosphorus*; on the east by *Georgia* and *Turcomania*, or more easily, by the famous river *Euphrates*; on the south by the *Mediterranean* sea, and on the west by the *Archipelago*, or that cluster of isles which lie between *Candy* island and *Constantinople*. Mr. *Salmon* divides *Natolia* into 4 parts, *viz. Natolia proper*, in the western part of *Asia minor*; *Amasia* towards the northern parts; *Aladulia* towards the east, and *Carmania* towards the south. *Its situation and division.*

Natolia proper comprehends many ancient kingdoms, *viz. Bythinia*, *Mysia*, *Phrygia minor*, *Æolis*, *Jonia*, *Caria*, *Doris*, *Lydia*, *Phrygia major*, *Galatia*, and *Paphlagonia*. In these kingdoms there were many cities famous in the histories of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as also in the accounts of the primitive church; which we shall take notice of as we treat of the kingdoms and provinces particularly. 1. Natolia proper.

2. *Amasia* contains the *Galatian Pontus*, the *Polemonian Pontus*, and the *Cappadocian Pontus*. 2. Amasia

3. *Aladulia* comprehends *Cappadocia*, and a part of *Armenia the Lesser*. 3. Aladulia.

4. *Caramania* contains the ancient *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Pysidia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Cilicia*. Of which in order. 4. Caramania.

Natolia proper is the largest district of what was anciently the *Lesser Asia*, lies upon the west side of it, between the *Euxine* or *Black* sea, along the side of the *Archipelagus*, and reaches from north to south the whole tract of land between the *Euxine* and *Mediterranean* seas; dividing *Asia minor* almost in a strait line, and bounded by the south-west part of the *Euxine*, the *Thracian Bosphorus*, or *Streight* of *Constantinople*, the *Archipelago*, and part of the *Mediterranean*, call'd by the *Turks* the *White Sea*.

We observ'd before, that *Natolia proper* is divided into 10 parts, which, of old, were kingdoms, or large provinces. We shall here give the geography of them, in the clearest manner we can, because the change of names, and the inaccuracy of maps, make them less distinguishable than could be wish'd.

1. *Pontus* (to which we shall join *Paphlagonia* as a part) was once so famous a kingdom, in *Pompey* the great's time, that *Mithridates*, the king of it, gave the *Romans* a great deal of trouble to conquer it. This country lies from the middle of the south-coast of the *Euxine* sea as far west as *Cappadocia*, (of which we have, in our modern maps, no remains to know it by, but *Tocat*, the ancient *Neocæsarea*) *viz.* between that and *Bithynia*, not far east of the city of *Nice*. This once famous kingdom is bounded on the 1. Pontus and Paphlagonia.

the south with *Galatia*; so that it is as far north as any part of *Asia minor*.

We should never have done with our Travellr, if we should pretend to give the history of the several kingdoms, which compose this part of the *Turkish* empire, of which the Holy Scripture, and the *Greek* and *Latin* historians, are so full. We shall content ourselves with hinting, as we go along, at any remarkable things that we remember in history, either sacred or prophane, to have happen'd at or near any place we shall have occasion to mention.

Monsieur *Tavernier* travell'd thro' this province in his first journey to *Persia* from *Constantinople*. He tells us of his travelling over some mountains, after he left *Nice*, and then passing by the lake *Chaban-Gigul*, about 10 leagues in circuit. Coming afterwards to *Ada*, (without doubt, a town in *Pontus*, by the route he took) he found excellent wine, and other refreshments. The greatest part of the inhabitants were *Armenians*. He speaks of several rivers in this country, well stor'd with excellent fish, one sort of which is speckled like a trout, but of a more delicate taste. He says it is an excellent soil, and produces all things necessary for life. The pigeons were as big as hens, and delicious food. He saw many burying places of the *Turks* near the high way, (as their manner is) and the sepulchres of the men had a turbant on the top, and those of the women a representation of what they wear on their heads.

Chief towns.

The chief towns in *Pontus* are *Heraclea*, now *Penderachi*, upon the coast of the *Black Sea*, towards the west. *Amastris*, now *Semastra*, farther east upon the same coast, at the mouth of the river *Parthenius*. *Claudiopolis*, now *Castromena*, farther up in the country. The towns proper to *Paphlagonia* are *Teuthrania*, now *Tripoli* upon the coast, and *Sinope*, which in former times was the metropolis of all the dominions of *Mithridates*. This city is inhabited by none but *Turks*; for, it being a place of strength, having a double wall and towers quite round it, they oblige the *Greeks* and *Jews* to live in the suburbs. In this city *Mithridates* was born, and bury'd. And there also, in latter times, the *Isfendi*, a noble family of *Turks*, having taken it from the *Comneni*, kept their ground, 'till they were subdued by sultan *Mahomet* II. It is said to have been built by the *Milesians*, and to have continued a free state (after the *Grecian* manner) 'till it was taken by *Pharnaces*, king of *Pontus*, and became the metropolis of that kingdom. That part of the *Pontic* dominion, call'd *Paphlagonia*, is bounded on the east by the river *Halys*, and on the west by *Parthenius*; the first of which rivers is famous for the cheating oracle given to *Crœsus*.

1. Heraclea.

2. *Bythinia*, now call'd *Besangil*, joins to *Pontus* on the west, by the river *Sangarius*, now *Sangri*. From the mouth of that river it runs upon the south-west coast of the *Black Sea* to *Constantinople*; where the *Thracian Bosphorus* (as the streight of *Constantinople* was call'd of old) divides *Asia* from *Europe*. From thence it runs along the coast of the *Bosphorus*, which, with part of the *Propontis*, bounds it on the west; and is bounded by *Phrygia minor* and *Mysia* towards the south. It was call'd by some writers, as *Heylin* says, the *Asian Thracia*; and *Metapontus*, for its neighbourhood to *Pontus Euxinus* and the *Pontic* kingdom.

2. Bythinia.

Rivers in this district.

The rivers in this part of *Asia minor*, are *Phillis* and *Sangri*, which discharge their flood into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*; and *Ascanius*, which runs into the *Propontis*, south from *Constantinople*.

Cities.

The chief towns of *Bythinia* were, 1. *Scutari*, the old *Chrysopolis*, so call'd from the tribute of *Asia minor* being brought to this town in gold, for their masters, the kings of *Persia*. This city is just opposite to *Constantinople*, and garrison'd by the *Turks*. 2. *Chalcedon*, once a famous city, and a colony of the *Megarenses*. The situation of it was so pleasant, not being three miles from *Scutari*, that *Constantine* began to build his chief seat there, 'till he was induced to fix upon *Byzantium*, as is said, by miracle. This city was famous for the IVth general council, held there in the year 451; but is now a poor village. 3. *Nicomedia*, about 80 miles south from *Chalcedon*, towards the *Propontis*. It had its name from *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, and was the capital of that kingdom. Here several of the *Roman* emperors resided, when they happen'd to be in *Asia*, before the building of *Constantinople*. It is still a good town, and the place where the *Turks* at *the Port* have their ships built. It is built upon a rising ground, with a fruitful, well-water'd plain near it, and is well peopled, by *Christians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, who have their respective places of worship, and have good trade, particularly for silk, cotton, and earthen and glass ware. 4. *Libussa*, most remarkable for the death of the great *Hannibal*, who being in danger of being basely given up to the *Romans* by *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, poison'd himself at this place. This town lies between *Nicomedia* and the river *Ascanius*. 5. *Prusa*, (now call'd *Bursa*) built by another *Prusias*, was one of the richest cities in *Natolia*, and afterwards the residence of the *Turkish* kings, 'till *Mahomet* I. remov'd the court to *Adrianople*. It is about 100 miles south

1. Scutari

2. Chalcedon.

3. Nicomedia.

4. Libussa.

5. Prusa.

south of *Conſtantinople*, near the foot of mount *Olympus*, from which it is ſo well water'd, that almoſt every houſe has a fountain belonging to it. The ſilk of the country near it is reckon'd the beſt in *Turky*. The famous baths of *Calipſa* are not above a mile from *Burſa*, where the hot bath muſt be temper'd with cold to make people able to bear it. There are different apartments, floor'd and cruſted with marble, for the cold and hot baths; and people come 100 miles for the cures perform'd by them.

Baths of Calipſa.

6. Nice. Not far from *Burſa* is, 6. *Nice*, (now *Iſnich* by the *Turks*) firſt call'd *Antigonia*, after *Antigonius*, its founder; but afterwards *Nicæa*, from the wife of *Lyſimachus*, the moſt renown'd, and the longeſt ſurvivor of all *Alexander*'s captains, who, in the diviſion of his conqueſts, had *Thrace*, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, for his ſhare. It ſtands on the lake made by the river *Aſcanius*, ſouth-eaſt of *Nicomedia*. This was anciently a fine city, and was afterwards the reſidence of the *Greek* emperors, when they were thruſt out of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*. It was here, where the great firſt *General Council* was held, under *Conſtantine* the great, in the year 325, [where ſome prieſts and others, much cried up in later days, would have been degraded and excommunicated, and their heterodox perverſions of the Holy Scriptures would have been condemn'd, as they deſerve, to the flames. In this council, (which was an aſſembly of the wiſeſt, moſt learned, and moſt pious biſhops, that ever met together in one place, ſince the *Apoſtolic Council* of *Jeruſalem*) after allowing *Arius* a fair hearing, and examining the arguments for both ſides of the queſtion, they (unanimouſly) decreed, that *Arius*'s opinion was falſe and blaſphemous, and condemn'd him with one conſent. And then eſtabliſh'd the true Chriſtian doctrine of the *Divinity of* CHRIST in ſuch terms, as it was not poſſible for an *Arian* to evade; and which no man of common honeſty can, with a ſafe conſcience, ſubſcribe to, unleſs he believes *that* CHRIST *is* GOD EQUAL *with the* FATHER. And whoever does ſubſcribe the doctrine taught, in that council, as all who are ordain'd, or enjoy any benefice in the church of *England*, muſt do, and yet do not believe the divinity of the SON *of* GOD, in the terms of the *Council* of *Nice*, not only perjure themſelves at the time they ſubſcribe the articles, but repeat that perjury every day, while they hold any living by virtue of that firſt ſubſcription. How ſuch perſons, if any ſuch there be, can be reckon'd men of *honeſty* and *ſincerity*, is what I cannot reconcile to the ſimplicity and integrity of a *Chriſtian*, and I dare be bold to ſay, that it is unworthy of the character of a *Chriſtian Prieſt*. I hope none of my readers will be offended at this digreſſion; but if they are, it will ſhew, that there is more reaſon to inſiſt upon arguments of this kind than every body believes. I hope to ſee this matter handled where it ought to be; and that an honeſt *Engliſh Convocation* will do juſtice to Chriſtianity in general, and to this church in particular, by ſuch cenſures upon the ſpreaders of *Hereſy*, (either privately or publickly) as becomes ſuch a body, aſſembled in the name of *Chriſt*.]

A digreſſion concerning the firſt and ſecond councils of Nice.

There was another council held at this place in 787, commonly call'd the ſecond *Council* of *Nice*, aſſembled by the contrivance of the empreſs *Irene*. But it was not of a piece with the firſt, either for the wiſdom, or integrity of the biſhops; who, to engratiate themſelves with that hypocritical pretended defendreſs of the faith, gave up the purity of the Chriſtian doctrine; many of them ſubſcribing to the *worſhip of images*, againſt the light of their own conſciences. So that the *ſecond Council* of *Nice* was as unlike the firſt, as *Irene*'s right, by the wicked means ſhe us'd to graſp at power which ſhe was not born to, was inferior ro that of *Conſtantine*, and as the vertue of the then biſhops was ſhort of that of their predeceſſors. But enough of councils.

We have ſaid that the *Greek* emperors reſided at *Nice*, after they were diſpoſſeſs'd of *Conſtantinople* by the *Romans*, which happen'd about the year 1200, and they remain'd there 'till *Michael Palæologus*, ſome 60 years after, having recover'd the ancient city from the *Latins*, remov'd from *Nice* to *Conſtantinople*. But in 1299, the city of *Nice* became a prey to the *Turks*.

Olympus, which lies near the two cities laſt nam'd, towards the ſouth, is of ſuch a heighth, that it is ſeen at *Conſtantinople*, notwithſtanding the diſtance. The top of it is always white with ſnow, by which the country, as far as *Conſtantinople*, is ſupply'd for cooling their drink. But the ſides of the mountain are plentifully cover'd with firs, and other timber, and the valleys below with excellent fruit of different ſorts, and all kinds of fleſh, fiſh, and fowl, and the ground is fertile, and would produce any thing, if it were inhabited by a leſs indolent and lazy generation.

Mount Olympus.

This kingdom of *Bithynia* was in a flouriſhing ſtate in the time of *Philip* of *Macedon*, father of *Alexander*. Nor was it conquer'd, ſays *Heylin*, by *Alexander* himſelf, as lying out of his road to *Perſia*. But I cannot agree to this opinion, becauſe *Arrian* ſays expreſsly, that *Alexander* was at *Ilium*, or *Troy*, at his firſt landing

The kingdom of Bithynia.

landing in *Asia*, that he march'd from thence to the *Granic*, and *Strabo*, as he is quoted in the notes upon *Arrian*'s history, says, that after he had beaten the *Persians* there, he return'd to *Ilium*. And, as he could not march his army that way without being very near the kingdom of *Bithynia*, I can scarce believe that it escap'd his notice. And *Arrian* says he made *Calas* governor of that part of *Asia minor* which submitted to him after the defeat given the *Persians* at *Granic*, and does not say any thing of the *Bithynians* holding out. But, be that as it will, *Bithynia* was a kingdom long after that, and made alliance with the *Romans* in *Mithridates*'s time, and *Nicomedes*, the son of the ungenerous *Prusias*, having been depriv'd of his kingdom by *Mithridates*, was restor'd by the *Romans*, and became their vassal, and his successor of the same name, with the adjunct of *Philometer*, dying without issue, bequeath'd his kingdom to the senate, and *Pontus* having been conquer'd before, they join'd *Bithynia* to it, and made them two together a *Roman* province, which fell to the share of the *Eastern* emperor, and at last to the *Turks*.

3. Phrygia minor.

3. The *Lesser Phrygia* lies south of *Bithynia* along the *Archipelago*, or *Hellespont*, being bounded on the north by the *Propontis*, and part of *Bithynia*; on the east, with *Mysia*, which divides it from the *Greater Phrygia*; on the south by *Æolis*; and on the west by the *Archipelago*.

Troy.

This province was famous for having had the celebrated city of *Troy* in it, the conquest of which by the *Greeks* has been eterniz'd by the two best poets that ever wrote, besides many other historians who have mention'd it. This city stood about the middle of *Phrygia minor*, taken from south to north, placed, in *Moll*'s map, in lat. 39, at the mouth of the river *Scamander*, (likewise call'd *Xanthus*) which taking its rise from mount *Ida*, runs thro' *Mysia*, and empties itself in the *Archipelago* at *Sigæum*, the port town of *Troy*, which was a little farther up the river. We shall not give a long history of this famous city, nor of the people who maintain'd a ten years war against the power of *Greece*, for the sake of a fair lady, that lik'd her gallant better than her husband; which often happens without making such terrible desolation. We shall therefore only say, that after this long siege, the *Greeks* burn'd *Troy*, which continued in ruins, 'till *Alexander*'s expedition against the *Persians*, when he began to repair it; but as he died soon after, the city, begun by him, was finish'd by *Lysimachus*, and call'd by him *Troas Alexandri*; altho' some say *Alexander*'s *Troy* is 4 miles distant from *Priam*'s *Troy*. But we shall not pretend to determine the dispute.

Besides this famous city, there were several others in this province, *viz. Cizicus*, *Lampsacus*, *Abidos*, (northward of *Troy*) and *Assos*, *Pitana*, and *Pergamos*, to the the south. *Assos* and *Pergamus* are both mention'd in the New Testament, and the latter one of St. *John*'s 7 churches.

4, 5. Æolis and Jonia.

4. *Æolis*, and 5. *Jonia*, lie south of *Phrygia minor*, and reach to the *Mediterranean*, or *White Sea*, call'd likewise the *Ægean*. The cities in *Æolis* are, *Elæa*, *Myrina*, *Cuma*, and *Phocæa*. Those of *Jonia* are, *Smyrna*, *Clazomene*, *Colophon*, and *Ephesus*. The last of these was once a very glorious city, and particularly remarkable for the famous temple of *Diana*, one of the wonders of the world. It was the metropolis of the *Roman Asia*, and one of the first bishops seats in it, *Timothy* having been fix'd there by St. *Paul*, who likewise wrote an epistle to the Christians of that city, which makes a part of the canon of the New Testament. But it is now in ruines.

Ephesus.

But we have too great interest in the trade of *Smyrna*, to pass by it without a particular regard.

Smyrna.

Tavernier says this city lies in 38 deg. 45 min. lat. right over against the island of *Schio*, and almost equally distant from *Ephesus* and *Sardis*, the first to the south, and the other to the east of *Smyrn*. This city, another of St. *John*'s 7 churches, our author says, was built like an amphitheatre, upon the descent of an hill, at the upper part of which were to be seen the ruins of many magnificent buildings. There were the remains likewise of a great castle, and of an amphitheatre, where it is said St. *Polycarp*, the worthy bishop of this city, was expos'd to fight with lions. But it run the same fate with *Titus*'s amphitheatre at *Rome*, being destroy'd, to build a fort, to command the river; a more necessary work than building a palace, which was rear'd at *Rome*, upon the ruins of the finest building of the kind in the world.

Towards the sea there was a good town, in our author's time, inhabited for the most part by Christians, many of whom were *Franks*, which is the name the *Turks* give to all *Europeans*. He says there were reckon'd 90,000 souls in *Smyrna* when he was there; of which two thirds were *Turks*, 8000 *Armenians*, 15,000 *Greeks*, 6000 *Jews*, and several *French*, *Italians*, and other *European* traders, each of which has their own consul. Our author says, provisions were very cheap at *Smyrna*; but the worst thing was their being plagued with earthquakes, and unwholsome heats; and there is scarce a year passes without a plague,

in the months of *June* and *July*, and a more deadly malignant fever in *September* and *October*.

This city suffers by earthquakes.

But since Mr. *Tavernier*'s time, *viz.* in the year 1688, there happen'd a dreadful earthquake at *Smyrna*, by which 5000 persons were destroyed by the falling of houses, and the rock opening swallow'd up the castle. This made the *European* merchants hurry out of the town to the island of *Schio*. But after a while they return'd, and the town was repair'd. The houses are but very mean on the outside, being low, with clay walls, for fear of such another earthquake. But the consuls houses, and the publick inns, and other publick buildings, look tolerably well, especially those of the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*.

The port is one of the most commodious in the *Levant*, capable of containing a great fleet, and they are seldom without 100 ships of different nations in it. The city at present is not above 4 miles in circuit, the *Frank* street, lying towards the shore, all inhabited by *European* Christians. The streets are wide, and all sorts of *Asian* and *European* goods expos'd to sale, as if the whole city were one continued *Bazar*, or fair.

There are 17 *Mosques*, two *Greek* churches, one *Armenian* church, and 5 synagogues, three *Latin* convents, *viz.* *Jesuites*, and *Franciscans* of different orders. In this city resides an archbishop of the *Greek*, and a bishop of the *Latin* church, who is supported by a pension from *Rome*. The *English* and *Dutch* have their own chaplains in their different factories.

Trade of it.

The chief trade of this place is silk, brought by the *Armenians* out of *Persia*; Camblet yarn, and wrought camblet, which come from *Angouri*, a town in *Galatia*; twisted cotton; skins and cordovans of different colours, calicoes white and blue, tapestries, quilted coverlets, soap, rhubarb, galls, valanede; scammony, and opium. The caravans which carry these goods come in *February*, *June*, and *October*, and depart as soon as they have dispos'd of them.

6. Doris.

The country about *Smyrna* is pleasant, being full of vines, and other fruit trees, and there is a great plenty of game.

6. *Doris* is contiguous to *Jonia*, upon the *Ægean* coast, of which we shall only say, that the chief towns are *Myndus*, the residence of a *Turkish Bassau*. *Halicarnass*, famous of old, for the wonderful *Mausolæum* built by Q. *Artemisia* for her husband, from whose name *Mausolus*, all great tombs have been since call'd *Mausoleums*. This city has been also respected as being the birth-place of the great historians *Herodotus* and *Dyonisius*. There were other great towns in this province, but now no remains of them are to be seen.

7. Caria.

7. *Caria* is north of *Doris*, and both these provinces together are now call'd *Adinelli*. *Caria* has the river *Meander* towards the north. The chief towns are *Miletus*, now *Palatschia*, the birth place of *Thales*; *Heraclia*, near the mountain *Lathmus*; and several others not to be seen at present.

8. Lydia.

8. *Lydia*, once a great kingdom, under *Cræsus*, 'till *Cyrus* got the better of him. It was likewise call'd *Meonia*, a fruitful country, well water'd by the rivers *Hermus*, *Pactolus*, *Caystrus*, and *Meander*. It has *Phrygia Major* on the east, with a part of mount *Taurus*; is bounded on the south with *Caria*, or the *Meander*; on the west by *Æolis*, and a part of *Mysia*; and on the north by *Phrygia Minor*.

The chief cities of *Lydia* were, 1. *Sardis*, the metropolis of the kingdom before *Cyrus* subdued it. This city stood on both sides of *Pactolus*, and was famous for being the residence of *Cræsus*, and by being taken by *Cyrus*, and afterwards by the *Grecians*; but more by being one of St. *John*'s seven churches of *Asia*. 2. *Philadelphia*, near *Caystrus*, another of them, honour'd with the dignity of metropolitan, as appears from *Eustathius*'s subscription in the council of *Constantinople*. 3. *Thyatira*, also one of the seven churches, near the river *Hermus*. 4. *Laodicea*, the lukewarm church, upon the confines of *Lydia* eastward, belong'd to this province, 'till *Constantine* join'd it to *Phrygia Major*. 5. *Magnesia*, upon the *Meander*. And, 6. *Magnesia* near *Sypilus*, near which place *Antiochus* fought a memorable battle with the *Romans*, and was beaten; by which he lost all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*. Dr. *Heylin* likewise places *Trallis* in this province, to the people of which city St. *Ignatius* address'd one of his letters.

9. Phrygia Major.

9. *Phrygia Major*, an inland kingdom of *Natolia*, as well as *Lydia*, has *Lydia* on the south; part of the *Lesser Phrygia* and *Mysia* on the west; part of *Bythinia* and *Pontus* on the north; and *Galatia* on the east. This country, says *Heylin*, was the most effeminate, luxurious country in *Asia*. This kingdom was subdued by the kings of *Lydia*, and fell with them into the hands of the *Persians*; and all this country, together with many others, made up that great monarchy, so quickly dissolv'd by *Alexander*. It was a fine country, and would be so still, if it were in good hands, being water'd by the rivers *Sangarius*, *Hermus*, *Meander*, and *Marsyas*.

Cities of it.

The chief cities are, 1. *Gordium*, famous

mous for its founder *Gordius*, who having been, from being a ploughman, chosen king of *Phrygia*, tied the tacklings of his plough in such a manner that it could not be untied again, and having offer'd it to the temple of *Apollo* in this city, it came to be a tradition, that he who should untie it should be master of *Asia*. *Alexander* attempting it in vain, took the shortest method, cutting it asunder with his sword. 2. *Cotæum*, now *Chutaie*, the seat of the *Turkish Sultans* before they got into *Europe*, and still the residence of the *Beglerbeg*, or vice-roy of *Natolia*. 3. *Apamia*, near the conflux of the *Meander* and *Marsyas*. 4. *Colossi*, to whose inhabitants St. *Paul* address'd his epistle. Besides *Hieropolis*, *Prymnesia*, and *Tiberiopolis*, and others, mention'd by *Heylin*; but nothing material is said about them. We shall therefore proceed to the last province mention'd under *Natolia proper*, *viz.*

The Gordian knot.

10. Galatia.

10. *Galatia*. It has *Paphlagonia* on the north, *Cappadocia* on the east, *Pamphilia* on the south, and *Phrygia Major* on the west. This province was a mixture, according to *Heylin*, of *Gauls* and *Greeks*, and therefore call'd *Gallo-Græcia*, or *Græco-Gallia*. The rivers *Halys*, *Sangarius*, and some others, run thro' this country.

Its cities.

Ancyra.

The chief cities are, 1. *Ancyra*, now *Angouri*, once the metropolis of the province, and had two councils held in the 4th century. Near this city *Pompey* gave *Mithridates* a signal defeat. And here likewise *Tamerlane* defeated *Bajazet*. It is now the chief place for furnishing *Smyrna* with camlets. There are glorious ruins to be seen here of the magnificence, in all appearance, of the *Romans*, by part of an inscription still remaining, in honour of the emperor *Julian*. Altho', considering the beauty of the other cities of *Asia* under the *Assyrian* and *Persian* monarchies, it is not to be thought, that all the grandeur of the east was owing to the *Romans*; but rather that they did there, as in *Greece*, strip the cities of *Asia* of their finest ornaments, to beautify *Rome* and *Constantinople*. Here are yet to be seen, mix'd with the mud walls, pieces of fine porphiry and jasper, which shew capitals, bases, and architraves, of curious and regular architecture. And the castle of *Angouri* is surrounded, to this day, with a tripple wall of white marble, interlaced with porphiry, and other hard stones.

This city is inhabited by *Turks*, *Armenians*, and *Greeks*. There are 7 *Armenian* churches, and two for the *Greeks*. The caravans make 30 days from hence to *Smyrna*, with the camlets, and other goods, which they carry thither. We are told, that about this city they have a breed of goats of the purest white, and the finest hair of any in the world, which they mix with that of the camel for their stuffs, whereof they make great profit. But this breed is so peculiar to the adjacent country to *Ancyra*, that if the same goats are sent 70 miles off, they degenerate.

The most remarkable towns besides were, 2. *Pessinus*, 3. *Thermæ*, from the hot baths near it. *Heylin* names some others; but as there is nothing remarkable to be said of them, we pass them by.

This province is said to have been conquer'd by the posterity of those who conquer'd *Rome* under *Brennus*, and were beaten out of it by *Camillus*; after which they hover'd about *Greece*; and a part of them cross'd the *Hellespont*, and ravag'd *Asia minor*, and settled in this country, call'd from them *Gallo-Græcia*, as has been observ'd already. But losing their natural courage, or rather fierceness, with the luxury of *Asia*, their neighbours, who were afraid of them at first, made no account of them; and having assisted *Antiochus* against the *Romans*, *Manlius* fell upon them, and brought them to be subject to the senate, but under their own king; and afterwards they took *Pompey*'s part against *Cæsar*, and were made a *Roman* province in *Augustus*'s time, and added to a part of *Pontus*; but that was alter'd by *Constantine*, and *Galatia* was divided into *Galatia Prima* and *Galatia Salutaris*, from the baths formerly mention'd.

II. Amasia,

The second great division of *Anatolia*, or *Natolia*, is *Amasia*, of which, altho' distinct from any part of *Pontus* or *Galatia* yet mention'd, it is not easy to fix the bounds, considering the confusion of names. However, we shall make it as plain as we can.

Amasia is that part of *Asia minor* which runs along the *Black Sea*, eastward from the *Pontus* before describ'd, to the utmost extent of the sea that way, and southward along the river *Euphrates*, and that of *Thermodoon* on the east, and *Paphlagonia* and *Galatia* on the west, to about half the distance between the *Euxine* and *Ægean* seas. So that if all *Anatolia* were cut into four squares by a line drawn thro' the middle of the south coast of the *Euxine* to the *Ægean* sea, and another line crossing that at right angles, in the middle, which would come pretty near *Pergamos*, it might be said, that *Natolia proper*, already described, takes in two of the squares, *viz.* the n. w. and s. w. and that *Amasia* fills up the third square, *viz.* that to the north-east.

The division of it.

It is divided (according to the distribution of the *Lesser Asia* by the *Greek* emperors, after the division of the *Roman* empire) into three parts, all which having

been

been appendages of *Mithridates*'s kingdom, kept the name of *Pontus*, altho' they are all diſtinct from the original *Pontus* already deſcrib'd. *Amaſia*, then, conſiſts, of, 1. *Pontus Galaticus*, 2. *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and 3. *Pontus Cappadocius*.

1. Pontus Galaticus.

1. *Pontus Galaticus*, or *Galatian Pontus*, is bounded on the north with the *Black Sea*, on the eaſt with the river *Thermodoon*, (which falls into the *Euxine* ſea, after having run thro' that part of *Aſia minor*, between *Cappadocia* and *Georgia*, fabulouſly reported to have been the dominion of the *Amazons*, of whom *Q. Curtius* tells ſuch wonders with a grave air, in his romance of *Alexander*'s expedition in *Aſia*) on the ſouth with part of *Armenia minor*, and on the weſt with *Galatia*.

Cities.

The chief cities in this province are, 1. *Amaſia*, an inland town not far from the river *Iris*, which comes from *Tocat*, the old *Neoceſaria*, and changing its courſe at *Amaſia*, falls into the ſea to the eaſt of *Sinope*, formerly mention'd. But *Tavernier* does not name the river. 2. *Themiſcira*, now *Lerio*, a town upon the ſea coaſt; 3. *Comana*, about 80 miles eaſtward of *Amaſia*.

2. Pontus Polemoniacus.

2. *Pontus Polemoniacus*, lies ſouth-eaſt of the *Galaticus*, along the ſide of *Thermodoon* and a part of *Euphrates*. A part of it is the place where the imaginary *Amazons* were fabled to have been, under the dominion of their heroine, *Thaleſtris*.

Cities.

The chief cities of this province are, 1. *Tocat*, the capital of the province, and ſeat of a *Beglerbeg*. It is well inhabited by *Turks*, *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and *Jews*; and the country about it for above 40 miles moſt peopled with *Armenian* tradeſmen, who are Chriſtians. This is a town of great trade, eſpecially for copper veſſels made by the *Armenians*, and ſent to the ports of the *Mediterranean* and to *Conſtantinople*; as alſo *Turky* leather, made of goat's skin; and the blue skins of *Tocat* are as famous as the red ones of *Diarbequir*. Upon the north ſide of the city there is a fine plain of fourſcore miles in length, and three leagues broad, with a pleaſant river running thro' it, along the ſides of which, Mr. *Tavernier* ſays, there are many fair villages.

The ſame author tells us of a place within two leagues of *Tocat* where there is a chamber, a bed, and table, with a ſmall gallery near it, all hewn out of a very hard rock. Near this is a town call'd *Charklequen*, where the caravan ſtays two or three days, upon pretence of the Chriſtians (who always make up the major part of the caravan) going to pay their devotions to this rock, which tradition makes the place of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s reſidence during his baniſhment, and to have been dug by him; but our author ſays, it is more for the ſake of the good wine, than out of religion, that they ſtop ſo long. There are other towns in this province, but of no great account; only Mr. *Salmon* mentions, 1. *Sebaſtia*, now call'd *Suvas*.

3. Pontus Cappadocius.

3. *Pontus Cappadocius* reaches from the *Polemoniac* to *Georgia*, by which it is bounded towards the eaſt; having *Armenia* on the ſouth, and the *Black Sea* on the north. The chief city of this province is *Trebizond*, which ſtands near the ſouth-eaſt point of the *Euxine* ſea. This is a large town, but not well peopled, becauſe, like modern *Rome*, it is full of gardens and groves. It is a place of no great trade, and proviſions are ſcarce. It is moſt famous for having been the ſeat of the *Comneni*, or *Comneni*, one of whom, nam'd *Alexis*, having taken poſſeſſion of it, when the *Latines* took *Conſtantinople*, in the beginning of the XIIIth century, kept up the dignity of emperor in it during his life, and his poſterity after him did the ſame for 250 years, and took the title of emperors of *Trebizond*, 'till they and their empire fell together, in 1460, by the arms of *Mahomet* II. ſirnamed *the Great*, who put the emperor *David Comnenus* to death. This was a fine country when under its own kings of *Pontus*; but is now neglected by the lazy *Turks*.

Trebizond.

III. Aladulia.

The third great diviſion of *Anatolia* is *Aladulia*, which is the *Cappadocia* of the ancients. It is bounded by *Amaſia* on the north; by part of the two *Armenia's* on the eaſt; by *Licaonia* and part of *Armenia minor* on the ſouth; and *Galatia* on the weſt.

Rivers.

The chief rivers in this province are, 1. *Halys*, and 2. *Iris*, which run thro' this country and *Amaſia*, and empty themſelves in the *Black Sea*; 3. *Melus*, or *Lima*, which, taking its riſe in *Galatia*, paſſes, in an eaſtern courſe, thro' the ſouth parts of *Cappadocia*, and falls into *Euphrates*.

This country was, with many others of *Aſia Minor*, ſubject to *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, who having fulfill'd the doubtful oracle, *in deſtroying a mighty army by paſſing* Halys, but, contrary to his interpretation of it, it was his own army, and not that of *Cyrus*; this territory, with all the reſt of his dominions, became ſubject to that conquering monarch, and, as *Heylin* ſays, was, by him, given to *Pharnaces* a noble *Perſian*, who married his ſiſter; and poſſeſs'd by his poſterity, in vaſſalage to the crown of *Perſia* to *Alexander*'s time; after whoſe death it was ſeiz'd by *Perdicas*, but ſoon after recover'd by one of *Pharnaces*'s deſcendants, and continued in that family, with a ſhort interruption by *Mithridates*, till it became a *Roman* province, in *Tiberius*'s time, and ſo continued to the time

that

that the *Trebozend* empire was erected, as has been said, and with it, fell into the hands of *Mahomet*.

Cities. The chief cities of this province are, 1. *Cesarea*, the metropolis of it under the *Romans*, which is still a considerable town. It was anciently call'd *Mazaca*, and now *Haisar*. It had the name of *Cesarea* from *Tiberius*, who enlarg'd it in *Augustus*'s reign. 2. *Marat*, the old *Metita*, near *Euphrates*, now the seat of a *Beglerbeg*. 3. *Nyssa*, upon the borders of *Armenia*. *Heylin* names several others; but as his division of provinces is not always the same with ours, and as many of the old cities are quite destroy'd, we shall not trouble the reader with hard names, except such as have been known by some memorable occurrence mention'd at or near them.

IV. Caramania. The last great division of *Anatolia* is IV. *Caramania*, which consists of the ancient *Pysidia*, and *Lycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Cilicia*.

Its division.

1. Pysidia. *Pysidia* lies to the south of *Aladulia*, having *Lycaonia* on the east; *Pamphilia* and a part of *Cilicia* on the south, and *Phrygia major* on the west. This country has a great character from *Livy* as to its fruitfulness, being one fertile plain, surrounded with mountains.

Cities. The chief cities of this province were, 1. *Antioch*, the city where St. *Paul* preach'd. *Acts* XIII. 14. It is call'd *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, to distinguish it from the great *Antioch* in *Syria*. 2. *Sagalassus*, on the n. w. part of the province. 3. *Termessus*, in the streights of the mountains; besides several others.

2. Lycaonia. *Lycaonia*, is likewise bounded on the north with *Aladulia*, or *Cappadocia*; on the east with *Armenia minor*, and a part of mount *Taurus*; on the south and west with *Pamphilia* and *Pysidia*. Its chief cities, are 1. *Lystra*, 2. *Derbe*, 3. *Iconium*, now *Cogni*; all mention'd in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*.

3. Pamphilia. *Pamphilia* lies south of *Pysidia*, from which it is separated, says *Heylin*, by mount *Taurus*. It has *Cilicia* on the east; the *Mediterranean*, or *Ægean* sea, on the south; and *Lycia* on the west.

This country is mountainous towards the north; for *Taurus* runs quite thro' it; from whence they have great plenty of goats, from which they get hair to make camlets, altho' it is inferior to that above-mention'd. Towards the sea it is a fine country. In this plain, near the river *Eurimedon*, the famous *Miltiades* defeated the *Persians*, by an ingenious stratagem; for, having, the same day, first beaten their fleet, he cloth'd his *Athenians* in the *Persian* habit, finding prisoners enow on board for that purpose; and sailing up the river with *Persian* colours, the *Persians* believ'd their fleet had gotten the victory, and prepar'd to receive their countrymen with open arms. But *Miltiades* quickly undeceiv'd them, to their ruin, destroying their army, and taking 20,000 of them prisoners.

Cities in Pamphilia. The chief cities of this province are, 1. *Attalia*, now *Satally*, upon the *Ægean* sea, which runs up into the land, and forms a gulph of that name in our maps. This town is famous for tapestry, and is the same where St. *Paul* and St. *Barnabas* preach'd the gospel. 2. *Perga*, a town upon the river *Cestrius*, likewise nam'd in the course of St. *Paul*'s travels. 3. *Candalor*, or *Syda*, upon the same coast of the *Mediterranean*, farther east.

4. Lycia. *Lycia* lies westward of *Pamphilia*; and is bounded by the same sea on the south, by *Caria* on the west, and by a part of *Lydia* and *Phrygia* on the north; clos'd in on three sides by mount *Taurus*, which it has on the east and north, and part of the west. This mountain has its rise in this province, beginning at the gulph opposite to the island of *Rhodes*, and running thro' *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, and as far as the *Indian* ocean, altho' it is call'd by other names, according to the countries it passes through. This small province might be as fruitful as ever, if the *Turks* were industrious.

Cities in Lycia. The chief towns of it are, 1. *Myra*, mention'd in St. *Paul*'s voyage to *Rome*. 2. *Telmessus*, by which *Alexander* pass'd in his march towards *Darius*. 3. *Patara*; and many others. It was said to have sixty in all. But *Time* and *Chance* have level'd them.

5. Cilicia. *Cilicia* is the least of the provinces of *Caramania*, altho' once a flourishing kingdom, as many others in *Asia minor* were in the reign of *Augustus*. It lies to the east of *Pamphilia*, and extends along the *Mediterranean* for near 250 miles, to the borders of *Syria*; but is not above 53 miles broad towards the north. The eastern part of this province is a fine country, anciently call'd *Cilicia Campestris*; but the western is stony. [Mr. *Salmon* gives the very reverse account of it, making the eastern part the worst. But, as *Heylin* says, the western part was call'd, of old, *Cilicia asperis*, or the *Rough Cilicia*, I do not know but it may be an error of the press in *Salmon*, as I have found a great many, as well as in my own.]

The rivers in this province are, 1. *Pyramus*, now *Mamistra*, which takes its rise from the north side of *Taurus*, and running along the side of it at a passage where it found vent, falls into the valley at a cascade with noise like thunder. 2. *Orymagaus*. 3. *Calecadnus*. 4. *Cydnus*.

There were many cities in this province, the chief of which were, *Silenus*, *Seleucia*,

Cities in Cilicia.

Philadelphia, *Soli*, afterwards *Pompeiopolis*, as having been repair'd by that famous *Roman*; *Tarsus*, once the metropolis, the place of St. *Paul*'s nativity; *Issus*, remarkable for the battle fought near it, in which *Alexander* defeated *Darius*, and made all his family prisoners. *Heylin* places *Scandaroon* in *Cilicia*; but as others place it more properly in *Syria*, we shall take no notice of it here.

Having begun the description of *Turky* in *Asia* from the north, we shall give an account, in the same method, of the other provinces of that overgrown dominion, before we proceed to *Syria* and *Arabia*, leaving the *Levant* islands to close this first volume. And therefore, without following the order of our first division, taken from Mr. *Gordon*'s grammar, we shall proceed to

SECT. II.

Of MINGRELIA *and* GEORGIA.

ALTHO' we mention these provinces as parts of *Turky*, it must not be understood, that these countries are entirely under the *Ottoman* dominion; for one part of them is govern'd by a prince of its own; and another is subject to *Persia*; and some parts are sometimes under the dominion of the *Turks*, and sometimes of the *Persians*. But, as the best account, we have met with, of these kingdoms, or provinces, is to be found in *Chardin*'s travels into *Persia*, we shall abridge them, as far as they relate to our present purpose.

This *French* gentleman being at *Constantinople* in 1672, a quarrel, which happen'd between the Grand *Vizir* and the *French* ambassador, determin'd him to change his resolution of going to *Persia* by the caravan, and so he embark'd on the *Thracian Bosphorus*, a small tract of sea, not above two miles broad, between the *Propontis* and the *Black Sea*, and is about 15 miles long. This trip is the pleasanteſt in the world, in fair weather, from the prospect of *Constantinople* behind, and the fine seats and gardens on the shore all along as one sails eastward; and, at four several places, castles well fortified and garrison'd.

In this voyage, our author having enter'd the *Black Sea*, cross'd over to *Caffa*, a peninsula about the middle of the north coast of that sea; it is 55 miles from east to west, and 35 the other way, and is join'd to the continent in *Little Tartary* by a small neck of land no broader than the *Bosphorus*. This peninsula is inhabited by *Tartars*, who dwell in towns, and by *Nogays* and *Hordes*, who dwell in tents.

Caffa.

On the southwest of this peninsula, upon the coast, is a city of the same name, consisting of about 4000 houses, the greatest part inhabited by *Mahometan Turks* and *Tartars*, and the rest *Greek* and *Armenian* Christians. They drive a great trade in that city for dried fish and cavear, which they have from the *Palus Mœotis*, which washes the peninsula on the north-east side, not above 26 miles from this city. These they transport into *Europe* and the *Indies*, as also they furnish *Constantinople* with corn, salt, and butter; the last of which is the best in *Turky*.

Palus Mœotis.

Our author, having made a short stay at the city of *Caffa*, coasted along to *Doufow* upon the same coast, where the salt water, let into pits, is congealed to salt, which is of great profit to the *Caffians*. Near these pits are about 10 or 12 houses inhabited by *Tartars*, but a vast number of tents and close cover'd waggons, both which serve for houses to the people of the country; each family having 3 tents, one for themselves, cover'd with light furs, stretch'd upon poles, and very neat; the second for their servants and kitchen; and the third for their horses and cattle.

Those tents they remove with great ease, and draw their waggons from one place to another, as they have occasion.

The north coast of the *Black Sea*, from the *Lake Mœotis* to *Mingrelia*, is full of woods, inhabited by a sort of mountaineers call'd *Cherks*, who are not subject to the *Turks*, but trade with the ships, as they pass by, for slaves male and female, honey, wax, and leather, with which they furnish the *Turks*. But they carry on this trade with arms in their hands.

After you pass the *Cherks*, upon the same coast, you come to the *Abcas*, much such another thievish people as the others, and both bordering upon *Circassia*, which is a pleasant country, well stor'd with all sorts of fruit and cattle. They have an excellent breed of strong and swift horses, as also goats and sheep, whose wooll is as fine as the *Spanish*. But they saw no grain in *Circassia*, but millet for themselves, and barley for their horses, and their drink is water and *Boza*, a sort of beer made of millet, as strong as wine. These are a sort of independent people, sworn enemies to all that live near them, and may be put in the class with the *Cherks* and *Abcas*, who are, as it were, a part of them, altho' as good friends together, as some of the *Clans*, in my country, were of old. They were once Christians, but have lost the very memory of it, having little religion now, but superstitious divination.

Circassia.

Our author having been from the 17th of *July* to the 10th of *September* in this coasting

coasting voyage, that day arriv'd at *Isgaour*, a port in *Mingrelia*, altho' it is the place where the ships from the *Bosphorus* lie, there is no town; but the traders make huts during their stay.

MINGRELIA. MINGRELIA is the ancient *Colchis*, so famous among the poets for the expedition of the *Greeks* under *Jason*, to steal the *Golden Fleece* from king *Æetes*; that is, as *Heylin* observes, a set of *Greek* thieves, call'd princes by the poets, fitted out a fleet, or rather one ship, in order to rob *Æetes*'s treasury, call'd the golden fleece, by the poets, from the manner of saying the gold, wash'd from the mountains by the floods, which was, by laying fleeces of wooll in the streams, which kept the gold, and let the water pass. The dragon and bulls, said to guard this fleece, are nothing else but the soldiers who had the custody of the treasury, whom *Jason* (by the contrivance of *Medea*, the king's daughrer, whose affection he had gain'd) got into his power and kill'd, and so robbing the treasury, he carried it to his ship, and the lady along with it. But to return to *Chardin*.

Its situation. *Mingrelia* lies at the north-east end of the *Black Sea*, bounded by the little kingdom of *Imeretta* on the east and part of the south. The rest of the south of it has the *Black Sea*; on the west is the country of the *Abcas*; and on the north mount *Caucasus*. It is parted from the *Abcas* by the river *Corax*, (now *Coddour*) and from *Imeretta* by the ancient *Phasis*, now call'd *Rione*. The whole length of *Mingrelia*, at present, is about 110 miles, and the breadth about 60, being not so large as the ancient *Colchis*.

The country is hilly, and full of woods, but where the inhabitants have been at pains to grub up the trees, they make a shift to make it produce corn, altho' not in great plenty. There are 8 rivers that water this country, *viz. Coddour*, or *Corax*; *Soccom*, of old, *Tersen*; *Rivers.* *Laugur*, formerly *Astulphus*; *Cobi*, or *Cianiscari*, of old, *Cianeus*; *Tackeur*, the old *Sigemus*; *Schinescari*, by the *Greeks* call'd *Hippus*; and the *Abasseia*, call'd formerly *Carves* and *Caritus*. The *Phasis* being, properly speaking, in *Imeretta*. All these empty themselves in the *Black Sea*. These rivers keep the ground so moist, that they have no occasion to plow it for wheat or barley, but sow their seed upon the whole ground; but how that takes root I am not husbandman enough to tell. But it seems they plow for other corn, and their ploughs are all of wood, without any iron. Their common bread is *Gomm*, almost like coriander seed, and grows like millet, has a fine taste, and is good for the health. But the people of fashion eat wheat bread, because it is scarce.

Food. Their common food is beef, and pig the best in the world, goats, wild boar, deer, and hare, partridge, and several sorts of game, particularly pheasants, which perhaps took the name of *Phasianus* from the great plenty of them about the river *Phasis*.

Animals. The mountains and woods afford plenty of tygers, lions, leopards, wolves, and jackals, the two last of which destroy the cattle, and disturb the country with their noise. They have great store of good horses, which being never shod, nor fed with corn, are kept without expence.

Houses. There are but two towns in the whole country, and those lie upon the coast of the *Black Sea*; but their houses are very thick scatter'd up and down, that one cannot go a mile, without meeting 3 or 4 houses. They have 9 or 10 castles, of which *Rouis* is the chief, and is the palace of the prince. The houses are of wood; those of the richer are two stories high, but the others only one. They have couches and benches to keep them from the moist ground; but have neither windows nor chimneys; and all the family lie in the same room.

The people. The people, both men and women, are well shap'd and handsome, and the women very tempting. But, as it is natural to desire to please, the ladies of that country, who are not handsome, endeavour to make themselves appear so by painting. They dress with great care, after the *Persian* manner, only their hair is curl'd as in *Europe*, and their heads dress't like the ladies with us; and they are at no small pains to make themselves agreeable. They are very civil, and do not want wit; but our author says, that those are accompanied with other as bad qualities; for he represents them as wanting compassion and modesty, the two peculiar qualities, and the principal ornaments, of the sex. As to the *haughtiness* he ascribes to them, perhaps, it may not be so great a fault in ladies, if temper'd with good nature, and accompanied with prudence; but there is no excuse for *deceit*, which he likewise objects to them. But he is harder upon the men; for he tells us, that there is no wickedness to which they do not abandon themselves; but their favourite vice is theft. in which they spend their time, and make their boast.

Eating and drinking. In their way of living they are more sociable than any people I have yet met with in *Asia*; for our author says, that the whole family, men and women, eat and drink together; which custom is carried to such a pitch, that the king, with all his train, even to the grooms, and the queen with all her maids, eat at one table, and at the same time. When it is fair, they eat without doors, where they have

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a rouzing fire, if cold. The ſervants are not to eat of the ſame diſhes with the maſters, they being allow'd only *Gomm* for their ordinary food, whereas the maſter has fiſh and fleſh: But upon holy days, when they feaſt, there is a cow, a hog, or veniſon, provided, and then the whole family is feaſted; and both men and women drink to great exceſs; for they have excellent wine, of the growth of their own country, and they take care not to ſpoil it with water. And the converſation at thoſe meetings, is either ſtories of exploits done by the men in theſts and robberies, or by the women in another way.

Government. As to the government of *Mingrelia*, it is monarchical; but our author does not ſay any thing of arbitrary power in the prince; for the nobility ſeem to have as abſolute power over the poorer ſort, or their vaſſals, as any tyrant can exerciſe; ſelling the wives and children of their tenants at their pleaſure: And indeed this is ſuch a common practice, that they have much diſpeopled the country by it.

The king's revenue. The king's revenue does not amount to above 5000 *l.* ſter. a year, rais'd by the cuſtoms of goods exported or imported, and by his ſelling of his tenants; but this ſmall ſum he does not ſpend; for he pays no wages to any ſervant, and his table is kept by his vaſſals. His attendants are 200 gentlemen upon feaſt days, but at other times half the number ſerves: And all the forces he can raiſe do not amount to above 4000 horſe and 300 foot.

[How that kingdom ſhould have kept its independency, when ſo many powerful monarchies have fallen a prey to the ambition of their more aſpiring neighbours, I cannot imagine, unleſs it be that no conqueror thought it worth while to meddle with ſuch a poor beggarly handful of people; as I believe was the caſe with the republick of *St. Marino*, celebrated by Mr. *Addiſon*, for no other reaſon that I can ſee, but becauſe it has (by way of ſneer I think) the *dear name* of a REPUBLICK. To ſhew that I do no injuſtice to that *auguſt republick*, nor to the ingenious gentleman, I beg leave, altho' it is a digreſſion, to tell a ſhort ſtory, which I had from three or four gentlemen of undoubted credit, who are all alive, I hope, to vouch the truth of it; it is as follows.

A ſtory of the grandeur of the republick of St. Marino in Italy. In the year 1717, four or five *Britiſh* gentlemen being occaſionally in that part of *Italy* in the ſummer, went to *St. Marino*, to drink the waters; (which the wiſe ſenate believ'd are not to be found by digging 'till the ſun enters *Leo*, and then every little hole, newly dug two foot deep, is a well.) The weather being exceſſively hot at that time, our gentlemen found freſh proviſions very ſcarce; and one of them being appointed, by common conſent, to look out for ſome freſh meat, found out a good fat calf, in right caſe for being kill'd: But, as meat would not keep at that time of the year, and that one quarter of it was as much as our travellers could conſume, before it ſhould be ſpoil'd, they deſir'd the owner of it to kill the calf, promiſing to pay his price for a quarter; but he refus'd to comply, unleſs they would take three quarters, and in that caſe he offer'd to take his chance for ſelling the remaining quarter among the *ſenate* and *people*, in pounds and ounces. Our gentlemen, ſurpriz'd at the propoſal, told him, they would take but a quarter, for which they offer'd more than the uſual price of veal. The butcher, who, I think, was in a conſiderable poſt in the *ſenate*, having a great mind to touch the money, procur'd the *ſenate* to be call'd, upon this important affair; where, after a ſolemn debate, (the butcher, without doubt, having repreſented to the aſſembly, that the honour of the *republick* was at ſtake, leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould find, that the ſide of a calf has ſtuck ſo long in the *ſenate*, without a *decree* to cut it up) they, at laſt, agreed to take half the calf, provided the *Engleſi* would pay for the other half, according to the price they had offer'd for the quarter. And ſo a deputation being ſent to our gentlemen, they were forced to agree to thoſe terms, and thought themſelves highly honour'd by ſeeing five *Britons* thus put upon a level with the *ſenate* and *people* of that auguſt, happy, and glorious *republick* of *St. Marino*.

From this ſtory, (the ſubſtance of which I do aver to be true, upon the credit of the gentlemen, from whom I had it, not long after it happen'd) the reader may judge of the preſent ſtate of *St. Marino*, and may ſee how the *ſound* of a *favourite name* may prevail with a *great* man, to magnify a very *inſignificant* place; which, for all the *cant* of *liberty*, is as much ſubject to the *pope*, as any other part of his dominion in *Italy*; as indeed *Mingrelia* is to the *Turks*; for it pays 60000 ells of linnen yearly, by way of tribute.

I beg pardon for this digreſſion, concerning *St. Marino*, but as I was afraid I might happen to forget this *auguſt republick*, when I come to St. *Peter's patrimony*, I was willing to take ſome notice of it here. To return then to *Mingrelia*.

Trade. What trade they have in this country, is carried on, for the moſt part, by bartering one commodity for another. They have no coin of their own, but *piaſters* and *Dutch crowns* are brought hither from *Europe*, and *Abaſſi's* from *Perſia* and *Georgia*.

Religion. The religion of this country was once the ſame with that which is call'd the

Geerk

Greek church. Our author says, they were converted to Christianity in the reign of *Constantine*; but Dr. *Heylin* says, it was in that of *Justinus*, who having procur'd the conversion of *Taurus*, prince of *Colchis*, who had been some time at *Constantinople*, he declar'd him king, and sent him back to convert his people. They themselves pretend, says *Chardin*, that St. *Andrew* the apostle brought the gospel into that country. But, however they were first converted, he says, they neither have the belief nor practice of Christianity among them; and, altho' they have a sort of a metropolitan, whom they call *Catholicos*, with several bishops, and many priests, there are few of those who can either read or write; and those who can, do not understand their breviary, which, being in *Greek*, is as much a foreign language to them, as *Latin* is to an *English Roman* catholick, who never learn'd that language.

I am unwilling to give altogether into our author's character of the bishops and clergy of this country, because I do not know how far the author, if he was a strict *Roman* catholick, may have been prejudiced against any who are call'd Christians, who do not own the supremacy of the bishop of *Rome*. (and if he was a *French Hugonot*, I suspect him more) But if they be such as he represents them, I shall readily allow, that they are a scandal to Christianity, and a reproach to their order. If their *Catholicos* sells his tenants children to the *Turks* and *Persians*, and thereby lays them under a necessity of being bred Mahometans; if he visits his suffragan churches, not to reform his clergy, but to fleece the people, and does several other things which our author lays to his charge, and I cannot disprove, I shall not dispute the worst things that can be said of the state of religion in that part of the world, and shall only lament that there is such barbarism, where the light of the gospel ever shin'd. And I pray GOD to bring them, and all others, *to repentance, and to the acknowledgment of the truth.*

However, our author tells us, their cathedral was kept in good order, and well adorn'd with images, I suppose in consequence of the second council of *Nice*. The clergy wore no distinguishing habit, being cloth'd in scarlet velvet, as the better sort of seculars are, only that they wore their beards long, and the bishops had a high black bonnet, as the priests had, but with some distinction. And the *Armenian* priests in *England* wear the same.

Monks and nuns. There are likewise monks and nuns in *Mingrelia* of the order of St. *Basil*, whose religion, as our author says, chiefly consists in fasting and abstinence; which surely is a good thing, but, if it be made any more than the scaffold to the building of a vertuous life, is good for nothing. The monks wear black bonnets, and the nuns black vails; but they are under no vows, but may quit the habit when they will, tho' they are tied to the rules of it as long as they wear the garb. [If we had nuns in *England*, under the same regulations, and at liberty to withdraw at pleasure, I cannot help thinking it would be a better education than most *Boarding Schools.*]

Our author staid some time at *Mingrelia*, and saw two children baptiz'd there, at different times, who were about 5 or 6 years each; the priest set himself down in the buttery, and read in great hurry and low, in an octavo book half torn, whilst the boy and his sponsors walk'd about without minding what the priest said, any more than he seem'd to do himself; after thus muttering to himself an hour, a bucket of warm water was brought, into which the priest pour'd a spoonful of oyl, and the godfather, having undress'd the child, set him upon his feet in the water, and wash'd him all over; after this, the priest gave him a small quantity of *Myrone*, or oyl of unction, which the *Catholicos* had made, (as every chief bishop is oblig'd to do once) with which oyl the godfather anointed the top of his head, his ears, forehead, nose, &c. during all which time, the priest read to himself, 'till the boy was dress'd again. And then came wine, bread, and pork, and they set themselves at table, from whence they did not rise, 'till they could not stand. [I believe the poor boy might have come time enough to receive true Christian baptism by a lawful priest, for all the farce.]

I shall not insist upon other particulars of their religion. They are ignorant without doubt, and, considering their situation, it is no wonder; but, as they were once in a better state, I wish they may be so again.

Marriages. Their marriages, we are told, are a sort of sale, the parents getting so much from the person who desires to marry their daughter. A maid goes at the highest price, a widow cheaper, and one who has been divorc'd at the lowest rate. But whilst the bargain is carrying on, the young couple may converse freely; and if the lady proves with child, it is not reckon'd scandalous. If the woman proves barren, after marriage, they think themselves oblig'd to divorce her, as being against the design of marriage. And, forgetting the laws of Christianity, with regard to marriage, they indulge themselves in polygamy, but with a baser view than even lust itself, *viz.* that they may have a greater number of children to sell. And another custom, our author says, obtains among

among them, as unnatural as that, which is murdering their children, if they are not fit for ſale, and likewiſe the ſick and old, under pretence of putting them out of pain.

Burying. When any one dies, they have a cuſtom of mourning for 40 days; for the firſt 10 of which, they tear their hair, rend their cloaths, and run about like mad people. Upon the 40th day, they inter the corps, and the biſhop who aſſiſts, is entitled to the perſon's arms, horſe, cloaths, and plate; ſo that a few perſons dying in a family is enough to ruin it.

Kingdom of Imeretta. Upon the ſouth of *Mingrelia* lies the kingdom of *Imeretta*, which our author calls the *Iberia* of the ancients; but *Heylin* ſays, the old *Iberia* is a part of what we now call *Georgia*; of which by and by.

Imeretta is a ſmall kingdom, and very inconſiderable, if *Guriel* be taken from it. They join together, and reach from the *Black Sea* to a branch of mount *Caucaſus*, which divides *Imeretta* from *Georgia*; ſo that *Guriel* has the *Black Sea* to the weſt, *Mingrelia* on the north, *Imeretta* on the eaſt, and part of *Georgia* on the ſouth. *Imeretta* has *Guriel* on the weſt, *Mingrelia* on the north, and *Caucaſus* on the eaſt and ſouth. Both theſe kingdoms together are not above 100 miles broad, from eaſt to weſt, and not above 30 from ſouth to north. They are much of a piece with *Mingrelia* as to cuſtoms and way of living, and were all there united together, to whom the *Abcas* join'd themſelves, and whilſt that union laſted, they continued free from the *Turkiſh* yoak, 'till falling out among themſelves, and weakening one another by frequent inroads into each others countries, in the XVIth century, they fell a common prey to the *Ottoman* power; and now *Imeretta* pays 80 boys and girls from 10 to 20 years old; *Guriel* 40, and *Mingrelia* the linnen above-mention'd, by way of tribute. The *Abcas* being neglected, like the republick above-nam'd, as not worth taxing.

Caſtle Gonie. Our author leaving *Mingrelia*, coaſted to *Gonie*, a large caſtle in *Guriel*, about 30 miles from the mouth of the *Phaſis*, which river he ſays is a mile and an half broad, and 60 fathom deep, where it enters the ſea. The caſtle of *Gonie* is a ſquare building of large hard ſtone, ſurrounded with a wall, and has only two great guns. It is in the hands of the prince of *Guriel*. Within this caſtle, there are about 30 poor wooden houſes inhabited by ſeamen, and other booriſh people. But they have a cuſtom-houſe, where the officers are as rude and impertinent as others of the ſame quality in more polite places, ſhewing no regard to any perſon or recommendation.

Akalziki. From this caſtle, our author took his journey, by land, to *Akalziki*, a fortreſs built in mount *Caucaſus*, upon the borders of *Georgia*. It was built by the *Georgians*, but taken from them by the *Turks*. It is fortified with a double wall, and flank'd with towers, where ſome guns are planted. Near this caſtle there is a town, conſiſting of 400 houſes, with two handſome old *Armenian* churches. The town is inhabited by *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Greeks*, and *Jews*, who have their ſeveral places of worſhip there. But the fort is kept by a *Baſſau*, with a garriſon of *Turks*.

Mount *Caucaſus*, altho' very high, and difficult of aſcent, and always cover'd with ſnow on the top, is, notwithſtanding, fertile on both ſides, yielding honey, gum, wine, and fruit of different kinds, and in many places there is good corn, and plenty of cattle, there being large villages in ſeveral parts of it. The inhabitants of which are, for the moſt part, *Georgian* Chriſtians, of a fair complexion, and the women handſome. The river *Kur*, or *Cyrus*, riſing above *Akalziki*, runs cloſe by it, and from thence thro' *Georgia*, and empties itſelf in the river *Aras*, not far from the *Caſpian* ſea.

From this caſtle, our author travell'd, in the month of *December*, by *Gory*, another town, upon the *Kur*, between two hills, parts of *Caucaſus*, which runs out in many branches. In this road he met with many villages, ruins of forts, caſtles, and churches, all marks of the *Georgian* grandeur, before they were overrun by the *Perſians* and *Turks*, their two unhoſpitable neighbours on different ſides. *Gory.*

Near *Gory* there was a *Perſian* fort, when our author was there, but the town itſelf was in good condition, and the people not poor. But he ſtaid only four days in *Gory*, and purſuing his journey toward *Teflis*, he had a pleaſant road along the banks of *Kur*, to that city, the metropolis of *Georgia*, having villages and pleaſant valleys all the way. He arriv'd here the 17th of *December*; and here commences his deſcription of *Georgia*.

GEORGIA is the ancient *Albania*, at preſent under the juriſdiction of the *Perſians*, at leaſt a great part of it. *Georgia deſcrib'd.*

Its ſituation. It is bounded, according to *Heylin*, on the north by *Circaſſian Tartary*, or mount *Caucaſus*; on the eaſt by the *Caſpian* ſea; on the ſouth with the *Moſchici*, or the mountains which divide it from *Armenia major*; and on the weſt with *Iberia*, or *Imeretta*, which this author makes a part of *Georgia*. *Chardin* ſays, it extends from *Tauris* and *Erzerom* to *Tanais*, and is the ancient *Albania*. The river *Cyrus*, or *Kur*, runs thro' the middle of it, taking its riſe, as we have ſaid, from that branch of mount *Caucaſus* which divides

divides *Georgia* from *Imeretta* and *Guriel*, and falling into *Aras*, they enter the *Caspian* sea, near the 40th degree of lat. if our maps be right.

Name. It is not very material to enquire whether the name of *Georgia* was given to this country from the *Greek* word signifying *Husbandmen*, or from St. *George*, the patron of the *Greek* church; for I believe it would be as useless to endeavour to determine this dispute, as it would be difficult to give a true history of that saint, altho' he is the patron of *England* too.

As to the country itself, it is a large plain, surrounded with mountains, at least on three sides, north, west, and south: *Air.* It enjoys a kindly dry air, and the weather is cold in winter, and hot in summer. The fair weather begins in *May*, and continues 'till the end of *November*. It is well water'd by several rivers, the chief of which are the *Kur* and the *Aras*, which makes *Georgia* a fruitful country; *Produce.* it is well stor'd with cattle of all sorts, and abounds in fowl both wild and tame; particularly wild boar, which is excellent; and the common food of the generality of the inhabitants is pig's flesh, which they find very wholsome. The *Caspian* sea and the *Kur* supply the country abundantly with sea and river fish. And they have such plenty of excellent wine of their own growth, that they furnish the neighbouring countries of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Ispahan* with it, and keep a considerable quantity for their own use, of which they are not niggards. And, on the other hand, they deal with the *Turks* for silk, which they send great quantities of to *Erzerom*, and other western parts.

Altho' this country is as far south as the greatest part of *Spain*, since it lies between 44 and 38 degrees of latitude, yet *People beautiful* the people are most beautiful; insomuch that our author, *Chardin*, says, there is not an ill-favour'd person to be seen among them; and that the women are so bewitching, that it is scarce possible to look upon them without being in love with them. They are tall, clean-limb'd, and plump, but not fat, being very slender in the waist. But he says, they often spoil their natural beauty by an overload of superfluous ornaments, and sometimes with paint.

Temper. The natives of this country are naturally witty, and, if they had an opportunity of good masters, would learn any art or science as readily as any people; but, for want of good education, their idleness exposes them to many vices, of which drunkenness and luxury are the most common, and in which their clergy set them an infamous example. And our author says, it is a common saying among them, that *he is not a good Christian who is not drunk at Christmas and Easter.*

But we are told that their luxury is not their only vice; for, not to name lust, (which is common to them with other *Asiaticks*, and custom has made to be accounted no crime) they are cheats, false-hearted, and ungrateful, which are sins of a deep die. Nor are those fair creatures, the women, a bit inferior to the men in vices of all kinds. And yet in their ordinary conversation they are civil and courteous, grave and moderate: [Which makes me hope that our author has been too rash in his general character of the women; for a *grave* and *moderate* behaviour in women in general, is no sign of universal corruption; and, altho' there may be some hypocrites among the fair sex, as there are amongst others, I shall never believe that the generality of them are so, any more than I can give into the common banter, in the sense it is design'd to be understood, that *priests of all religions are the same.*]

We need not describe their habit, since it is the same with the *Persian*, already mention'd: As likewise are the houses of the better sort, their sitting at table, and diet, only with this difference, that they are greater drinkers than the *Persians*.

It seems it was the custom of all this country, between the *Black* and *Caspian* seas, that the nobility, or proprietors of lands, were tyrants over their vassals; and, (whoever has the sovereignty over the several kingdoms or provinces) the landlords keep still that superiority over their tenants. For, they make them work, without meat or wages, and sell their children at pleasure, reckoning them and theirs their absolute property, and disposing of their lives and effects by their own arbitrary will.

Religion. Our author gives as bad an account of the religion of this country, as he does of the women of it. I wish he may be mistaken in both; for he staid but a very short time in it. He says, they retain nothing of Christianity but the name, for they do not observe the least precept of the gospel; but place all their religion (as we said their neighbours on the other side of mount *Caucasus* do) in fasting, and long prayers, which very few of them understand. [But surely they must believe the incarnation, the baptism, the death, and resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, for with great zeal they observe the anniversaries of those memorable events, altho' it be true, that they mix an unreasonable excess in their feasts, (as some others do, who think themselves good orthodox Christians for all that) and perhaps some superstition in their fasts. And I remember to have read an observation, by another

ther author, beſides Mr. *Gordon*, that Chriſtianity had been loſt in many parts of the *Eaſt*, but for the obſervation of the great feſtivals of *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, &c. Nor was there ever a Chriſtian church where they were not obſerv'd.]

They have a *Patriarch* in *Georgia*, who is likewiſe call'd *Catholicos*, and an archbiſhop; and our author ſays thoſe ſees are fill'd by the prince ſet over them by the king of *Perſia*, to whom that part of *Georgia* was ſubject; and that prince was a Mahometan: [Which might very well be, and yet the *Catholicos* a lawful biſhop, if he was, after the nomination, *conſecrated* by *Lawful Orthodox Biſhops*: For one who is not a Chriſtian may uſurp the power of naming biſhops to a Chriſtian ſee, and yet the biſhops be validly conſecrated, as in the caſe of the patriarchs under the Grand Signor.]

But our author tells us, that there is as great enmity between the *Georgian* and *Armenian* Chriſtians, as between the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* in other countries; inſomuch as they will not have any communication with one another. And indeed we often find the greateſt animoſities among people about religion proceed from trifles, and very often both parties are in the wrong. All that country was once under the *Greek* emperors, and then were of the *Greek* church, the greateſt difference between which and the *Latine* at firſt, was about keeping *Eaſter*; and afterwards about the proceſſion of the H. GHOST from the SON, which they alledg'd was a later tack to the *Nicene* creed, made on the weſtern ſide of the *Helleſpont*. But, if the *Armenians* ſtill keep the fundamentals of the Chriſtian religion, and the *Georgians* have only the name, it is no wonder if they are not friends.

Dr. *Heylin* tells a pointed ſtory of the method the jeſuites took of late years to introduce the pope's ſupremacy among them. About the year 1614, the *Perſians* having made an inroad into *Iberia*, took the city of *Cremor*, in which they found *Cetaba*, the mother of prince *Teimurazis*, whom they carried priſoner into *Perſia*; but, when they could not perſuade her to turn Mahometan, they put her to death. The jeſuites, taking this opportunity, cut off a dead man's head, whom they found in the way, and anointing it with oyl and perfumes, and diſfiguring it, that it might not be known, carried it to *Georgia*, pretending that it was the head of *Cetaba*, and deſir'd leave of the prince to build a church and monaſtery, and to keep the head of that holy martyr, which had miraculouſly come into their hands. The prince, having had great reſpect for his mother, and that being augmented upon her conſtancy in her religion, eaſily granted their requeſt; and the ſacred relique was depoſited in the church of St. *George*, of which the inſpection was committed to the fathers, and, for ſome time, there was great reſort to it for cures, and many were perform'd. But this heretick of a doctor ſays, that the jeſuites cur'd ſome by ordinary medecines, which they attributed to the head; but ſuch as they could not cure, they remitted to a long courſe of penitence, by way of preparation; and thus they got ſuch reputation, that they were in hopes of converting the prince to their opinion, when, unluckily for them, a maid, who had been carried away with *Cetaba*, and was then a ſlave in *Perſia*, wrote to the prince, that her maſter had the body of her miſtreſs in his poſſeſſion, and was, at her perſuaſion, willing to let it be ranſom'd; and accordingly it was redeem'd; ſo that the true head coming home with the body, the firſt head loſt its place, and conſequently its power of miracles, at leaſt in that country, and the fathers themſelves were put in priſon, and afterwards were baniſh'd. [It ſeems the *Georgians* want faith, or elſe they would not have rejected the firſt head, for having found a ſecond; for *Cetaba* was not the firſt ſaint that has had two heads, and a double portion of legs and arms too. At leaſt the fathers had a right to ſee a miracle done by the other head, before it had joſtled out theirs.]

A ſtory of a miraculous head

detected.

As to the government of this country, now call'd *Georgia*, (which is differently divided almoſt by every author I have conſulted upon the ſubject) all that I ſhall ſay of it is, that that part of it which lies towards the *Caſpian* ſea, (ſome part of which we have mention'd in the travels of the *Holſtein* ambaſſadors) as far at leaſt as the river *Kur*, is ſubject to the *Sophi* of *Perſia*, but govern'd by a prince of their own, whom he prevails upon to turn Mahometan. His reſidence is at *Teflis*, a city upon *Kur*, which there changes its eaſterly courſe, running almoſt ſouth from the eaſt ſide of that city, 'till it meets with *Aras*, or *Araxis*. (The other towns, between that river and the *Caſpian Sea*, have been mention'd in the travels laſt quoted.) The weſtern parts of *Georgia* are ſubject to the *Turks*, altho' ſometimes they throw off the yoke, catching at any opportunity to regain their liberty; and indeed they are ſo guarded from any attack upon that ſide, that, if they had but common foreſight, and had not ſuffer'd the *Turks* to get poſſeſſion of any poſts in mount *Caucaſus*, a ſmall army might have repell'd the whole *Ottoman* power. In this inland country, there are ſome places which have neither ſubmitted to the one nor the other Mahometan power, but keep

The government of Georgia.

keep under their own princes, or heads of *Clans*, to this day.

The Georgians but half ſubjects.

But it is only half ſubjection that this country is yet under, as appears from *Chardin*'s account of *Teflis*. This city, altho' wall'd about every where, but towards the river, and has a fortreſs garriſon'd by native *Perſians*, (deſign'd, without doubt, to keep the *Georgians* in awe) yet ſo ſtanch are they to their own name of Chriſtianity, (if it be true that they have only the name) that they never would ſuffer the Mahometans to build a moſque there, and they themſelves have no leſs than 14 large churches, ſix for the *Georgians*, and eight for the *Armenian* ſervice. But when the *Sophi* order'd a moſque to be built, the people mutinied, and demoliſh'd the work, altho' there is a great number of Mahometans in the city, and a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle; yet the *Sophi* wink'd at that affront offer'd to his prophet, and ſent to the vice-roy to deſiſt, contenting himſelf with building a chappel within the caſtle; but even there, when the Mahometan prieſts got up, after their manner, to call the *Muſſulmen* to prayers, the mob ſo pelted them with ſtones, before the ſoldiers faces, that they never attempted giving their ſignals again. Another inſtance of ſlighting their *Mahometan* maſters, is their ſelling pork publickly, which is an abomination to the *Perſians*. What pity it is to hear that ſuch brave fellows ſhould ſtickle ſo ſtrenuouſly for a religion they are repreſented not to know! I wiſh all that do know it had as much zeal.

The pope ſent ſome *Capuchins* thither in 1657, and they liv'd there when our author was in that country, which was 15 years after; but they had made no proſelites, being only allow'd to practice phyſick.

Our author, I mean *Chardin*, went from *Teflis* to *Erivan*, which ſome maps, as well as authors, place, without diſtinction, in *Georgia*, and others in *Perſia*, at leaſt in the provinces ſubject to that monarchy. But they are ſo uncertain in their accounts about this, and other cities, near this part of the globe, where we have been ſome time a travelling, that I am reſolv'd to let the two monarchs ſtrive on for the maſtery of them, and prove their claim by the ſharpeſt ſword, whilſt we proceed to

SECT. III.

ARMENIA MAJOR, *or* TURCOMANIA.

Armenia Major.

THIS country, as well as *Georgia*, is placed by ſome of our travellers in the *Perſian* dominions, and by ſome in that of the *Turks*; but, as it is at preſent, reckon'd among the latter, and that we made it one of the great diviſions of the *Turkiſh* empire in *Aſia*, beſides that it claims the original of the name of *Turks*, being chang'd by that people from *Armenia* to *Turcomania*; we ſhall give a particular account of it here, from the beſt authors we are maſters of; but we ſhall do it as ſuccinctly as we can, becauſe we purpoſe to finiſh this firſt volume of our TRAVELLER with the next monthly book.

Dr. *Heylin* brings the ancient *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, (deſcrib'd in the laſt ſection) as well as *Armenia Major*, into *Turcomania*; but the name being, by our modern travellers, appropriated to *Armenia Major*, we ſhall, with them, confine it to that tract of ground ſo famous for many wars, as well with their neighbours, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as with the *Romans*.

Its ſituation.

Armenia Major, or *Turcomania*, is bounded by the river *Euphrates*, (which divides it from *Aladulia*) and part of *Amaſia*, on the weſt; by another part of *Amaſia*, lying upon the *Black Sea*, and by *Guriel*, and part of *Georgia*, on the north; by *Aderbeitzin*, or *Media*, on the eaſt; and by *Diarbeck* and *Curdiſtan*, towards the ſouth.

We ſhall not trouble the reader with the ſtory which *Purchas* ſays is current among them, of the *Ark* of *Noah* being yet to be ſeen upon one of their mountains; but it is ſo cold and hard of aſcent, that no body has ventur'd to find it. Nor ſhall we go back ſo far as to trace their origine from *Noah* and his family. It is of ſufficient antiquity to ſay, that this was a famous kingdom, under its hereditary monarch *Tigranes*, in the wars between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*; that *Tigranes* was poſſeſs'd of part of *Cilicia*, all *Media*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, which he had join'd to his hereditary country of *Armenia*. But having taken the *Pontic* king's part, (whoſe daughter he had married) *Lucullus*, firſt, and then *Pompey*, defeated him, in ſeveral battles, and, at laſt, he, being oblig'd to ſubmit to *Pompey*, before the great *Mithridates* was fully ſubdued, the *Roman* diveſted him of all his conqueſts, and only left him his own *Armenia*. His deſcendant, *Artabazes*, whom *Heylin* confounds with *Artavaſdes*, king of *Media*, having diſoblig'd *Mark Anthony*, was led by him to *Rome* in chains of gold, and his kingdom given away to *Alexander*, one of *Cleopatra*'s ſons by *Anthony*; but that ſham gift laſted only during *Anthony*'s life-time, and the crown of *Armenia* continued in the family of *Artabazes*, altho' he himſelf was put to death, at the ſolicitation of *Cleopatra*. For *Octavius* con-

firm'd *Artaxias*, the ſon of *Artabazes*, in the kingdom of *Armenia*, and, upon his death, ſettled his brother *Tigranes* on that throne.

As all the kings of this part of *Aſia* came to be tributaries to the *Romans*, ſome who held out the longeſt, ſuch as *Parthia*, were turn'd into provinces of the empire, and were govern'd by *Præfects*, and ſuch other governors as it pleas'd their haughty maſters to impoſe upon them; and falling to the eaſtern emperor, upon the diviſion of the empire, after the death of *Conſtantine*, this kingdom of *Armenia* kept its own kings, vaſſals to the eaſtern emperors, 'till the end of the VIIth century, and then fell a prey to the *Saracens*, but being recover'd from them by *Juſtinian*, they continued a tributary monarchy 'till the middle of the IXth century, and then were overcome by the *Turks*, or *Turcomanians*, and from them took the name of *Turcomania*. It had ſeveral viciſſitudes by incurſions from the *Tartars*, the *Perſians*, and other neighbours, ſometimes owning one maſter, and ſometimes another. From the year 1472, it was tributary to *Perſia*, but was conquer'd by the *Turks* of the *Ottoman* race in 1515. And, altho' they have not been in poſſeſſion of it without interruption all this while, (for ſome of our travellers of the laſt century ſpeak of it as belonging to *Perſia*) yet by our modern writers it is reckon'd a *Turkiſh* province, and govern'd by a *Beglerbeg*.

Altho' *Turcomania* lies in the ſame latitude with the ſouth part of *Italy*, (the moſt northerly part of it not exceeding 41 degrees) it is repreſented as the coldeſt country of any I have met with in that latitude. For, about *Erzerom*, the capital of this kingdom, we are told by ſome *Europeans*, that it was ſo exceſſive cold in *June*, that 'till the ſun was an hour up, their fingers were ſo numb'd, that they could not write, altho' the reſt of the day was hot. And, which makes it worſe, they are ill fir'd, having nothing but fir, and that ſcarce, and brought from places three days journey from the city; which makes it ſo dear, that the people about the town burn dried cows dung, there being neither tree nor buſh growing near the city. Altho' *Georgia*, which is farther north, abounds in fruit.

But the plain country is fertile, altho' the harveſt is late, the ſeaſon for reaping corn being not ſooner than *September*. If this account be true, it is ſtrange that the melting of the ſnow in the mountains of *Armenia* ſhould happen ſo late to that people, when their neighbours on the north ſide of the ſame mountains are bleſs'd with earlier ſeaſons.

Dr. *Heylin* reckons *Araxes*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, to be all rivers belonging to *Armenia*: But *Cambyſes* is rather in *Georgia*, and falls into the *Cyrus* eaſtward of the mountains, and runs into the *Aras*, as we obſerv'd in the laſt ſection; And *Tygris*, by our maps, takes its riſe in the mountains which divide *Turcomania* from *Diarbeck*, and running ſouthward between that country and *Curdiſtan*, falls into *Euphrates* in *Eyraca Arabick*, and with it into the *Perſian* gulph.

There were anciently noble cities in this kingdom, ſuch as, *Artaxata*, built upon the confines towards *Erivan*, then the capital and ſeat of the kings of *Armenia*; *Sebaſtia*, upon the banks of *Euphrates*, not far from mount *Taurus*; *Tygranocerta*, a city beautified by *Tigranes*; *Arſomoſata*, beſides ſeveral others famous in ancient times. But, at preſent, the moſt remarkable are *Cities.*

1. *Erzerome*, the old *Theodoſiopolis*, ſeated (as ſome have ſaid, and as in our maps) upon the *Euphrates*, in 40 deg. lat. but others tell us, it is a peninſula, form'd by different ſources of that river, the neareſt of thoſe ſprings being 10 miles from *Erzerom*. It is inclos'd within a double wall fortified with towers. The city is not above two miles in circuit. It is the reſidence of the *Beglerbeg*, or governor of the province; and in a caſtle without the city, there is an *Aga*, with a garriſon of *Janizaries*, independent of the *Beglerbeg*. And when the ſultan wants a governor's head, he ſends a *Capigi* to this caſtle, who ſummoning the *Beglerbeg* to appear, preſents him with the bow-ſtring or the ſcimitar, and orders him to be ſtrangled or beheaded, according to his inſtructions. 1. Erzerom.

This city contains about 20,000 inhabitants, 6000 of which are *Armenians*, the reſt *Mahometans*, the greateſt part of whom paſs under the name of *Janizaries*, but are ſo far from having pay, (as thoſe have who are ſubject to the *Aga*) that they give the *Aga* money to let them liſt, which gives them a privilege of inſulting their neighbours.

This city is an epiſcopal ſee, whoſe biſhop is ſubject to the *Armenian Patriarch* of *Erivan*. The *Greeks* have alſo their biſhop in the ſuburbs, and one poor church; they being, for the moſt part, tradeſmen. This is the thorough-fare from *Perſia* and *India*, to *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, and other places of the weſt and north; there being ſcarce a week, but caravans come hither to or from *Aleppo*, *Tocat*, *Teflis*, *Tauris*, or *Trebizond*.

There are ſaid to be mines of ſilver and copper, near *Erzerom*, and of late they have found ſome *Lapis Lazuli* in thoſe mines.

Farther north than this is, 2. The city of

2. Kars. of *Kars* in 42 deg. of latitude, and ſtands upon a river of the ſame name, which falls into the *Aras*, not far from *Erivan*; but that river has the name of *Arpigi*, about *Erivan*, altho' it is no other than the *Araxes*. There is a cuſtom-houſe at this place, where the *Turkiſh* officers exact intolerably upon travellers, eſpecially *Franks*.

3. Van. There is, 3. the city of *Van*, eaſt of *Erzerom*, upon the ſide of a lake of the ſame name. It has a ſtrong caſtle with a numerous garriſon, commanded by a *Baſſan*. The lake of *Van* is 50 miles in compaſs, and is well ſtor'd with good fiſh. This being a frontier towards *Perſia*, (as *Kars* likewiſe is) the *Turks* keep good garriſons in the caſtles of both, which are naturally ſtrong, as being built upon rocks, and are well fortified by art.

Revenue of Turcomania.

This province yields to the *Grand Signor*, yearly, 600 purſes in money, every purſe being 500 crowns, which make 75,000 *l.* ſter. and half as much paid by the Chriſtians; in all 112,500 *l.* beſides ſix *per Cent.* of all merchandize; which amounts to a conſiderable ſum. The vice-roy has, beſides the *Sultan*'s revenue, 300 purſes, or 37,500 *l.* ariſing out of the cuſtoms; of which he has 3 *per cent.* upon ſome goods, and ſometimes more: So that all goods pay, at leaſt, 9 *per cent.* in this province, whether they be exported or imported. This, with the laudable cuſtom of ſelling places and offices, makes the *Beglerbeg* at *Erzerom* keep a good table; and, as long as he can keep his head, he lives comfortably enough.

But travellers are plagued with a ſet of vagrants call'd *Curdes*, who travel arm'd, a-horſeback, with lances. They ſtrole, like the ancient *Scythians*, with their families and cattle, from *Curdiſtan*, where any habitation they have is. Upon their account, eſpecially, the caravans muſt be well arm'd, and watch their goods at night, with good care.

SECT. IV.

Of Curdistan, Diarbeck, *and* Eyraca Arabick.

WE chuſe, with Dr. *Heylin*, to treat of theſe three provinces together, not only becauſe the hiſtory of them, both in ſacred and prophane writers, is pretty much blended together; but likewiſe to ſhorten our Traveller as much as we conveniently can; but yet we ſhall keep them as clear of one another as may be, eſpecially as to the geography.

As we are, at preſent, moving weſtward, we ſhall begin with the moſt eaſtern of theſe three provinces, *viz.*

Curdis-tan. Curdistan, the ancient *Aſſyria*, ſo often mention'd in the Holy Scriptures. This province is bounded on the north, by a part of *Turcomania*; on the eaſt, by part of *Perſia*; on the ſouth, by *Eyrac Arabic*, and on the weſt, by *Diarbec*. *Its ſituation.*

This kingdom was the ancient inheritance of a long race of kings, known in the Old Teſtament under different names, as alſo by heathen writers. Dr. *Prideaux* ſays, the great *Aſſyrian* monarchy, which had govern'd *Aſia* 1300 years, was diſſolv'd upon the death of *Sardanapalus*, about 6 years before *Ahaz* began to reign over *Judah*, 742 years before Christ. The metropolis of that empire was *Nineveh*. But, upon the death of the *Aſſyrian* monarch (now mention'd) that great empire was divided, by the uſurpation of *Arbaces*, governor of *Media*, and *Beleſis*, governor of *Babylon*, not above ſeven years after the building of *Rome*. This *Arbaces*, who is call'd *Tiglath Pelezer* in Holy Writ, ſet up his ill-gotten throne in one of the cities of royal reſidence, *viz.* *Nineveh*; and *Beleſis*, whom the Scripture calls *Nabonaſſar*, ſettled in *Babylon*, the other royal ſeat of the *Aſſyrian* monarchs. *A ſhort account of the kings of* Aſſyria.

In this diſjointed ſtate the *Aſſyrian* monarchy continued about fourſcore years; during which time, *Salmanaſer*, the ſon of *Tiglath Pelezer*, deſtroyed the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and carried the ten tribes into captivity.

After 80 years, the king of *Babylon* dying without iſſue, *Eſarhaddon*, the great grandſon of *Tiglath*, recover'd *Babylon*, and united the monarchies again. This is the king of *Aſſyria* who carried *Manaſſeh* king of *Judah* to *Babylon* in chains, and afterwards reſtor'd him to his kingdom.

In the 15th year of *Joſiah* king of *Judah*, *Nabopolaſſar*, general of the king of *Aſſyria*, uſurp'd the kingom of *Babylon*, and having join'd with the king of the *Medes*, (at that time a ſeparate kingdom) laid ſiege to *Nineveh*, and having taken it, and kill'd the king, they raz'd that glorious city to the ground. This *Nabopolaſſar*, (call'd *Nabuchodonezar* in Scripture, as the kings of *Egypt* had the name of *Pharaoh*, or the *Roman* emperors of *Cæſar*) properly ſpeaking, diſſolv'd the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, and he and his ſucceſſors were call'd kings of *Babylon*, and it was his ſon who demoliſh'd the kingdom of *Judah*, and is the king ſo famous in *Daniel*'s prophecy.

The *Babyloniſh* monarchy fail'd in *Belſhazar*, who was ſlain in his capital, by the great *Cyrus*, who ſubdued *Babylon* after an extraordinary manner, already mentioned in the account of *Perſia*. And thus, *Aſſyria*, our *Curdiſtan*, became ſub-

ject

ject to the empire of *Perſia*, till both were ſubdued by *Alexander*. After his death, it came, in the partage of his conqueſts, to *Seleneus*, who, altho' with great trouble and blood-ſhed, kept it, with his other dominions to his dying day, which did not happen till he had gotten the better of all the *Macedonian* captains, who had ſurviv'd their maſter, and therefore took the name of *Seleneus Nicanor* or *Nicator*, i. e. *the Conquerer*; but was baſely murder'd by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, who had fled to him for ſhelter, and had been royally entertain'd by him, after his father, *Ptolomy Soter*, had diſinherited him.

From this time, *Curdiſtan* or *Aſſyria* was toſs'd about, for 83 years, by the ſucceſſors of thoſe *Macedonian* captains, till it fell into the hands of *Arſaces*, who having ſet up the *Parthian* monarchy; the 4th from him conquer'd all to the eaſtward of *Euphrates*. In a word, this country, which had been ſubject to the *Medes*, *Perſians*, and *Macedonians*; afterwards to the *Parthians*; then to the *Perſians* again; after that to the *Saracens*, than to the *Turks*, again to the *Perſians*, at laſt of all fell to the *Ottoman Turks*, who are their maſters at preſent.

This country is very pleaſant, being full of fruitful hills, and more fertile plains. The hills are cover'd with fine oaks, and other timber. The plains are well water'd, ſeveral rivers, beſides the *Tigris* running thro' it, the chief of which were anciently call'd *Licus* and *Caprus*.

The principal city when the *Aſſyrian* monarchy flouriſh'd, was, as we have *Nineveh.* ſaid, *Nineveh*, often mention'd in ſcripture, and eſpecially in *Jonah*'s prophecy. It was deſtroy'd, as before obſerv'd, by the king of *Babylon*, and the other *Nineveh*, now call'd *Moſul* was only a ſuburb of the great *Nineveh*, the old city having been on the eaſt ſide of the *Tigris*, but *Moſul* on the weſt. Dr. *Prideaux*, from *Diodorus Siculus*, ſhews that *Jonah*'s account of its having been a *City of three Days Journey*, is no exaggeration of the prophet, for that author ſays, it was 480 furlongs in circuit, which is 60 miles, at eight furlongs to a mile. But it is now and for many ages has been, in ruines.

Cities now in Curdiſtan. The chief cities of *Curdiſtan*, at preſent, are 1. *Sheraſoul*, a place to the eaſtward of the *Tigris*, in 36 degrees lat. The metropolis of the province, and ſeat of the *Beglerbeg*. 2. *Amadia*, north of *Moſul*, but eaſt of *Tigris*, built upon a hill, a place of good trade. 3. *Arbela*, to the eaſt of *Sheraſoul*, near which is the plain, famous for the defeat of *Darius* by *Alexander*. 4. *Betlis*, near the ſouth end of the lake *Van*. This city is built upon a hill, and has a road cut out, to come at it, where only one camel can paſs. Here a prince lives, who takes the title of *Dey*, and having a ſmall territory ſurrounded with hills, very difficult of acceſs, preſerves his independency, and neither ſubmits to *Turks* nor *Perſians*. But if he can raiſe 25,000 horſe and a proportionable body of foot among the ſhepherds of his country, as we are told he can, nothing but his loſing the affection of his people by tyranny, can ſubject him or his country to a foreign power.

The people of *Curdiſtan*, are ſaid to be generally a brutiſh people, going about with their flocks and herds from one place to another, and living in tents. They are a terror to travellers, and are the *Curdes*, mention'd in the laſt ſection. The religion of this country are, the mahometan, and a ſort of chriſtian.

Towards the weſt of *Curdiſtan*, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which, in our maps, are above 60 leagues diſtant from each other in the latitude of 36 deg. lies.

DIARBECK, the ancient *Meſopotamia*, and the *Padan Aram* of the ſcripture; which laſt name ſignifies, *the cultivated Syria*, or country of the *Aramites*. The *Greeks* call'd it *Meſopotamia*, from its ſituation between two great rivers; but the *Turks* call it *Diarbeck*.

This country generally follow'd the fate of *Aſſyria*, being, with it, ſubject to the kings of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, to the *Perſian* and *Macedonian* conqueſts, then tothe *Roman* and *Saracen*, and at laſt to that of the *Ottomans*. This country is famous for the birth of the great patriarch *Abraham*, call'd *Ur* of the *Caldees* in *Geneſis*, which is what is now call'd *Urfa* in *Diarbec*, (and not in the proper *Chaldea*) as *Heylin* demonſtrates.

This province lies, as has been ſaid, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which bound the whole country on the eaſt and weſt; it has on the north, *Turcomania*, ſeparated from it by a ridge of *Taurus*, and, to the ſouth, *Eyraca Arabic*, and part of *Arabia Deverta*.

The hiſtory of this province is ſo interwoven with that of *Aſſyria*, that we ſhall not trouble the reader any more with it, there being nothing particular to it, except what may be found in the holy ſcriptures, which are of higher authority than any other I can produce.

The chief cities in *Diarbec* are 1. *Bir*, which ſtands upon the eaſt ſide of *Euphrares* in 35 and a half lat. in *Moll*'s maps, but we are told, it is 37 degrees. It is the great road from *Aleppo* into this province. Here is a garriſon under an *Aga*, but both the city and caſtle are

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ſubject to the *Baſſau* of *Urfa* or *Orfa*. 2. *Urfa*, ſaid to be the place of *Abraham*'s nativity, and likewiſe the *Edeſſa* mention'd by *Euſebius*, as the capital of *Abgarus*, who is ſaid to have ſent to invite our *Bleſſed* SAVIOUR to ſhare his kingdom with him. And near this city, they ſhew a well which is call'd *The well of the handkerchief*, becauſe, as the tradition there goes, our SAVIOUR having ſent his picture, in a handkerchief, to *Abgarus*, his meſſengers threw it into this well, to ſave it from robbers who attack'd them there; and, having told the king of it, he went to the place, and found the handkerchief ſwimming on the top of the water, the well being, contrary to cuſtom, brim full, and upon his taking it in his hand, he was cur'd of a leproſy. But the incomparable *Du Pin* has ſaid enough to diſcredit this whole ſtory, and, with his uſual candour, honeſtly ſays, that the additional circumſtance of the handkerchief, which is not in *Euſebius*, muſt have been a forgery of the favourers of *image worſhip*.

Tavernier tells us, the inhabitants ſhew great regard to a fountain, reſembling a fiſh-pond, where the fiſh are ſo tame that they will follow any body round the pond for bread. But none muſt touch them, becauſe they ſay they are *Abraham*'s fiſh.

This city is the capital of the province, and ſeat of the vice-roy. It is not very large, but has a ſtone wall, fenced with towers. And here the caravans ſtop for ſome days, both to change horſes and camels, and to ſtock themſelves with the yellow skins, call'd *Maroquin*, which are beſt in this province, and near this place, as the red is at the city of *Diarbec*, farther north. The city of *Orfa* is placed in the maps upon the *Euphrates*, north of *Bir*; but it ſtands eaſtward of *Bir* about 2 days journey.

3. *Merdin* is the next conſiderable town, ſix days farther eaſt, according to *Tavernier*'s way of travelling with the caravan. This is alſo the reſidence of a *Baſſau*. Here our author ſaw two bibles finely preſerv'd, in the *Chaldaic* tongue, one of which, they told him, was 937 years old; but the prieſts durſt not ſell it, altho' he offer'd 200 crowns for it.

4. *Nisbin*, near, if not the ſame with *Niſibis*, where the moſt remarkable thing is a pedeſtal, ſuppos'd to have had an image of St. *James*, biſhop of *Niſibis*, which having been demoliſh'd by the *Turks*, the Chriſtians there worſhip the pedeſtal with the ſame devotion that they did the image, and with more, undoubtedly, than the ſaint would allow, if he were alive, or knew their folly.

5. *Moſoul* lies eaſt of *Nisbin*, upon the *Tigris*, over-againſt *Nineveh*; and a ſuburb of it, as we have ſaid. This is another place where the caravans ſtop, and has a *Turkiſh* garriſon of 4000 horſe and foot. There is a bridge of boats over the *Tygris* into *Curdiſtan*.

6. *Diarbec*, or *Diarbequer*, lies north from *Moſoul*, and is call'd *Caremit* by the *Turks*. It lies ſo near the ſource of the river that it is fordable there, except in rainy weather. There is a canal cut from the river, to water the town, which is a league diſtant from it. In this canal they ſteep all the red *Turky* leather made here, which I ſhould think were no good way of recommending the water, for the uſe of the kitchen or table.

The northern part of this province abounds in corn, wine, and fruits, and is abundantly ſtock'd with cattle, deer, &c. But the ſouth part partakes much of the nature of the *Deſart Arabia*, upon which it borders.

The eſtabliſh'd religion of the country, is that of *Mahomet*; but the generality of the people are Chriſtians, ſuch as they are.

EYRACA ARABICK is the ancient *Caldea*, of which we ſhall have the leſs to ſay, as having, in another place, * deſcrib'd *Babylon*, the old curioſity of that country; and, altho' no remains of it are now to be ſeen, yet all people ſpeak of it. EYRACA ARABICK * See Ch. VI. Sect. II. p. 525.

This province has *Diarbec* and part of *Curdiſtan* on the north, part of *Perſia* on the eaſt, the gulph of *Perſia* with part of *Arabia Deſerta* on the ſouth and weſt. It lies on both ſides of the windings of *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, and reaches as far ſouth as *Baſſora*.

There is nothing in the hiſtory of this country but what is common to that of *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, except what relates to particular places, ſuch as the city of *Babylon*, already deſcrib'd. Nor ſhall I trouble the reader or myſelf with uncertain conjectures, and uſeleſs diſputes, about the ſeat of paradiſe, ſaid to be in this province. We ſhall therefore only add to what has been already ſaid in the places above quoted, that this province may have been the place where *Adam* was plac'd, for it is one of the fineſt countries under heaven. The ground is the moſt fruitful, and the meadows and paſture, the pleaſanteſt, in the world. There one may ſee flocks and herds for above 100 miles in a ſtretch, near the banks of thoſe two famous rivers, from which the *Grand Signor* exacts a good revenue every year; for he ſends an officer to collect a piaſter and a quarter for every buffalo, 2 piaſters for every horſe or mare, and 10 pence for every ſheep, which amounts to a large ſum.

The cities now in this province are,

Cities. 1. Bagdad.

1. *Bagdad* towards the north part of it upon the *Tygris*, as we obſerv'd in Sir *Thomas Herbert's* account of *Perſia* above quoted, it ſtands in 33 deg. lat. and was the ſeat of the *Saracen* empire. But it was then only upon the weſt ſide of *Tygris* as Mr. *Salmon* ſays, and in 1095 one of the *Caliphs* built a new city on the eaſt ſide, and join'd it to the old, by a bridge of boats. But Mr. *Tavernier*, who was there in his 4th journey to *Perſia*, takes no notice of a town on each ſide, but ſays expreſsly that *Bagdad* is ſeperated from *Meſopotamia* by the *Tygris*, which ſhews it to be upon the *Perſian* or eaſt ſide of that river. He ſays indeed that there is a bridge of boats, but ſays nothing of a town on the weſt.

According to *Tavernier*, the city is not above three miles in circuit, wall'd about with towers, in which are 60 pieces of cannon. It has a caſtle within the walls towards the north, in which are 150 great guns without carriages, an *Aga* keeps 300 *Janizaries* there; but the governor of the city is a *Baſſau*, and commonly a *Vizir*, who has ſtill ready at a call 700 horſe; and has 3000 ſoldiers in the town and villages adjacent. Another *Aga* keeps the keys of the city, and bridge gates, with 200 *Janizaries* under his command.

The civil government of *Bagdad* is in the hands of a *Cadi* and *Teſterder*, the firſt is judge, and the 2d treaſurer.

The trade is much decay'd ſince it fell into the hands of the *Turks*. But it often changes maſters, and has belong'd to the *Turks* and *Perſians* alternately, according as the one or the other happens to prevail. The laſt time the *Turks* took it was in 1689. But ſtill the trade is conſiderable, being the paſs where all the carriages come from *Baſſora*; beſides thoſe who go thither, as *Tavernier* ſays, for devotion, believing that *Haly* was buried in or near this city.

The next great city in this province is *Boſſora* or *Balſara*, which ſtands about two miles from the *Euphrates* after it is join'd with the *Tygris*, which is call'd in the *Arabian* tongue *Shetel Areb*, or *the river of Arabia*.

Mr. *Tavernier* came down in a bark from *Bagdad* to this city, and ſays, that the whole country between thoſe two cities and the two great rivers, is cut into canals like *Holland*, and is one of the fineſt countries in the world.

The two rivers meet at *Gorno*, where there are three forts, the fort of *Gorno* is juſt at their joining, and the other two upon the two other rivers before they meet. All cuſtom goods are taken an account of at *Gorno*, but only paid at *Boſſora* according to the charge from the fort.

Baſſora is 15 leagues ſouth from *Gorno*, and has a canal from *Euphrates*, which takes barks thither of 150 tun. This city is likewiſe 15 leagues from the mouth of the river, ſo that it is about half way between *Gorno* and the ſea, altho' the tide comes up all thoſe 30 leagues to the meetings of the rivers: But the water is freſh at *Baſſora*. 2. Baſſora

Tavernier tells us of an odd revolution that happen'd to this city about the beginning of the laſt century, as I compute it, altho' he does not name the time.

The *Turks* having taken *Baſſora*, (as he calls it,) made a compoſition with the *Arabians* from whom they took it, that they ſhould live unmoleſted in the country all round, and the *Arabian* citizens ſhould enjoy their privileges, provided they would not diſturb them in the town, where they had a *Baſſau* for governor. But the *Turks* having built a cittadel in the town to keep it in awe, the *Arabians* and they came ſo often to blows, and broke treaties upon ſuch trifling pretences, that *Baſſau Aiud*, then governor, finding he could not live in peace, in ſuch a diſaffected place, ſold his government for 40,000 piaſters, to a rich lord of the country, who, being put in poſſeſſion, rais'd a conſiderable force, and, throwing off the *Turkiſh* yoke, call'd himſelf prince of *Balſara*.

For this ſale, the *Baſſau* was ſtrangled, at his return to *Conſtantinople*. And *Amurat* having taken *Bagdad*, this new prince was forced to bribe him to let him keep poſſeſſion. But ſoon after, *Imaucouli Can*, mention'd in the VIth chapter of this book, * tho' with ſome difference in the name, was ſent by *Sha Abas* to beſiege *Balſara*, after he had taken *Ormus*. The new prince being unable to reſiſt a powerful army of *Perſians*, perſuaded the *Arabians* to break down the dam, which is built three miles long, upon a part of the coaſt lower than ordinary, to keep out the ſea. Upon the breaking down this wall, the country was overflow'd about 17 leagues, which made the *Can* ſoon raiſe the ſiege. [But how the *Perſians* got away, or how the *Arabians* got the dam built again, and the tide ſtop'd, our author does not ſay; nor can I tell.] However, this prince's grandſon was prince of *Balſara* when our author was there; and he gives ſuch an account of the juſtice and mildneſs of his government, as would make one in love with *Mahometan* princes, if they were all like him. His revenue was in, 1. Money; for he obliged all merchants to coin their money into *Larins*; by which he has 8 *per cent.* 2. In horſes, which are ſo good, that the foreign merchans purchaſe them from him at great prices. 3. In camels, which the

* P. 517

Arabs

Arabs bring to market, and pay him custom for them; and, 4. In *Date* trees, of which there is vast plenty, and sell at a good price.

Salmon represents this prince as governor only of *Balsara* for the *Grand Signor*; and it must have been, that he had some dependance upon the *Porte*, because the goods inventory'd at *Gorno* paid the duty at *Balsara*. But it is evident that his dependance is quite of another kind than the *Bassaw's*, or else strangers would not speak so well of the government.

This country of *Caldea* is troubled with two plagues; *viz.* locusts, and hot winds. The first devour their corn and herbage, 'till the wind drives them in swarms to the desarts of *Arabia*, where they die; and the second kill the people, of which they tell incredible stories, of people being struck dead in an instant, by a blast of this wind, which they call *Samiel*, and that they grow black as a coal, and the flesh comes from the bone, as if it were boil'd.

Religion. All that we shall farther observe concerning this country, is about the religion of the inhabitants. As to the *Mahometans*, we have said enough of it in the VIth chapter; the most material difference between the *Persians* and *Turks* being the respect due to *Haly* and *Osmin*, as we observ'd before.

Mahometans.

Christians. As to the Christians who live in the *Turks* dominions in *Asia*, they are, the *Armenians*, the *Georgians*, those of St. *John*, and the *Romanists*. As to the latter, they are so well known, that we need not trouble the reader with an abstract of their creed, as it differs from ours; besides, they are not, properly, natives of this country.

The *Armenians* and *Georgians* were anciently of the *Greek Church*, when they were orthodox; but not under the same patriarch. But, as the *Eutychian* and *Nestorian* opinions, about the natures and persons in CHRIST, made strange divisions in the eastern church, and began, and were carried on, by the unseasonable heat of two great bishops, St. *Cyril*, and *Nestorius*, the one bishop of *Alexandria*, and the other of *Constantinople*. I cannot help thinking that *Nestorius* was orthodox in the Christian faith, when he first oppos'd the B. Virgin's being call'd *the Mother of* GOD, and that he would have continued sound all his life, if he had not been disputed into hereſy by St. *Cyril*. For he was as much against those who would only call her *the Mother of a Man*, as he oppos'd the other term; endeavouring to compromise the matter in the general expression, *the Mother of* CHRIST. And his early zeal against the *Arians* shew his belief of our LORD's *Divinity*. And the summary proceedings against him, by, St. *Cyril's* heat, in the council of *Ephesus* was very little to his honour, or that of the bishops of his party; for, in the space of one day, he was accus'd, twice summon'd, his cause examin'd, in his absence, witnesses heard, and he condemn'd, depos'd, and excommunicated. *

When this unseasonable heat had brought matters to this pass, the eastern bishops, who were not arriv'd at *Ephesus*, when this sentence pass'd, went home as ill satisfied with St. *Cyril* and his party, as the others had been with *Nestorius*. And thus they run themselves into hereſy, out of pride and contradiction, confounding the divine and humane natures in CHRIST, which I believe *Nestorius* never meant to do. The disputing about the 2 natures brought forth that about the 2 wells, and the hereſy of the *Monothelites* in the VIIth century. The worshipping of images was establish'd in the VIIIth, which made great disorder in the east, some being for, and others against them. The schism which *Photius* occasion'd in the eastern church, century IX. and the disputes about trifles, between them and the church of *Rome*, in the XIth century, kept up the flame, and tore the eastern churches to pieces; and some time afterwards the troubles and divisions of the empire, and the ignorance which crept into the church, especially after the *Turks* got possession, destroy'd, by degrees, the face of Christianity in *Asia*, and brought in corruption both in doctrine and worship, and indeed to that degree, that it is not an easy matter to distinguish the errors of Christians of any one part of *Turky* in *Asia*.

* See Du Pin's Bibl. Patrum, V. Cent. Counc. of Ephesus.

I shall only say, that, notwithstanding all the mischiefs, now mention'd, the eastern church had good and learned men in it in every century, 'till the country was overrun by the *Turks*, and then superstition (as was very natural to imagine) follow'd upon the back of ignorance. And yet I do not find that the *Greek* church was charg'd, even in the XVth century, with any hereſy but that of denying the *procession* of the H. GHOST from the SON. (for, as to their denying the pope's supremacy, and purgatory, that was praise worthy.) And their doctrine about the H. GHOST might have been easily made up, if humane passion and pride had not had too great a share in the debate.

The great difference then between the *Armenians* and other Christians, who still adher'd to the *Greek* church, seems to have been, that the former had follow'd the opinions of the followers of *Nestorius*, (for I cannot think they were his own) concerning the *one nature only* in CHRIST, and the opinions of the *Monothelites*, consequent upon the other, whereas the o-

thers

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more [illegible]
and Welsh churches, as [illegible]
doctrine.

But we are told by later authors, such as I have nam'd in this and the former sections of this chapter, that the Christians of all denominations, who are natives of the countries we have been describing, scarce deserve the name. I hope it is otherwise; and if I am mistaken, I pray GOD it may soon be, as it was once.

But Mr. *Tavernier* gives an account of those whom he calls the *Christians of St. John*, of whom, he says, there were 25,000 families in and about *Balsara*. They have an odd sort of creed. They have no notion of the TRINITY, but believe CHRIST to be the SPIRIT and WORD of the *Eternal* FATHER. They make *Gabriel* to be the *Son* of GOD, begotten upon light. They say, CHRIST *was made man for our redemption*; that *the B. Virgin conceiv'd him, without the help of a man, by drinking of a certain fountain*; that *he was crucified (in appearance only) by the* Jews; *for, when they came to apprehend him, he vanish'd, and left only his shadow.* And yet, he says, they believe that *he rose from the dead the third day, and that his soul went to heaven, leaving his body upon earth.* But, if he was only crucified in appearance, when did he die? They baptize in rivers. The godfathers plunge them thrice in the waters, whilst the bishop reads the service, and then sprinkles them thrice; (an emblem, one would think, of the TRINITY) but he only does it *in the name of the* LORD, *first and last Creator of the world, and of paradise, and of all things.* They have also a sort of a *Eucharist*, much of a piece with the baptism; for, in their consecration, they never mention the *Body* nor *Blood* of CHRIST, but bless it as a common meal. Their bishops are hereditary. Both bishops and priests marry twice; but their wives must be virgins at their marriage, which they must swear to the truth of, and, to make it sure, the bishop's wife, with some other matrons, make inspection, and so report upon oath; and, if they declare her a virgin, the bishop performs his office. Their notion of a future state is of a piece with the rest, made up of a mixture of Christianity and Mahometism; for they suppose houses and towns in the other world, and that there is procreation of children. They have such aversion to the *Turks*, that if a *Turk* asks a drink of them, (which they dare not refuse) they will break or burn the cup he drinks out of. And they be-

[illegible] the Christians of St. John shall be [illegible] and I wish they may, [illegible] the description of *Calvin*.

SECT. V.

Of ARABIA.

BEING now in the south part of *Turky*, we shall give some account of *Arabia*, that we may close this volume with the *Holy Land*, and the *Asian* islands in the *Mediterranean*.

ARABIA is that great tract of land which lies between the *Red Sea* and *Balsara* gulph, quite round the coast, from that gulph to the streights of *Babel Mandel*, and so along the coast of the *Red Sea*, to *Palestine*. So that *Arabia* is surrounded with sea, all except the north, having the *Arabian* gulph, from *Bassora*, on the east, the ocean, or *Arabian Sea*, on the south; the *Red Sea* on the west, and *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Eyraca Arabic*, on the north. It is not improperly compar'd to the head of an ax, the edge of which runs from *Babel Mandel*, in an easterly course, to *Cape Rosalgate*, along the coast of the ocean, and is, by much, the broadest part. The gulph of *Bassora*, running into the land westerly, makes it considerably narrower towards the north. It is reckon'd 900 miles broad along the coast, but is not above half that breadth from *Euphrates* to the *Red Sea*. The length of it from the north-east to the south-west, is about 1000 miles.

It has always been divided into three, but unequal parts, *viz. Arabia Fœlix*, *Deserta*, and *Petræa*, or the *Happy*, the *Desart*, and the *Stony Arabia*.

We shall begin with *Arabia Fœlix*, which lies upon the ocean all along by the *Red Sea*, to the gulph of *Ormus*, and stretches towards the north, along the coast of the *Red Sea*, and the gulph of *Bassora*, about 500 miles. So that, considering the breadth of it southward, it may be well reckon'd considerably bigger than both the other *Arabias* put together.

The west parts of *Arabia Fœlix*, at least those on the coast, are in subjection to the *Grand Signor*, as appears from the account formerly given of Sir *Henry Middleton's* voyage to the *Red Sea*. But, notwithstanding this subjection, this country is said to consist of seven different kingdoms. *Division.*

1. *Oman*, or *Muscat*, lies on the east side of the *Happy Arabia*, along the coast of the bay of *Ormus*, having that gulph on the east, the ocean on the south, *Seger* on the west, and *Bassora* on the north. It is the largest kingdom in the whole peninsula. A great part of it, however, is a sandy desart, and other parts of it mountainous. The chief towns of it are *Hatzen*, 1. Oman.

Haseni, Hamida, Gamel, Mafsal, &c. *Jaafar, Jaiphary,* and *Elcasy.*

2. Caresen *and* Seger.

2. *Caresen* and *Seger* lies Eastward of the last, and is bounded by the ocean on the south-east, by *Hadramut* on the west, and by *Oman* on the north and part of the east. The cities of this united kingdom are *Hasswel, Fortach, Dofar, Morabat,* and *Niban*; all upon the coast.

3. Adramut.

3. *Hadramut* joins to *Seger*, still along the coast, and has *Moha*, or *Moco*, towards the west. The towns in this kingdom are *Hadramut, Shubar, Maculla,* and *Aragui.*

4. Moha.

4. *Moha* joins to the *Red Sea*; so that it is bounded on the south and west by water, and has *Tehama* on the north, and *Hadramut* on the east. The chief towns are *Aden, Moco, Abra,* and *Sanaa.* Of the first two see the place above-mention'd.

5. Tehama.

5. *Tehama* lies north of *Moha*, upon the coast of the *Red Sea*, and has *Gualafeca, Sibil,* and *Haran,* for its chief cities.

But the most celebrated kingdom in all *Arabia*, since *Mahomet*'s days, is

6. Hagiar or Mecca

6. That of *Hagiar*, (about the middle of the coast of the *Red Sea*) because in it are the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina.* The first the place of *Mahomet*'s birth, and the other of his burial. It has the *Stony Arabia* on the north, and *Tehama* on the south; and is call'd the *Xerif*, or principality, of *Mecca.*

How far these kingdoms penetrate into the country we cannot precisely tell. But they only mention one inland kingdom, *viz.*

7. Jamama.

7. *Jamama*, of which we have but little knowledge; only we are told, that the chief towns belonging to it are *Jamama, Hujor,* and *Tuna.*

The most remarkable cities of *Arabia Fœlix* are *Mecca* and *Medina*, and they only made famous by their relation to the great impostor *Mahomet*, who was born, and began to publish his *Alcoran* in the first, and was forc'd to fly for refuge to the second, where he was afterwards bury'd.

Our *English Atlas*, from the authority of the *Atlas Historique* places these two cities with the territories belonging to them, in *Arabia the Desart.* I shall not pretend to determine the bounds of these two *Arabias*, but finding both *Mecca* and *Medina*, not only in *Heylin*, but likewise in Mr. *Salmon*'s *Present State of Arabia*, placed in *Arabia the Happy*, I have follow'd them, and if we should be mistaken, it is of less consequence, because those cities are under the government of one of the family of *Haly*, and for the sanctity of the places, this jurisdiction is reckon'd distinct and independent of any other *Mahometan* power, who may, or have been masters of the adjacent countries. And we are told, that, tho' the *Grand Signors* destroy'd the caliphat of the *Caliphs*, the successors of *Mahomet*, yet they never would dispossess them of the government of the two holy cities; but so far they are masters, that I find they can depose one *Xerif* of *Mecca* and *Medina*, and set up another of the same family.

We have formerly *given, at large, the history of *Mahomet*, from Dr. *Prideaux*, and therefore shall say little of him here, but only give a short description of *Mecca* and *Medina.*

* The Traveller of Persia.

Mr. *Thevenot* says, no Christian can come nearer *Mecca* than five days journey, under the penalty of being burnt, and therefore his account of it must be taken from the *Mahometans.*

The pilgrimages to those two cities yearly, not only keep up the reputation of them, but enrich them considerably. For, this author says, that the great caravan sometimes consists of 100,000 persons, accompanied with 8,000 camels, 4 *Beys*, or great lords, one *Janizar-Aga*, 4 *Bassaus*, besides many other persons of quality, from different places. All these have their rendezvouz at *Cairo* in *Egypt*, as also from other places, and set out in the following order.

Order of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

When the time of beginning their journey comes, which is in *July*, the presents, design'd for the holy cities, are brought, in procession, from the castle of *Cairo*, to the house of the *Emir-adge*, or captain of the caravan. Those presents consist of rich ornaments for the *Kiabe*, or holy city, (which stands in the middle of *Mecca*) *viz* 4 pieces of crimson velvet, embroider'd with *Arabic* letters in gold, of the length, breadth, and thickness of one's finger; a door-curtain of velvet of the same work; a great pavilion of the same velvet embroider'd, carried by a camel, and a small one by a man; eight pieces of serge, and a bundle of ropes. These are accompanied by the people of quality, and a guard of Janizaries, with banners, drums, timbrels, &c. The people crowding to touch the presents, with great devotion; and such as could not get near, untied their turbants, to throw the end of them upon a part of the presents, and kiss'd that part which touch'd them.

When they were all brought to the *Emir*'s house, they were with great devotion put into the great pavilion, and that set upon a camel, who, from that time, never is put to any labour, but for that one journey.

When they begin the journey, six field pieces are drawn along with the *Emir*'s guard, who march first, accompanied by his family, with their provisions upon horses and camels. After them marches the *Emir-adge* himself, with the *Beys*, and people of quality. Then comes the

bleſſed camel, with the pavilion, follow'd by an empty one, in caſe of any accident happening to the firſt. And then the whole train of pilgrims, many of whom have their horſes or camels along with them, to eaſe them, in caſe they ſhould not be able to perform the journey in 45 days a-foot.

When they come near the city, they ſtrip themſelves ſtark naked, only having a napkin about their necks, and another about their waiſt, which hangs down before; and in this condition they remain eight days, without ſhaving or waſhing, and muſt not kill a flea, or worſe vermine. But thoſe who are ſick are exempted from this indecent ceremony, and give alms in lieu of it. None of the pilgrims ſtay longer than three days at *Mecca*, during which time, they ſpend one day in going round the *Kiabe*, or holy houſe, in a very ridiculous manner, ſometimes going very ſoftly, and at other times running themſelves out of breath, as their poſture-maſter, appointed for that purpoſe, ſhews them example. Another day is ſpent in ſacrificing ſheep, and beſtowing alms, after which they ſhave and put on their clothes. And then they go to mount *Arafat*, a a place hard by, to throw ſtones at the devil, who, according to their tradition, tempted *Abraham*, when he was going to offer up *Iſhmael*, whom they have put in *Iſaac*'s place, for the honour of their founder. And, after they have perform'd theſe ridiculous ceremonies, and that the *Emir* has diſpos'd of the preſents, they go on to *Medina*.

But, before we leave *Mecca*, we ſhall give the ſubſtance of our author's deſcription of it.

Mecca ſtands in the mountains, about a day's journey from the *Red Sea*, in 41 deg. and an half of latitude. It is all built of ſtone, but low, according to their manner. The moſt remarkable thing about it is the *Kiabe*, or GOD's houſe, as they call it, which, as we have ſaid, is in the middle of the town, and is ſaid to have been *Abraham*'s houſe. It is not above 15 foot long, 12 broad, and 30 in height, ſurrounded with a wall at ſome diſtance from it, to keep people out. The entry into it is about 8 or 9 foot from the ground; ſo that people go up to it by a ladder. The door is 9 foot high, and 6 wide, and is of beaten ſilver, with two folding leaves. The roof has a cupola ſupported by 3 pillars of alloes wood, of one piece, as big as a man's body, 20 foot high, a very extraordinary rarity. The houſe is girt about with two belts of gold, and the ſpout thro' which the water runs from it, was of the ſame metal. But, the greateſt curioſity, in their account, is a black ſtone, about the bigneſs of a man's head, which lies at the door; and, as they pretend, came down from heaven white, but chang'd its colour for the wickedneſs of the world. He who firſt kiſſes this ſtone, after the benediction given upon the *Friday*, which falls in the 3 days ſtay the pilgrims make at *Mecca*, is held for a ſaint, and their crouding to kiſs his feet commonly ends his ſainthip, the hour it began, for, he is frequently ſtifled to death upon the ſpot.

Mecca deſcrib'd.

When the *Xeriff* gives his benediction, the pilgrims are to depart next morning; and the Mahometans ſay, that it never fails to rain ſo exceſſively the night following, that it carries off all the blood and bones of the ſacrifices; which they pretend is an indication of GOD's accepting their devotions. And, altho' their feaſt falls, in ſome years, ten days ſooner than in others, this deluge happens the night after they depart. But we muſt take their word for that.

The pilgrims, after they have finiſh'd their devotions at *Mecca*, proceed to *Medina*, which is ten days journey, in the road homewards. For, it ſeems, they muſt not go thither firſt, altho' it is 200 miles nearer to *Cairo* than *Mecca* is.

Medina.

Medina is in the latitude of 24 degrees, and at a greater diſtance from the *Red Sea* than *Mecca*. It conſiſts of about 1000 houſes, of brick or ſtone, of one ſtory. But they have ſeveral ſtately moſques: The chief of which is in the middle of the town, like the holy houſe of *Mecca*. At one corner of this edifice, is *Mahomet*'s tomb, in a little tower cover'd with a dome, and a gallery round it, the wall of which has ſeveral windows, the grates whereof are ſilver, and the inſide wall, oppoſite to the head of the ſepulchre, is adorn'd with jewels and precious ſtones of inеſtimable value, being the gifts of many *Mahometan* princes; among the reſt, there is one diamond of half a finger long, and two fingers broad. There is, below that, a creſcent of gold, ſet with diamonds of great value. The tower, or dome, is hung with red and white damask quite round the wall; and thoſe hangings are renewed every 7 years, and if there happens to be a new emperor in that time, they are ſooner renew'd. The doors of the gallery are ſilver.

Mahomet's tomb.

Pilgrims are not admitted to ſee the ſepulchre, but ſatisfy themſelves with the ſight of the dome: But after the crowd is gone, a few ſtrangers may be admitted to convince their own eyes of the folly of that ridiculous fable of *Mahomet*'s tomb hanging in the air, ſuſpended by loadſtones.

By the time that all their devotions are done in both theſe cities, an *Aga* comes with a guard from *Cairo*, and freſh proviſions,

visions, sent by the pilgrims friends, and so the caravan sets out from *Medina* towards *Cairo*.

The other most remarkable towns in *Arabia Foelix* are

3. *Moha*, above-mention'd, at the entry of the *Red Sea*.

4. *Muscat*, upon the gulph of *Ormus*, about 60 leagues northwest from cape *Rosalgate*; once a *Portuguese* colony, but possess'd by the *Arabians*, soon after the *Persian* monarch, by the assistance of the *English*, took *Ormus* from that nation, as we observ'd in the account of *Persia*.

5. *Elcatif*, upon the gulph of *Bassora*, lat. 27 deg. a place of great trade formerly, but gone to decay since the pearl fishery was neglected.

There are many other towns in *Arabia Foelix*, altho' the natives who live in tents, and remove from place to place, as the ancient *Scythians* did, are by far more numerous than they who dwell in towns.

The Desart Arabia.

Arabia Deserta seems to have very few towns belonging to it; which is attributed to the barrenness of the country, there being vast tracts of ground there, where there is neither grass nor shrub, river nor spring, but travellers steer their course, as at sea, by the compass, or the stars, for the heat obliges them to travel by night. The fatigue of going through this country kills a great many pilgrims, 5000 dying sometimes in a pilgrimage. This *Arabia* lies between the *Red Sea* and *Euphrates*, or, at least, to the confines of *Syraca*; and has *Arabia Foelix* on the south, and is bounded on the north by *Arabia Petræa*, *Syria*, and *Diarbec*. But, as my authors are not agreed about the bounds of it, separated from the other two *Arabias*, I shall not dwell longer upon it.

Stony Arabia.

Arabia Petræa, so call'd, as some think, from the rocks in it; or, as others, from *Petra*, a town in this country, lies north and west of the former, running along to the northmost point of the *Red Sea*; that it has that sea, and the isthmus dividing *Asia* from *Africa*, upon the west; *Palestine* and *Syria* on the north; and the *Desart Arabia* on the east and south.

This country is most famous for having been the scene of the life of *Moses*, both before and after the departure of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*. For, when he first fled from that place of his nativity, upon his finding that his having kill'd an *Egyptian* was discover'd, he fled to *Midian*, or *Madian*, which lay in this *Arabia*, and there he staid 40 years. Here is mount *Horeb*, where *Moses* saw the miracle of the *Burning Bush*, which *Thevenot* tells us is near *Tor*, not far from the north end

Mount Horeb.

of the *Red Sea*, upon the *Arabian* side. Into this part of *Arabia Petræa*, the *Israelites* pass'd thro the sea from *Egypt*, at a place call'd *Corandel*, said to be the ancient *Shur*, between *Tor* and the north point of that sea, altho', perhaps, it is not so easy to fix on the particular place. The sea is, there, 15 miles in breadth, and 30 fathom deep in the middle. But what makes it probable that the place now assign'd for their passage, is the true one, is, that the *Egyptian* coast is very steep for a vast way, except over-against that place, where there is an easy descent into that sea for 8 or 9 miles together, and on each side, impassable mountains, which it was not possible they could have march'd over. And therefore since, in all probability, that part of the *Egyptian* coast was the place where they enter'd the sea, there is all the reason imaginable to conclude that they were directed the shortest way over; since there was no necessity to continue the miracle any longer.

The place where the Israelites pass'd the Red Sea.

Upon the road between *Suez*, (a town upon the north point of the *Red Sea*, the confines of *Egypt*) and *Tor*, 40 leagues north, from the point, are to be seen, what the *Arabs* call the *Wells of Moses*, said to be the waters of *Marah*.

Waters of Marah.

Tor is but a small place, but it has a convenient harbour for ships and gallies. A little square castle commands the port, and is garrison'd by *Turks*, under an *Aga*. Near this town is a convent of *Greeks*, dedicated to St. *Katherine* and the angel who appear'd to *Moses*. In this convent were 30 monks.

Town of Tor.

From *Tor*, our author went to mount *Sinai*, passing over *Elam*, where *Moses*, at GOD's command, made the waters sweet. But now they are bitter, as before. He pass'd the wilderness of *Sin*, where *Manna* was sent to the *Israelites*. From thence our author went to *Rephidim*, where the *Israelites* murmur'd for want of water, and were miraculously supplied by *Moses*'s striking the rock, and where they fought *Amalek*, and gave that nation a miraculous defeat, by *Moses*'s holding up his hands. * In this progress, Mr. *Thevenot* was shew'd the rock out of which the water flow'd.

Wilderness of Sin.

* Exod. XVII.

Mount Sinai.

Mount *Sinai* is now call'd St. *Katharine*'s mount, because there is a monkish legend, that her body, the minute she was beheaded at *Alexandria*, was carried to the top of that hill by angels, and some time after, a monk having dream'd it was there (but whether the angels had brought the head with it, I cannot say) the superior of the convent went up the hill, and brought it down to the convent, where it still lies. But whether it may not be like *Cetaba*'s head, formerly mention'd, I will not venture my credit. Upon mount *Sinai*,

Sinai, our author was shew'd the place where *Moses* said, when he fasted 40 days before he receiv'd the ten commandments, as also a grotto, where he hid himself, after he had desired to see the face of GOD. But, that truth may be mix'd with fiction, he was shew'd in that mount the mark of *Mahomet's Alborac*. Up and down this mount are many chappels to S. *Elias*, (whose hiding place from *Jezebel* they pretend to shew;) to the B. *Virgin*, to S. *Ann*, S. *John* and several others.

This mount was formerly full of *Hermites*, but their cells are empty or destroy'd, and most of the steps from St. *Katherine's* monastry to the top of the mount are broken, and the monastry is deserted, the *Monks* having been oblig'd to leave it upon the account of the *Arabs*. This is the monastry where *Mahomet* is said to have been a servant, and to have had his future greatness foretold; but Dr. *Prideaux* has shew'd this inconsistent with his manner of education.

Within a mile of this convent, our author was shew'd the place where the *Golden Calf* was made. And after he descended into the plain, he saw the place (as his guide said) where *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* perish'd miraculously. Whether the places he saw were what they were call'd, I shall not pretend to determine; I cannot imagine how the *Greek* monks should, after so many ages, particularize places, which are never said to have had any monuments erected to keep them in remembrance, and where no body dwelt (to keep up the memory of them) long after that generation of people were dead for whose sakes they were done. But thus far is certain, that all these memorable things mentioned above, were transacted in and about the places here describ'd, and if we cannot say that such a particular spot is the place where *Moses* brought the *Israelites* out of the *Red Sea*, we may be certain it is not far from it, and he that will not believe that *Israel* came thro' the *Red Sea*, or that *Moses* brought water out of the rock by miracle, because we cannot prove, beyond contradiction, which are the individual spots where they came into *Arabia*, and where that rock is, may as well deny that there ever were such cities as *Babylon*, *Nineveh*, *Ecbatane*, &c. because no body can prove where they stood.

Having thus given an account of the geography of the three *Arabia's* as near as I could, I shall be but very short in what else I have to say of the whole country together.

Arabia in general, is said to have been peopled by *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham* by *Hagar*; for that his posterity were the only inhabitants of the country, for the Scripture speaks of Kings and people in several parts, and especially towards the north of it, as the *Sabeans*, who were the posterity of *Sheba* the grandson of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, and several others. But as GOD Almighty had promis'd to make *Ishmael* a great nation, he was as good as his word, and his posterity become the most powerful in *Arabia*, and the *Saracens* who rose to such a heighth (after the declension of the *Macedonian* and *Roman* conquerors) and the *Arabians* to this day, own *Ishmael* for the founder of their nation.

The same people who were call *Saracens*, were also call'd *Hagareus* after *Hagar*, as Mr. *Lloid* observes, so that the *Hagareus*, *Saracens*, and *Arabians* are all the same, at different times.

This people were constantly upon the strole, and got the name of *Arabians* from their thievish disposition; *Harabi*, in their language, signifying a thief. They were call'd *Saracens* from *Sarra*, desart, and *saken* to inhabit.

We shall trace them no farther back than *Mahomet* the *Impostor*; whose history we have already given from Dr. *Prideaux* as fully as our design would allow.

He, having brought his thievish countrymen into his religion by indulging them in their beloved rapine and plunder, *in the fear of the Lord*, and *for the sake of Religion*, and having so contriv'd his doctrine, that the wickedest people and the lewdest livers had reason to be fondest of it; set himself up for king of as many as would join him, and being a man, as Dr. *Prideaux* says, well ally'd both by his own family, and those of his many wives, he soon got such an army together as was able to make head against his opposers at home, and by degrees, what by the sword, and what by the agreeableness of his religion to the carnal appetites of his countrymen, he quickly laid the foundation of that vast empire which has troubled not only *Asia*, but *Europe*, and *Africa* ever since, altho' under different shapes, first of *Saracens*, and afterwards of *Turks*.

The *Saracens* under the great impostor *Mahomet*, began to shew themselves the promoters of the *Alcoran* about the middle of the 7th century, and under the conduct of 25 *Amaras*, as Mr. *Lloid* calls them, (a term like *Cæsars* or *Sophi's*,) not only master'd all *Arabia*, but the greatest part of *Asia*, from whence they subdued great part of *Africa*, and coming into *Europe*, they plagued the eastern emperors, subdu'd *Spain*, made iuroads into *France*, and took several places in the south parts. In short, they *The Saracens.*

continued

continued the terror of the world for 250 years. But as it would be going out of our way too far to give a detail of the *Saracins* conqueſts, we ſhall confine our diſcourſe to *Arabia*.

The *Turks* having, by degrees, gotten to a head, in the northern parts of *Aſia*, ventur'd farther ſouth in the 12th century, and attack'd the *Arabians*, more than once, with good ſucceſs, and about the year 1300 *Ottoman* I, from whom that (now ever grown) empire takes its name, advanced the name and power of the *Turks*, which his ſucceſſors carried on, till check'd by the great *Tamerlan* in 1397. *The Turks.*

But they ſoon recover'd, altho' they were often repuls'd by different princes, both chriſtians and infidels, eſpecially by the famous *Scanderbeg*, and the *Sophy*'s of *Perſia*.

Among their other conqueſts, they ſubdu'd a great part of *Arabia*; but being *Mahometans*, they ſhew'd ſuch reſpect to the family and deſcendents of *Haly*, one of *Mahomet*'s ſucceſſors, that they would not diſpoſſeſs them of their government; which is the reaſon why they retain all that part of *Arabia* belonging to the *Xeriff* of *Medina* and *Mecca*, as we obſerved above. So that, upon the whole, *Arabia Petræa* with great part of *Felix*, eſpeclally about the *Red Sea*, is under the grand ſignor: The reſt of *Arabia Felix* is either under the ſucceſſors of *Haly*, or are a parcel of ſtrollers under different princes or captains, each under the head of his tribe, thoſe they call *Schick*, and they chuſe a general *Schick*, who is captain general. And as for *Arabia Deſerta*, it is ſo wild a country, that there are ſcarce any habitations in it, but a ſort of wild people rove from place to place, ſeeking what they can ſteal or rob from paſſengers who are oblig'd to paſs thro' this deſart, in their way to a better country. And this they do, not in ſmall parties only, but in tribes with their prince or cheftain at their head.

But Mr. *Salmon* brings capt. *Say* for a compurgator for the ſouth eaſt *Arabs* from this ſcandalous trade, and I cannot deny but the inſtance given in their behaviour to that gentleman was a very uncommon act of juſtice from *Indians*, eſpecially *Arabians*, to *Europeans*. The captain loſt his ſhip, upon the iſland of *Macira* near the coaſt of *Ormus*, he and his crew got aſhore, where the *Arabs*, by ſigns, offer'd him their aſſiſtance to ſave any goods or other things in his ſhip. To make a ſure bargain with him, the chief of the *Arabs*, very ingeniouſly, made a heap of ſand, which having divided into three equal parts, he made ſigns to him, that he would give the capt. one third, and keep the other two for himſelf and his people. But, upon capt. *Say*'s ſhewing ſome diſlike to that diſtribution, the *Arab*, put the ſand in two heaps, making ſigns, that he would only take half; which being agreed to, the *Arabs* fell to work, and got out of the wreck 12 or 14,000 l. which they weigh'd in baskets, and the captain got rather more than his half.

But the difficulty of conquering this country is one great reaſon of their freedom. For, the *Arabians* may deſtroy the greateſt army without being at the trouble of killing a man. It is only leading their enemies a dance thro' their deſarts, and thirſt will kill them. However the *Turks* keep friendſhip with them for their own ſakes.

The *Arabians* are all of a middle ſize, and ſwarthy, with black hair and eyes; their voices are effeminate, but they are ſtout and hardy, and very expert with the bow and lance. *The People.*

The men's habit, for ordinary, is a blue ſhirt tied about the waiſt with a white ſaſh, and in winter a veſt of furs, with drawers, and ſlippers, but no ſtockings. The women are cover'd up to the very eyes. *Habit.*

They live upon fleſh, (of which that of a camel is moſt eſteem'd) and dry'd dates for bread. But where the ground is cultivated, they have flower. They eat all ſorts of fiſh that have ſcales. They are very careful to drein all the blood from their fleſh and fiſh, and drink little elſe than water or ſherbet. *Diet.*

Having already deſcribed a caravan, we ſhall not repeat it, only to add to what has been ſaid, that the *Europeans* who carry wine, muſt provide horſes or mules of their own; for, the *Emer-adge* and maſters of camels will not ſuffer forbidden liquor to be carried upon their camels, becauſe that animal is particularly conſecrated to their prophet. And one great inconveniency in travelling this road is, that water being ſcarce, one cannot get a drop till all the beaſts of carriage are firſt ſerv'd, and *Tavernier* tells of a ſcrape into which one of his company brought himſelf, by attempting to get water before his time.

The whole extent of *Arabia* labours under the common calamity of want of water; for there is not one conſiderable river in the country, unleſs the *Euphrates* may be ſaid to waſh ſome part of it towards the north; and it does not rain four times in three years. This alone is ſufficient to make the country barren. But in ſome valleys, where the inhabitants have been ſo induſtrious as to dig wells, and let the water into their fields by canals, they have excellent fruit and

good corn. Nor is this complaint of want of water a late one; for *Abraham* was at the point of falling out with *Abimilech* for a well which he had dug, and had been seiz'd by that king's subjects, when *Abraham* liv'd in *Paran*, in *Stony Arabia*.

* Gen. XXI. 26.

But the moſt valued fruit they have is the coffee-berry, ſo common, and ſo valued now in *Europe*. The ſhrub, or tree, upon which it grows, is about the bigneſs and heighth of our common filbert-trees, the twigs which ſhoot from the tree are two and two, one of each ſide, and the leaves on each twig, in the ſame manner, by pairs, about two inches diſtance between each pair. The leaf is almoſt ſhap'd like a bay leaf, and not nich'd on the edge. The berries hang from the twig by a ſtalk, and have a huſk about them like nuts. The natives uſe the huſks in the hotteſt ſeaſon, as we do coffee, and they ſay they are more cooling.

Coffee tree.

This country likewiſe abounds in myrrh, caſſia, manna, incenſe, alloes, balm, olybanum, and franckincenſe. The naming of ſome of theſe puts me in mind of one thing which I had like to have forgotten, *viz.* that the wiſe men who came to *Jeruſalem*, by the *guiding of a ſtar*, at the time our B. SAVIOUR was born, are ſaid to have been natives of this country.

Other vegetables.

Their common animals are camels and dromedaries, which are much alike, only that the latter have two bunches on their back, and the former only one. The camels carry greater weight, *viz.* 1000 *l.* weight, ſome more; but the dromedary is the ſwifter, for they will trot 40 leagues a day with eaſe.

Animals.

Camels.

Their horſes are finely ſhap'd, and only for the ſaddle; but they are well known, now, in *Europe*. Some of our authors tell us of an odd ſort of food they eat, which is, camel's milk, butter, and dry'd camel's fleſh; nay, at *Muſcat*, they eat fiſh, after it is kept in a pit 'till it is rotted, and then boil'd in water. But their ordinary food, in other places, where corn abounds, is flour made into dough.

Horſes oddly fed.

They have other animals common in other parts of *Aſia*, except hogs, which they will not keep. Fiſh and fowl are only to be found near the ſea-coaſt; and wild beaſts not common, tho' in ſome parts of *Arabia* there are lions.

As for mines, they have none, that we know of, at preſent, and the pearl fiſhery of *Muſcat* ſeems to be come to little or nothing.

I ſhall not take up the reader's time, nor my own, in a fruitleſs diſpute about the antiquity of the *Arabic* language, compar'd with the *Hebrew*. Nor ſhould I think the Holy Scriptures of leſs authority, if they had been given in *French* or *Italian*, which are but of yeſterday; and had either of thoſe languages been the tongue ſpoken by the *Iſraelites* in *Moſes*'s time, or in the time of the apoſtles, there is no doubt of the Scriptures having been given in thoſe tongues. It is ſufficient to us, that the *Hebrew* was the mother language to the *Jews*; but whether *that* or the *Arabic*, was the firſt, I think is not material, altho' it may not be improper for criticks to enquire into it.

Language.

But, altho' the *Arabic* is undoubtedly a fine language, at leaſt, as it was anciently ſpoken and written; and that the *Arabians*, and their neighbours, the *Chaldeans*, had a great reputation for learning, (and I ſee no harm in allowing that *Moſes* might have improv'd his *Egyptian Wiſdom* by his 40 years reſidence in this country) it is agreed upon by all late travellers, that the preſent *Arabians* are as ignorant a people as is in *Aſia*. Whether it be owing to the *Alcoran*, and the principles of their religion, as is probable, becauſe we find the *Mahometans* every where depreſs literature, witneſs *Greece*; or if it is to be aſcrib'd to the roving genius of the people, or to any other cauſe, I ſhall not pretend to determine. But, as to their language, I queſtion whether there be any greater affinity between the language now ſpoken there, and the old *Arabick*, than between the modern *Greek* and the ancient.

As for arts and ſciences, they are loſt in *Arabia*. They are ſtill ſaid to be a warlike people; but they have no occaſion for ſtanding forces; all the men being expert in the uſe of arms, and at a call, when their chiefs have uſe for them. But we are told they have abundance of ſhips upon the ocean, and the *Red Sea*; and the king of *Muſcat* has a good fleet, if he knew how to manage it. And thus I conclude the deſcription of *Arabia*.

Arts.

SECT. VI.

Of SYRIA *and* PALESTINE.

THE only diviſion of *Turky* in *Aſia*, now remaining, is that of *Syria*.

This country is variouſly divided, by authors who have written of it, and according to their different accounts, its bounds were likewiſe different. But we ſhall follow the method firſt propos'd, and takes its diviſion from Mr. *Gordon*'s grammar, *viz.* into *Syria Proper*, *Phœnicia*, and *Paleſtine*. For, altho' *Syria*, once a great empire, had many other countries ſubject to it, yet, as we have already gone thro' the other parts, (at different times under the *Syrian* monarchy) we ſhall now conſider theſe three diſtinctly.

Taking

Taking *Syria* then in this view, it is bounded by *Anatolia* on the north; by *Euphrates* on the east; by *Arabia* on the south; and by the *Mediterranean* on the west. In our maps, the *Desart Arabia* is made to run so far north, that, if they be true, which is a great question, *Syria* must be bounded easterly by *Euphrates*, towards the north, and by *Arabia* on the south-east part of it. But to come to the division of it, now mention'd.

1. Syria Proper.

SYRIA *Proper* is the most northerly division of the three, reaching from the confines of *Anatolia*. But it runs southward too as far as the middle of *Palestine*, having *Phœnicia* and the north part of the *Holy Land* towards the west. In this tract we take in *Palmyra* on the east, and *Cœlosyria* on the south.

This was once a famous monarchy, and being a part of ancient *Canaan*, (so famous in the books of *Moses*) and the dominion of the kings of *Syria*, (so often mention'd in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, and in the *Prophets*) it will be some satisfaction, to the Christian reader, to know whereabouts the most famous places were, of which the Holy Scriptures are so full; which we shall shew by and by. But because *Phœnicia* has a great share of the Scripture story, without being always distinguish'd from *Syria*, we shall give the geography of it, before we go farther.

2. Phœnicia.

PHOENICIA lies along the side of the *Levant* sea, or *Mediterranean*. The people of this small stripe of land (which has *Syria Proper* on the north and part of the east; and *Palestine* on another part of the east, and likewise on the south) were the most famous of all the world for their trade and navigation; by which (like the *Dutch*) they made themselves considerable, not only in *Asia*, but in *Europe* and *Africa* for many years. And were so populous, by the number of their cities, in a little compass of land, that they were able to send a colony to *Carthage*, which always own'd their origine to the *Phœnicians*, and sent every year a ship loaden with presents to *Tyre*, as an acknowledgment to their mother-city; as Mr. *Rollin* tells us, from *Polybius*. In return for which gratitude, the same author says, from *Herodotus*, that when *Cambyses* intended to make war upon *Carthage*, the *Phœnicians*, who form'd the strength of his fleet, told him, they would not serve him against their countrymen; which declaration made him give over his design.

3. Palestine.

PALESTINE, or the *Holy Land*, has mount *Libanus* in *Syria* on the north; part of *Syria*, and part of *Desart Arabia* on the east; *Stony Arabia* on the south; and the *Mediterranean*, with part of *Phœnicia*, on the west. Its length is not above 150 miles, and 80 in breadth, taking a mean between the broadest and narrowest parts. A country, little as it is, once the most famous of any in the world, where GOD Almighty shew'd his unchangeable love of vertue and piety, in protecting, and heaping uncommon favours upon, the most *ungrateful, stupid, obstinate* race of mortals, that ever liv'd, for the sake of a few of their ancestors, who had been vertuous good men. And where, to shew his infinite love to mankind in general, he sent his ONLY BEGOTTEN SON *to take upon him our nature*, not only to teach men righteousness, and so to make them acceptable to GOD, but likewise to give his own *precious life* a *ransom* for the sins of the world. To whom, GOD BLESSED FOR EVER, *be* GLORY. *Amen.*

But, as we do not intend to give a separate history of these countries, and, as their bounds are not so exactly adjusted, what we shall farther say, without distinguishing them, shall only be to describe the most remarkable places now to be seen in them all, whether in ruins, or standing. And this we shall do from *Sandys*, *Thevenot*, *Maundrel*, and others; referring the reader to the Holy Scriptures, and Dr. *Prideaux*'s *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, for a great part of the history of *Syria*. We shall only in general observe, that *Syria* (which, as we have taken notice of before, was part of *Canaan*, and govern'd by its own kings, whilst the kingdom of *Judah* continued) came under the dominion of the *Assyrians*; afterwards of the *Medes* and *Persians*; then fell a prey to the *Greeks*, and (under the descendants of *Alexander*'s followers, particularly the family of *Seleucus*) barbarously treated the *Jews*, as may be seen in the two books of the *Maccabees*, and in *Prideaux*. Then it fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who made it a province of their empire; after that, it was seiz'd by the *Saracens*, and last of all by the *Turks*, who are possess'd of it to this day.

To describe this country, as it lies from north to south, we shall begin with Mr. *Tavernier*'s account of it, in his second voyage from *Paris* to *Ispahan*. He tells us, that upon the arrival of any vessel in the road of *Alexandretta*, as soon as they can discern her flag, the vice-consul of that nation to which she belongs, sends a double express, by two very expeditious messengers, *viz.* a couple of pigeons, who carry their letters in 4 or 5 hours to *Aleppo*, which is 3 days journey on horseback. I do not know how to believe this part of the story, and yet the author is of establish'd reputation.

Letters sent by pigeons.

Alexandretta, call'd by the *Turks Scanderoon*, in

Scanderoon.

roon, in 38 degrees lat. was built by *Alexander*, but at preſent not very beautiful, and, which is worſe, far from being healthful; and our author obſerves, that the vice-conſuls who live there muſt love money well, to be brib'd to reſide there. The unhealthineſs of the place is occaſion'd by the marſhes all round the town. About half a league from it there is a town with the arms of *Godfrey* of *Bullogne*.

From this to *Aleppo* is two large days journeys, or three little ones. But the merchants of *Aleppo* procur'd a prohibition to any *Frank* to go thither a-foot, becauſe the private ſeamen us'd to go to *Aleppo*, and there, by their haſte to be gone, would give 4 or 5 *per cent.* too much for goods, which price once given, the merchants could not beat the *Turks* out of it. But after they were oblig'd to go a horſeback, which coſts 6 crowns going, and as many to return, that made ſuch a hole in their allowance, that they choſe to trade at *Scandaroon*.

In the road to *Aleppo* our author paſs'd a great mountain, upon the deſcent of which towards the eaſt, they ſaw the city
Antioch. of *Antioch*, once the metropolis of *Syria* and the ſeat of a patriarch, a city famous in ancient days, and the place where the name of *Chriſtian* was firſt heard, as we are told, *Acts* XI. 26, but ſince the ſand choak'd up the channel where veſſels us'd to ride, it is gone to ruin. The road to *Aleppo* lay that way; but the janizaries exacting a crown a head for ſeeing it, the road is diſus'd. In the plain of *Antioch*, which is 15 leagues long, and three broad, there is a long cawſey, with ſeveral bridges over the rivulets, which water the plain. This cawſey was built in ſix months, for paſſing *Sultan Achmet*'s attillery to the ſiege of *Bagdad*. There is a lake made by thoſe rivulets, which yields vaſt quantities of eels, which they ſend into the *Roman* Catholick countries of the *Mediterranean*, againſt Lent. There are abundance of olives in this plain.

Aleppo. *Aleppo*, to which our author went next, he calls one of the moſt famous cities in *Turky*, for greatneſs, beauty, healthfulneſs, and plenty; and for trade frequented by all nations. But whether it is the ancient *Hierapolis*, or *Beræa*, or any other, our author does not determine. It was taken by the *Arabians* in the year 637. It ſtands upon 4 hills, and has a caſtle upon the higheſt of them, to which the entry is by a draw-bridge, over a moat. The town is not above 3 miles about, with a ſtone wall with towers at 80 paces diſtance from one another. The walls have 10 gates, under one of which the *Turks* have always lamps burning, believing that the prophet *Eliſha* liv'd there. Without the city there is a rivulet call'd *Coce*, which, with ſome fountains and reſervoirs of water, furniſhes the city abundantly.

The houſes are handſome within, have noble halls cruſted with marble, and the ciclings of foliage fret-work, full of inſcriptions in gold letters.

But one curioſity there is very ſtrange, which our author, underſtanding ſtones ſo well as he did, could not well be miſtaken in. He ſays, that in one of the moſques, which was once a Chriſtian church, there is a ſtone about two foot ſquare, in which there is the figure of a chalice, with an hoſtie over the mouth of it, and a creſcent a-top, the two horns of which touch the chalice on both ſides. This he ſays was not inlaid, but natural, as he and ſeveral others tried, by ſcraping the ſtone with an iron. But how the *Sacrifice*, or hoſtie, and the creſcent, came together, whether it was real or artificial, I cannot tell. Several conſuls offer'd 2000 crowns for the ſtone; but the *Baſſaus* would not ſuffer it to be ſold. *A ſtrange ſtone.*

There are 26 moſques in *Aleppo*, ſix or ſeven of which are ſtately buildings, with domes cover'd with lead. There are likewiſe three colleges for grammar, and an odd ſort of philoſophy, with the grounds of their religion, which are the ſum of the *Turks* learning.

Their great diverſion is bathing, eſpecially the women, who ſpare for 6 days, that they may ſpend upon their bathing day.

There are ſaid to be 200,000 ſouls in this city and ſuburbs, 40,000 of whom are Chriſtians of different denominations, already nam'd in *Turky*.

Silks, camlets, and maroquin, as alſo Shagreen made of aſſes skin, ſoap, galls, and *Valanede*, (a ſort of acorn ſhell, which they uſe in dreſſing their leather) are chief ingredients of the trade of the city. *Trade of Aleppo.*

Aleppo is govern'd by a *Baſſau*, whoſe government reaches from *Scandaroon* to *Euphrates*, which river they call *Moraiſu*. Two *Agas* likewiſe reſide there, all independent of each other; all three have ſoldiers under them. But, as another author obſerves, the ſultan ſends two or three chief *Baſſaus*, or other officers, to the chief towns in the empire, who are as checks upon one another, to prevent cabals and rebellions. The *Cadi* governs in civil affairs, and the *Mufti* in religion. But here we leave Mr. *Tavernier* to paſs the *Euphrates* in his road to *Perſia*. *Government.*

Our next guide is Mr. *Maundrel*, in his journey through this country; he having gone from *Aleppo*, and ſo paſs'd thro' *Syria*, before he went to the *Holy Land*. But if any thing remarkable comes in my way

way, from others, not taken notice of by him, I ſhall inſert it in the proper place.

This reverend gentleman ſet out from *Aleppo* in *Feb.* 1696, in company with 14 other of his own countrymen, that they might be at *Jeruſalem* againſt holy week, as ſtrangers do to ſee the ceremonies of that ſeaſon at *Rome*.

The firſt thing worth obſerving in this journey (I mean for fixing the geography of the country) is their paſſing the river *Oroutes* the third day (at a large ugly town call'd *Shoegle*) by a bridge of thirteen arches. This river is rapid altho' deep.

Jebelee. Upon the 7th day, they arriv'd at *Jebelee*, call'd before, *Gabala*, a town upon the coaſt, where the moſt remarkable thing was the remains of a noble theatre, the ſemicircle of which, then ſtanding, was 100 yards; in the wall were 17 windows; and between them large pillars.

The 8th day's journey, along the coaſt, afforded variety of ruins, and they paſs'd the *King's River*. The next day, they arriv'd at *Tortoſa*, anciently *Orthoſia*, in the province of *Tyre*. Leaving this place, they came to *Ruad*, ſaid to be the ſcripture *Arphad*.

Farther ſouth they found, what the author ſuppoſes to have been a temple of *Hercules*, cut out of a rock, with ſteps cut down to it; with a fountain near it, on the other ſide of which, was a court of 55 yards ſquare, the three ſides of which were the natural rock, but open to the fountain northward. In the center of the middle ſquare wall, was cut in the rock a ſquare of five yards on three ſides; within which (being nine foot high) were four ſtones placed by way of throne, *viz.* one at each ſide, one behind, and the 4th by way of canopy, reſting upon the two ſide ones. Here likewiſe they ſaw ſeveral ſepulchres, very curious.

The 10th day of their journey, they paſs'd over a fine plain, in the road to *Tripoli*; having the ſea on their right hand, and mountains on the left. This valley is water'd by rivers; *The great River*, the *Lepers River*, the *Nehor Acchar*, and the *cold waters*. One of which our author thinks is the old *Elentherus*.

Being arriv'd at *Tripoli* now the capital of *Syria*, *March* 9, the 11th day from *Scanderoon*, they ſtay'd there five days with the *Engliſh* conſul and merchants, and then purſu'd their journey, having paid their reſpects to *Oſtan Baſſau*, who treated them civilly.

Leaving *Tripoli*, ſtill along the coaſt, they came to *Gebyle*, the *Grecian Biblis*, the native place of *Adonis*, and famous for his temple; where they ſaw fine ruins. And our author ſuppoſes it was the place where *Hiram* king of *Tyre* prepar'd the materials for *Solomon's* temple, becauſe the word render'd *Stone ſquarers*, 1. kings v. 18, is in hebrew *Giblim*. South of *Gibyle*, they paſs'd a river which the Turks call *Ibram Baſſau*, but is that ſo famous for the idolatrous rites in honour of *Adonis*; at which time the ancients pretended, that this river was of a bloody colour by way of lamentation for the death of that gallant of *Venus*. But Mr. *Maundrel* ſays, with others, that it is occaſioned by a ſort of red earth or *Minium* which the rains bring down from the mountains about that time of the year. The river *Lycus* is ſouth of that of *Adonis*.

After this they paſs'd a road cut out of the ſide of a rock by the emperor *Antoninus*, and there is an inſcription cut in the natural rock, ſmooth'd for that purpoſe, ſhewing it to be done by him. And is the ſame which *Thevenot* ſets down in his travels, viz. Imp. Cæs. M. Aureleus Antoninus. Pius, Fælix, Aug. Part. Mari Brit. After travelling about a mile in this *Antonine* way, which is not above two yards broad, with a precipice towards the ſea, and has figures of men in *alto Rilievo* in ſeveral places of the rock, they came to a ſandy ſhore; and ſo to the river *Beroot*, which having paſs'd by a bridge of ſix arches, they arriv'd at the plain where our patron ſaint of *England* kill'd the dragon, as ſtory goes; in memory of which there was once a church dedicated to St. *George*, but, without fear of his redoubted ſpear, now turn'd into a moſque. They lay at a town of the ſame name with the river, call'd, (of old) *Berytus*. In this place was the palace of *Faccardine* in the reign of ſultan *Morat*, where had been fine gardens, and an orangerie cut into 16 ſquares all faced with ſtone, with canals cut to let the water paſs. The orange trees were there ſtill, and full of fruit; but the garden was a fold for ſheep. Our author ſaw two churches in this place, adorn'd with pictures. This city is govern'd by a prince of their own who has the title of *Emir*, and was the grandſon of *Faccardine*, but ſubject to the *Grand Signor*.

Leaving this they croſs'd the *Damer*, and then the *Awle*, as the *Maronite Patriarch* told our author, altho' that river is not nam'd by geographers. Soon after they arriv'd at *Sidon* ſo famous in ancient hiſtory; now call *Saide*. *Sidon.*

In this city, ſtill populous, but much inferiour to its ancient luſtre, is the beſt factory the *French* have in the *Levant*.

Of this place Mr. *Sandys* ſays, it lies pleaſantly between the ſea and thoſe fruit-

ful hills which lie before *Libanus*, they are a ridge of hills call'd *Anti-Libanus*. But he tells us that the present *Sidon* is but the shadow of the old one, which now lies to the eastward of the present, buried among olives. There is nothing left of antiquity here, but a suppos'd tomb of the patriarch *Zabulon*, which is inclos'd in a little chappel, and held in great veneration by the *Jews*.

This author says that the *Emirs* of this country are descended from the *Druses*, the relicks of the *French* engag'd in the holy war, who having kept possession of the mountains, the *Turks* at last made peace with them, upon their promise of tribute. *Faccardine* was *Emir* when Mr. *Sandys* was there. But those *Druses* had quite lost the christian religion; nor were they mahometans, but a mixture, or rather of no religion at all.

Mr. *Maundrel* and his company, leaving *Sidon* or *Saide*, after a journey of 20 miles arriv'd at *Tyre*, which lies within an hour's travelling of the river *Casimeer*.

Tyre, now call'd *Sur*, stands upon a peninsula, and seems at a distance to make a fine appearance, but as one comes to it, the beauty of it dwindles into ruins. It was once the metropolis of *Phœnicia*, and a place of the greatest trade in the world. And the best description of its strength, beauty, or riches that can be given is contain'd in the XXVI. XXVII. and XXVIII. chapters of *Ezekiel*; where is likewise prophecy'd the present condition of it, being only inhabited by a few miserable fishers, who have the ruins of *Tyre*, as the prophet foretold, *like a Rock to spread their Nets on*.

This reverend author makes one remark in this journey, which is worth special notice, viz. That in the ruins of above a hundred churches which he saw in the tract of ground mention'd, the east end still remain'd, which he modestly says, *could not proceed from blind Chance*. And I hope providence design'd it as a sign of their being one day to be built again, and that the gospel shall flourish there as it did once before.

This city was in an island, before *Alexander* besieg'd it, and then bravely held out, when all the rest of *Phœnicia* was in that lucky victor's hands. But as no valour, nor advantage of ground could stop his success, he set his soldiers to work in filling up the space between the land, and the island on which the city was built, where the sea was, by *Arrian*'s account, about 18 foot deep near the city, but shallow towards the land; what the breadth was he does not say. Since which time, the place where the city stood has been a peninsula.

This place was famous for the dying of scarlet, which is said to have been done by a certain juice squeez'd out of a white vein in the jaw of a shell fish. But whether this be a vulgar error, or that the species is gone, I shall not dispute; but return to Mr. *Maundrel*.

From the ruins of *Tyre*, they went to *Roselayn*, having cross'd a fertile plain for three quarters of an hour. At this place they saw the ruins of the cisterns said to have been made by *Solomon*, in part of his recompence to *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, for his affording materials towards the building of the temple of *Jerusalem*. But our author, justly, observes, that they could not have been so old, because the aqueduct made to convey the water from them to *Tyre*, is built over the isthmus made by *Alexander* 300 years after: Unless the aqueduct be more modern than the cisterns. Three of those cisterns are still intire, one, about half a quarter of a mile from the sea, of an octogonal form, 22 yards diameter, so well supply'd with excellent water, that the cistern is always full, altho' it sends out a stream like a brook, which drives four mills, as it runs to the sea; for, the *Turks* stop'd the conveyance thro' the aqueduct, which was a yard square, and receiv'd the water of the other cisterns, all which it carried to *Tyre*. But from whence the water comes is not known, but probably from *Anti-Libanus*. *Roselayn*.

After this, they came to the plain of *Acra*, which extends from mount *Saran* to mount *Carmel*, and runs along the shore about 20 miles; but for want of culture, is over-grown with weeds. In this plain they pass'd by the old town of *Zeb*, which our author supposes to have been the *Achzeb* mention'd *Josh.* XIX. 29. one of the places where the *Canaanites* still remain'd to plague the *Israelites*, as GOD appointed for a punishment of their disobedience; as was also *Acra*, where our author next arriv'd. *Acra*.

This town was, in ancient times, call'd *Accho*, and afterwards *Ptolemais*, and now, by the *Turks*, *Acra*. It was a wall'd town, and inhabited, in later days, by the knights of St. *John*, and the ruins of the grand masters palace are yet to be seen, as also of several churches. There is nothing now standing of the old town. The *French* have a factory here; and here they found the *French* consul of *Sidon*, who having likewise the title of consul of *Jerusalem*, is oblig'd to go thither every *Easter*; but having left *Saide* before the *English* arriv'd, an express having been sent after him, he staid for them at *Acra*.

The

The English join the French consul.

The next day, *March* 22, they set out with Monſ. *L'Empereur*, who had a guard of *Turks*, for which there was great occaſion, the *Holy Land* on that ſide being much infeſted with *Arabs*.

Leaving the coaſt, and borders of *Phœnicia*, they turn'd more eaſterly, and came to the ſide of the valley bounded by mount *Carmel*, by the ſide of which, another narrow valley led them into that of *Eſdraelon*, the bounds between the inheritance of the tribe of *Aſher*, and that of *Zebulon*, as in the chapter above quoted.

HOLY LAND. Kiſhon.

Being now in the HOLY LAND, the firſt remarkable thing they met with was the river *Kiſhon*, which running through *Eſdraelon*, and by the ſide of *Carmel*, enters the ſea at *Caipha*. This river is memorable for the defeat of *Siſera*, *Judg.* IV. They lay that night at an old village (about 12 miles from *Kiſhon*) call'd *Legune*.

Nazareth, Tabor, *and* Hermon.

Here they were in ſight of *Nazareth*, and the two mounts of *Tabor* and *Hermon*; and here our author ſays, they had experience of the *dew* of *Hermon*, which fell ſo thick, that their tents were as wet as if it had rain'd. Whilſt they lay here, they ſaw two *Arabian Emirs*, one on each ſide, with their clans encamped within a mile of them; but they were of oppoſite parties.

The next day they went to *Emir Chibly*'s tents, and paid him *Caphars*, or toll, and gave him whatever he ask'd, even ſome of their coats; for there was no diſobliging thoſe people. Taking leave of him, they ſet forward, entring the precincts of the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, where they travell'd four hours in pleaſant narrow valleys well wooded on every ſide, and lay at *Caphar Arab*.

March 24, leaving *Ramah* on the right hand, after a few hours, they came into a country aſſign'd to the tribe of *Ephraim*, in which is the once famous *Samaria*, the royal ſeat of the kings of *Iſrael*, after the revolt from *Reboboam*. That city was royally rebuilt by *Herod*, and call'd *Sebaſte*, in honour of *Auguſtus*. It ſtood upon a long mount, of an oval form; but the only remains of it now, are a large ſquare piazza on the north ſide, encompaſs'd with pillars; and the ruins of a church on the eaſt, ſaid to have been built by *Helena*, the mother of *Conſtantine*, over the priſon where St. *John Baptiſt* was beheaded. But the *Turks* have erected a ſmall moſque over the priſon, and ſhew great reverence to it.

Samaria.

Leaving *Sebaſte*, they paſs'd by *Sherach*, and *Barſeba*, and came to *Sychem*, now call'd *Naploſa*, and, in the New Teſtament, *Siehar*. This place (ſmall to what it was of old, but well peopled) is not above four miles from *Samaria*, and is ſituated between mount *Gerizim* and mount *Ebal*, mention'd *Deut.* XI. 29. and XXVII. 12, 13. and *Joſh.* VIII. 33. Upon one of theſe hills GOD appointed ſtones (which had the law cut upon them) to be ſet up and plaiſter'd together. Our Pentateuch, following that of the *Hebrews*, fix thoſe ſtones upon mount *Ebal*; but the *Samaritan* pentateuch has it *Gerizim*, *Deut.* XXVII. 4. And the chief prieſt of the *Samaritans*, who liv'd at *Naploſa*, told our author, that the *Jews* had chang'd the one mount for the other, in ſpite to the *Samaritans*, who worſhip'd on mount *Gerizim*. And he ſeem'd to give good reaſon for his own opinion, becauſe it was more likely that the altar for worſhip ſhould be upon the mount of bleſſing than upon that of curſing.

Proceeding on their journey, thro' a narrow valley, between the two mounts laſt mention'd, they ſaw a moſque, at their firſt ſetting out, ſaid to be over the ſepulchre which *Jacob* purchas'd of *Emmor*, *Gen.* XXXIII, where *Joſeph* was buried, *Joſh.* XXIV. 32. About a mile from *Naploſa* is *Jacob's Well*, where our B. LORD convers'd with the woman of *Samaria*, S. *John* IV. It is dug out of a firm rock, about 3 yards diameter, 35 yards deep, to 5 of which the water riſes. At this well the valley of *Sichem* ends, opening into a wide field, which our author ſuppoſes to be that which *Jacob* gave to *Joſeph*.

Joſeph's burying place.

Jacob's well.

From this pleaſant valley, they paſs'd thro' a rocky country, and then enter'd, as they were told, the valley of *Bethel*, ſo call'd by *Jacob*, *Gen.* XXVIII. near which place are the limits between *Ephraim* and *Benjamin*. In this day's journey, they paſs'd thro' large olive yards, by *Michmas*, now *Beer*. At this place there are the ruins of an old church, built by *Helena*, in memory of the B. *Virgin*'s ſitting down melancholy and weary, after having ſought her SON, who had ſtaid behind at *Jeruſalem*, S. *Luke* II.

All the reſt of the day, they ſaw nothing but mountains, rocks, and precipices, which our author ſays, ſtartles the Faith of pilgrims, who, by reading the encomiums given of this country in ſcripture, expect to ſee the paradiſe of the world. Nor can they account for 1300,000 men, beſides women and children, being able to live in ſo ſmall a ſpot as *Paleſtine* is, and to be maintain'd in ſo rocky and barren a ſoil, as a great part of it certainly is, at preſent.

Objection with regard to the rocks of Judea.

In anſwer to this objection, our author ſays, that one may obſerve, that thoſe, now rocky hills muſt have been, in former times, cover'd with earth, and cultivated; and that the people who liv'd near them, gather'd all the ſtones out of their ground, placing

Anſwer'd

placing them along the sides of these hills, by way of wall, which kept in the mold, and form'd beds of excellent soil, even to the tops of the mountains: And he says, these are vestiges of this kind of husbandry in all the mountains of *Palestine*. And these ridges being dug'd, and laid out in beds, the most of their hills were made fit for corn and garden-stuff, (the chief food in that country, for some months in the year) and the worst of their mountains were fit for vines and olive-trees, which grow best in rocky ground, which not only serv'd for wine and oyl, of which they make great use, but supplied their bees with wax and honey, as our author says he found the smell of, (even in this decayed state of that country) as he pass'd thro' the worst part of it. And then, as to the valleys of *Palestine*, he says, there is no place upon earth more fertile, or fitter for the production of corn or cattle.

Upon the top of a hill, about 8 or 9 miles from *Beer*, they had a prospect of *Jerusalem*, of *Rama*, formerly call'd *Gibea of Saul*, towards the right hand, and of *Jericho* on the left; of which anon.

Upon the 25th of *March*, our author and his company enter'd *Jerusalem* (after leave obtain'd from the *Turkish* governor) at the *Bethlehem* gate, a-horseback, and arm'd, a privilege granted upon account of the *French Consul*, for otherwise they must have dismounted at the gate, and have deliver'd up their arms.

History of JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM is still reckon'd the metropolis of *Palestine*. *But Oh how fallen!* It is, at present, chang'd from the old situation, for mount *Calvary*, where our B. SAVIOUR was crucified, was, in ancient time, without the gates, but now it is in the heart of the city. Mr. *Sandys* gives the following short history of the city.

Jerusalem was first built by *Melchisedec*, about the year from the creation 2023, and call'd *Salem*, or *Peace*. It was afterwards possess'd by the *Jebusites*, for 824 years, and from thence call'd *Jebus salem*. *David* took it from them, and he and his son *Solomon* added much both to the beauty and extent of the city. *David* having remov'd the seat of the kingdom from *Hebron* to *Jebus salem*, which, from that time, changing the b into r, was call'd *Jerusalem*. Whilst the kings of *Judah* flourish'd, this city was about 50 furlongs, or between 6 and 7 miles, in circuit, fortified with strong walls, and deep trenches, cut out of the rock, upon which it stood. In this state it continued 477 years, and was then destroy'd by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and in 70 years more it began to be repair'd by the *Jews*, as Dr. *Prideaux* observes, in the first year of *Cyrus*, by the influence which the prophet *Daniel* had over that excellent prince. But the walls were not built 'till 63 years after, according to Mr. *Sandys*, but, by the more accurate calculation of Dr. *Prideaux*, it was 91 years; for he computes the decree of *Cyrus* (which finish'd the 70 years captivity, according to the prophet *Zachariah*) to have happen'd in the year 536 before CHRIST, and the time of *Nehemiah*'s building the walls of *Jerusalem*, to have been in 445, in the 20th year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. It was afterwards much beautified by *Herod*, and especially by his pulling down the old temple, (built or repair'd by *Nehemiah*) and building a most glorious one in its place, about 17 years before the birth of CHRIST. The city, rebuilt first in *Cyrus*'s time, continued 536 years before CHRIST, and about 70 after, and then was utterly destroy'd by *Titus*, only leaving three towers, and a part of the wall, as monuments of the strength of the place, and consequently of the valour of the conquerors.

The emperor *Adrian* raz'd those poor remains, and sow'd the foundations of them with salt; and soon after, built a new city upon part of the old *Jerusalem*, and call'd it *Ælia*, from his own name *Ælius*. In this new city, mount *Calvary*, which was without the gates before, is in the heart of the town. This city was afterwards inhabited by Christians, and became a *Patriarchate*, and recover'd the old name of *Jerusalem*, and continued in the possession of Christians 500 years. It was, after that, taken by the *Saracens*, from whom it was recover'd by *Godfrey of Bullogne*, in the year 1099. Taken by *Saladin* in 1187, and, at last, by *Selimus*, in 1517, and kept by the *Turks* to this day.

It stands upon mount *Moriah*, with steep ascents to it every way but towards the north. At the foot of the mount, there is the valley of *Jehosophat*, lying eastward from the city; behind which, on the other side, is mount *Olivet*. On the south is the valley of *Gehinnon*, with the *Mount of Offence* (where *Solomon* built the *high places*, for idolatrous worship, 1 *Kings*, XI. 7.) on the opposite side. And westerly, at present, is mount *Sion*, call'd *The City of David*, in old *Jerusalem*, but now without the city.

It is not above three miles in compass. All mount *Sion* (upon which were *Solomon*'s palace, the house which *David* built, *Herod*'s palace, which he call'd *Cæsar* and *Agrippa*, more magnificent for marble and gold than the temple itself) is quite excluded from the city, and is so defaced, that one can scarce distinguish one place from another. Upon the side of mount *Moriah*, towards the east of *Sion*, stood the temple of *Solomon*, and afterwards that of *Herod* (upon the same ground) with a passage over a high bridge, from it to the palace upon mount *Sion*. But

But as it would be too tedious to give a deſcription of old *Jeruſalem*, I ſhall refer the reader to the holy ſcriptures and *Joſephus* for an account of the city and temple. Nor would it be more entertaining to give ſuch a minute deſcription as Mr. *Sandys* gives of all the chappels and altars placed over all ſuch ſpots of earth as are ſaid to have been concern'd in any part of our B. SAVIOUR's life or death, many of which, I am perſuaded, were impoſſible to be diſcover'd when thoſe churches and chappels were built. For inſtance, there are chappels built in honour of the ſpot of ground on which it is pretended our LORD ſtood when he appear'd to *Mary Magdalen* after his reſurrection; but I can ſcarce believe, that any one alive in *Conſtantine*'s time (for the mother of that emperor was the firſt that ever built church or chappel upon mount *Calvary*) was able to tell, without revelation, within 500 yards of the place. I ſhall therefore, without following any one exactly, give *Thevenot*'s account of this part of the city, and what occurs in *Sandys*, or *Maundrel*, which I think material, I ſhall inſert.

Mr. *Thevenot* ſays that, after leave obtain'd from the governor, who is a *Baſſau*, he and his company, who had come from *Cairo*, enter'd the city at the *Damaſcus* gate. As ſoon as they enter'd, they were conducted to the convent of St. SAVIOUR, which our other authors tell us belongs to the Roman Catholicks, where all *Franks* are entertain'd, and pay liberally, by way of charity to the Monks, for their diet and lodging. Some or other of the fathers go about with the pilgrims, (who go thither, either out of devotion or curioſity) to ſhew them all the holy places.

The holy places in Jeruſalem.

The firſt place he mentions is the *Judgment Gate*, thro' which they ſay CHRIST paſs'd, carrying his croſs, towards mount *Calvary*. Then he ſaw *Veronica*'s houſe, or the place from which, they ſay, ſhe came to wipe the blood and ſweat off his face, where her handkerchief or vail took the exact impreſſion of it, now pretended to be ſhew'd, at *Rome*, where many other relicks of the ſame kind are kept for people to worſhip. He ſaw likewiſe the houſe of the *rich Glutton*, who I never thought had a houſe at *Jeruſalem*, at leaſt, that our SAVIOUR had not pointed out any particular perſon in that parable, ſo as to make him known. There is likewiſe the ſpot of ground, where he ſpoke to the women, *Daughters of* Jeruſalem, *weep not for me, but weep for yourſelves, and for your Children.* The place where *Simon* the *Cyrenian* was compell'd to relieve our LORD of the burden of the croſs. The place where *Pilate* brought him out, ſaying *Ecce homo, behold the Man.* This is a large arch, with two windows in it, ſeparated by a marble pillar, under which is written *Tolle, Tolle, Crucifige eum. Take him away, Take him away, Crucify him.* There is alſo a place ſhew'd for *Herod*'s palace, where our LORD was gorgeouſly apparell'd, in mockery. *Pilate*'s palace, where the *Baſſau* now lives; the ſtones, (ſaid to have been the ſtairs leading up to it,) now at *Rome*, and call'd *Scala Santa*, or *the holy ſtair*, I have ſeen many a devout woman kneeling upon, for the ſins of another, of a more delicate complexion, for which the ſinner paid ſix-pence, or a greater ſum, according as their penance requir'd. The *Baſſau* has his kitchen in the place where it is pretended *Pilate* waſh'd his hands, to clear himſelf of the guilt of innocent blood; and the coal-hole, is the place where CHRIST was kept till *Pilate* call'd for him. The place where he was ſcourg'd had a chappel over it, but our author ſays, the *Turks* had made a ſtable of it.

The way from *Pilate*'s houſe to *Calvary* is a mile in length. At the end of this way, is the church of *the Holy Sepulchre*, of which Mr. *Sandys* has given a very handſome plan, and a very minute deſcription.

The church of the ſepulchre.

The church by his account, is a glorious building, curiouſly arch'd, and ſupported by marble pillars; the outward iſles having galleries. In the front, there are two arches, each of which had a folding door, but one of them is built up with bricks: the freeze over the door had fine carving, but now defac'd. A good part of the rock was levell'd for the building of this church by St. *Helena*, ſo that the ſepulchre, which was a cave hew'd under ground in the rock, is by cutting the rock above, now ſo high above the floor of the church, that they aſcend to it by ſteps. But as our author obſerves, it had been better to have left the rock in its natural ſituation and form, than to have metamorphos'd it ſo, that nothing can be known to be what it is call'd. And altho' without doubt, all the paſſages, relating to the paſſion of our SAVIOUR, in the goſpels, were done near mount *Calvary*, yet I believe the zeal of ſome, and perhaps the cunning of other monks have made them forge tradition for ſeveral places, without any foundation. For as Mr. *Maundrel* obſerves, the church of the *Sepulchre* is not above 300 foot long, and 180 wide, and yet they have crowded in almoſt all the parts of the paſſion in it, as having happen'd in the very places over which they have placed altars; ſuch as the place where the ſoldiers mock'd our LORD, the

altar of *Flagellation*, or ſcourging; the place where they caſt lots upon his veſture; where he was ſhut up 'till all things were put in order; where he was nail'd to the croſs; where the croſs was ſet up; where the ſoldier ſtood who pierced his ſide; the rent in the rock; the place where they anointed his body; where it was laid in the grave; where the angels appear'd to the women, after he was riſen; where he himſelf appear'd to *Mary Magdalen*; the ſpots of earth where the B. Virgin and St. *John* ſtood, during his crucifixion. Of all which Mr. *Sandys* has pointed out the places in his plan, ſeveral of which I can have no notion of any tolerable gueſs about; becauſe there is no ground, from the ſcripture, to make us believe, that the apoſtles turn'd their devotions to particular places; without which it is not conſiſtent with common ſenſe to imagine, that the place where the ſoldier ſtood who pierced his ſide, and much leſs the place where he and *Mary* ſtood, when he forbad her to touch him, ſhould have been known after almoſt a continued perſecution of 300 years.

The pageantry of acting over this tragedy of our Lord's paſſion every year, altho' it is impoſſible to ſtrip it of ſuperſtition, and therefore ſurely is better omitted, for fear of putting the ignorant in danger of worſhipping what they ought not, yet has ſomething in it very moving, and gives people a more lively impreſſion of the nature of thoſe ſufferings than the bare relation of them can do. I ſhall, in as few words as I can, give the ſubſtance of what Mr. *Maundrel* ſays upon this ſubject.

Since the year 1690, the *Roman Catholicks* (call'd *Latins*) have had the ſole liberty of preſiding in the publick ſervice in this church, whereas before, the *Greeks* of different ſects, and the *Latins*, us'd to go to blows for precedency. They begin their ſolemnity upon *Good Friday*, at what time all ſtrangers, who can get room, are allow'd to enter, paying 14 crowns a head (church-men only half) to the *Janizaries*, and other *Turkiſh* officers, appointed to collect that tax. But there is no coming out 'till *Eaſter* day.

The proceſſion. At night, upon *Good Friday*, the *Latine* prieſts, to the number of 12, come to the *altar of the apparition*, where they ſay the angels appear'd to declare the reſurrection; thither likewiſe the pilgrims went, and as ſoon as the ſervice of the *Tenebræ* was over, all lights were put out, to ſhew the darkneſs of the night; and, in the mean time, a ſermon was preach'd in the dark, ſuitable to the occaſion. Then every one got a lighted taper, to follow the proceſſion, which begun from that altar, with a croſs, at full length, and an image fix'd to it, (repreſenting our LORD) as big as the life, crown'd with thorns, and beſmear'd with blood. With this crucifix, the whole company went round the church, ſinging a hymn at each of the altars above nam'd. They had three more ſermons, *viz.* one at the altar of ſcourging, another at that of the priſon, a third at the altar of deriſion. From thence they aſcended mount *Calvary*, which is 21 ſteps up from the floor, leaving their ſhoes below. They ſtop'd at the firſt altar, which is the place where they ſay he was nail'd to the croſs: Here therefore, they laid down the crucifix, and made ſhew of nailing the figure to the croſs. Then they proceeded to the other altar, where there is a hole in the rock, ſaid to be the very place where the croſs was fix'd, and there they ſet up their crucifix, and a hymn was ſung, and a paſſion ſermon preach'd.

About a yard and a half from this laſt altar is the cleft in the rock, made by the earthquake mention'd St. *Mat.* XXVII. And our author ſays, the cleft muſt have been natural; it being impoſſible to have been done by art; for the two ſides anſwer like tallies, and it runs in ſuch intricate windings, that no inſtrument could reach it.

After the ſermon, two friars, habited after the *Jewiſh* mode, and repreſenting *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, and *Nicodemus*, took the image down from the croſs, which was ſo artfully contriv'd, that the limbs were as eaſily bent as thoſe of a natural body. The body thus taken down, was laid in a ſhroud, and carried to the ſtone of unction, where they anointed it with perfumes, ſinging a hymn; after which a funeral ſermon was preach'd in *Arabic*. And then it was carried to the ſepulchre, where it lay 'till *Eaſter* morning. By this time it was *Saturday* morning, the proceſſion and ſervice having taken many hours: And all that morning was ſpent in marking the pilgrims with the *Jeruſalem* mark in the arm, and the afternoon was ſpent in ſinging the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*. Upon *Eaſter* day, after maſs, all that were diſpos'd communicated, even to children of 7 or 8 years of age; and the doors of the church being open'd, the *Engliſh* retir'd to the convent to dinner.

But before we leave this church, we muſt take notice of *Godfrey* and his brother *Baldwin*'s tombs, which are near the firſt entry on the right hand. The inſcription upon *Godfrey*'s tomb is plain proſe, and that of *Baldwin* in very indifferent verſe. There is likewiſe a more ancient monument than any of theſe mention'd, if it be the true one; *viz.* the place where *Abraham* would have ſacri-

ficed

ficed *Isaac*, upon the top of the mount.

After they had refresh'd themselves, they went to see other curious antiquities without the city. The first was a grotto near the *Damascus* gate, which they call *Jeremiah*'s grot.

Jeremiah's cell.

But a more curious thing was next shew'd, *viz.* the sepulchre of the kings of *Judah*, as it was call'd. It was cut thro' a rock, where after they had enter'd they came to a court, cut likewise out of the rock, of 40 paces square. At the south end is a portico of 9 paces long, and 4 broad, from whence you ascend into several sepulchres, thro' another room of 8 yards, exactly square, all cut out of the solid rock. The sepulchres are 6 in number, in each of which were stone coffins in niches, and in each a channel cut in the floor, to drain the water which constantly drops from the roof. But the only door remaining to all the rooms they saw, was very surprizing. It was of the same stone with the rock, and of one piece, as large as an ordinary door, and six inches thick. It turn'd upon two axles, running in two holes in the rock, one above, and the other below. But Mr. *Maundrel* observ'd that the top axis did not reach to the top of the hollow lentel by two inches, so that by raising up the door, it might be taken off.

The sepulchres of the Jewish kings.

A curious door.

Upon *Easter Monday*, about 2000 pilgrims of different nations, set out for *Jordan*, under a guard of *Turks*, which cost them 12 crowns a man, paid to the governor. They cross'd the valley of *Jehosophat* and the mount of *Olives*, and came, in half an hour after, to *Bethany*, where the sepulchre, out of which *Lazarus* was rais'd, is in great veneration among the *Turks*. They pretend here to shew *Lazarus*'s house, and that of his sister *Mary*. From thence they cross'd the desart, where our Saviour was tempted, and so descended to *Jericho*, which is now a poor place.

Bethany.

But, having mention'd *Jericho*, I cannot pass it by, without speaking of a curiosity which *Thevenot* takes notice of, *viz.* a vegetable commonly known by the name of *the rose of* Jericho. He says, what is certainly true, that this plant put into water, by night or day, blows afresh. A very worthy gentleman, and a curious enquirer into nature, in this city, to whom I have the happiness to be known, shew'd me one of those plants, not many months ago, which he told me he had kept for many years. It is of a brown colour, the stalk of it about three or four inches long, and not so big as a common goose quill. The top was not two inches diameter, and by the turning in of the branches, which met at the centre above, it seem'd to be shap'd like a medlar, and much of that size. This plant having been put into a glass of water, in less than half an hour, began to expand itself sensibly, and in as long time more it cover'd the whole glass, and the small fibres at the points of each branch, which were before so shriveled that they were not sensible to the eye, extended themselves like fresh buds, and shew'd a very beautiful head, more than twice the drameter it was before: And when it was taken out of the water, my ingenious friend was oblig'd to carry it home in a paper, because it took more time to contract (so as to be contain'd in the box he brought it in) than his business allow'd him to stay. This rose Mr. *Thevenot* says is one of the greatest curiosities purchas'd by pilgrims at *Jerusalem*.

Rose of Jericho.

In two hours Mr. *Maundrel* reach'd *Jordan*, having pass'd a barren plain, in several places crusted with salt, where the water had stood in puddles. It being the latter end of *March*, the proper time for rain, our author expected to have seen the river overflow'd, but saw no sign of it. On one side, the bank is beset with trees and bushes, and about half a quarter of a mile from it had been an old church and convent, in memory of our SAVIOUR's baptism. Some of the pilgrims wash'd in *Jordan*, and others cut down branches, in memory of that once famous river. It was about 20 yards broad, and 8 or 9 foot deep.

Jordan.

From thence, they turn'd aside to visit the *Dead Sea*, which lies between hills on the east and west, having the plain of *Jericho* on the north, where *Jordan* empties itself into this sea. The lake runs to the south 24 leagues, and is about seven leagues broad. But our author could not perceive any ruins of *Sodom* and the other cities destroy'd by fire from heaven, altho' the guardian of the convent told him, he had seen several remains of pillars and buildings in the lake. He says likewise that he himself saw birds flying above it without any sign of hurt, contrary to the old tradition; and he observ'd shells like oysters about the lake. The pebbles near it, when held in the candle spread an intolerable stench, and lost of their weight without being diminish'd in bulk. And near the foot of the mountains on both sides of the lake, is found a bituminous substance like pitch, which they gather in great quantities. The water is clear, and not only salt, but bitter. And our author found, by going into it, that it sustain'd his body with more than ordinary force.

Lake of Sodom.

In their return to *Jerusalem*, which is not above six hours riding, they saw several places said to be such as were mention'd in the old and new testament, but there being little proof of it, I shall not trouble

trouble the reader with the leſs material ones.

Bethlehem. But we muſt not paſs by *Bethlehem* without a particular regard, altho' I do not believe that the places they now ſhew for the place of our Lord's birth, the manger where he was laid, &c. are the real places. For Mr. *Sandys* ſays the manger was hewn out of a rock, which ſeems to have been the work of later monks, (to ſave them the labour of reparing,) rather than a place for uſe, as it ſurely was when the B. *Virgin* was lodg'd in the ſtable when ſhe brought fourth our SAVIOUR.

This city, once a good one, is now a poor place, only had in eſteem for that *miraculous Birth*, which, without doubt happen'd at that city, altho' the particular ſpot may not be certain. But St. *Helena* built a neat church over the ground where it was ſaid to have been, where they ſtill burn lamps in a little chappel, altho' the church is demoliſh'd.

Near *Bethlehem* they ſaw the fountains from whence, 'tis ſaid, the water flow'd to *Solomon*'s gardens. It was convey'd in brick pipes, under ground, by many turnings, to *Jeruſalem*. The pools near this fountain are ſaid to be thoſe mentioned *Eccles.* II. 6. of theſe, three are now to be ſeen, where the water deſcends from the firſt to the ſecond and ſo to the 3d, they are oblong ſquare ciſterns of 90 paces broad, but of unequal length, one being 160, another 200, and the third 220 paces long. They are lin'd with ſtone. And the water is, to this day, the beſt in *Paleſtine*.

Solomon's pools.

Leaving this place, they paſs'd thro' St. *John Baptiſt*'s wilderneſs, where they were ſhew'd ſeveral places relating to the paſſages mentioned in ſcripture, too tedious to be inſiſted on. For there is not a ſingle circumſtance, recorded in the goſpels, relating to our SAVIOUR, his *Mother*, to *Joſeph*, *Simeon*, *Zacariah*, *Elizabeth*, *St. John Baptiſt*, or to any of the *Apoſtles* in or about all *Paleſtine*, but what they pretend to ſhew the very places where they happen'd, even to the ſpot of ground where the tree grew of which the croſs was made, which is near *Bethlehem*, and where pilgrims of more zeal than knowledge worſhip a hole, whence the equally ignorant, but more intereſted, monks pretend the true croſs was taken.

Our author being return'd to *Jeruſalem*, and having ſeen the eaſter ceremonies of the *Latins* the week before, now went to ſee thoſe of the *Greeks*, who kept their eaſter a week later. This feſtival he ſays was obſerv'd more like a *Bacchanal* than a chriſtian ſolemnity. It began in the church of the *holy Sepulchre* (to which the *Baſſau* gave them acceſs for their money, as to the *Latines* the week before) upon their eaſter eve, *Apr.* 3 about noon, when the mob ran like madmen round the *holy Sepulchre*, crying *Hoja*, or *this is he*. And then drag'd one another, in the moſt indecent poſtures, about the church, ſhewing antic tricks till 4 o'clock. After this, the proceſſion began, firſt of the *Greeks*, and then of the *Armenians*, with banners, crucifixes, and embroidor'd veſtments. Towards the cloſe of the proceſſion, which was made three times round the ſepulchre, a pidgeon came fluttering, into the cupolo over the ſepulchre, under pretence, as the *Latins* objected to them, that there was a viſible deſcent of the H. GHOST. As ſoon as this was ſeen, the ſuffragan of the *Greek Patriarch*, and the chief *Armenian* biſhop, open'd the ſeals of the ſepulchre, and (the lamps within it having been before extinguiſh'd, in preſence of ſome *Turks*, who had ſeal'd the door after the lights were all put out) they enter'd the ſepulchre, and ſhut the door after them, pretending, (by a fraud unworthy of chriſtianity, and too bareface'd even to deceive the *Turks* who guard the door) that fire comes from heaven to light the lamps by.

The Greek proceſſion

The two biſhops had not been ſhut up above a minute, when the firſt glimering of the pretended *Holy Fire* appear'd thro' the chinks of the door, at which no *Bedlam* is equal to the madneſs of the *Greek* and *Armenian* mob, ſquawling, and preſſing to get near the door, which coſt many a broken head, from the *Janizaries* ſet for a guard. At laſt the biſhops appear, with each a lighted torch, at which every one crowded to light theirs, ſo that, in a moment the church ſeem'd to be in a flame.

The holy fire.

The *Latins* exclaim againſt this as a forgery unbecoming religion; and they are certainly in the right; and 'tis pity they do not give up all pretended miracles at home, for I believe there is as little proof, for the *Santa Caſa* of *Loretto* having been carried from *Paleſtine* to *Greece*, by angels, and then croſs the *Adriatic*, by the ſame carriers, to the place where it now is, as there is for this *holy Fire* now mention'd. It is a great diſparagement to real miracles, when falſe ones are obtruded upon the credulous; and it is a ſhrewd ſign of ſome tricks, when doors muſt be ſhut, or people aſleep when the miracle is pretended to be done.

A note concerning miracles.

April 4 being eaſter day with the *Engliſh* as well as the *Greeks*, our author and his company ſolemniz'd it after a manner more becoming the ſpirit of chriſtianity.

It would be tedious to name, much more

to

to deſcribe all the places mentioned by authors, eſpecially Mr. *Sandys*, who is the moſt minute in the antiquities; and I chuſe the rather to paſs over the leſs material of them in ſilence, becauſe an ingenious clergyman, with a gentleman, who had been his companion to the *Holy Land*, and whom I ſaw at *Rome* ſome years ago, in their return from *Jeruſalem*, aſſur'd me, that they did not find ſufficient reaſon to believe that any place they ſaw, about thoſe hills, was what the religious call'd it. And as I ſaid before, the parts about *Jeruſalem* have ſo chang'd their form, by being defac'd by enemies, and likewiſe by the indiſcreet zeal of friends to thoſe holy places, that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh between holy ground and prophane, after 1700 years; as any one may eaſily be convinced of, who has ſeen the uncertainty of ſome pieces of antiquity about *Rome*, where the records were better kept, and the city later defac'd than that of *Jeruſalem*. And indeed, as Mr. *Maundrel* well obſerves, their repreſenting moſt of the memorable actions to have been done in *Grottos*, which is highly improbable, may convince any man of their miſtake of the places. But being reſolv'd to ſhew ſome place for the ſcene of every action, they chriſten *Grottos* as they do *Bells*, and after a while they paſs current with *Pilgrims*; and it is but *Crede quod habes & habes*. If any one of my readers takes it amiſs that I have been ſo unwilling to be tedious about thoſe holy places, let him take the *Goſpels*, and figure to himſelf a church, chappel, altar, or moſque, upon every plot of earth there mentioned, from the *Annunciation* to the *Aſcenſion*; and let him read all the paſſages ſpoken of in the acts of the apoſtles, and form the ſame notion, and he may have an Idea of the city as it is at preſent, and of all the country about it.

But Mr. *Maundrel* ſays it is not permitted to any chriſtian to approach the place where the temple of *Solomon* ſtood, but you ſee the ground at a diſtance. It ſtood on the higheſt top of mount *Moriah*, over againſt mount *Olivet*, with the valley of *Jehoſophat* between, but the firſt mount was levell'd for 570 paces long, and 370 in breadth. There is nothing to be ſeen there now, but a *Turkiſh Moſque* over that place where the *Holy of Holies* is ſaid to have ſtood. And thus we ſhall take our leave of this office famous city, wiſhing converſion to its preſent maſters, or that it may be ſoon in better hands.

Solomon's temple.

Upon the 15th of *April*, our *Engliſh* Travellers, having paid the fathers 50 crowns a head for their Entertainment of 20 days (except the five or ſix days they had ſpent in their progreſs to *Olivet*, *Jordan* and other places about) they took diploma's of their having viſited the holy places, and under a guard conducted by a *Moſolem* of *Turkiſh* officer, they ſet out on their return home. They went the ſame road they had come, till they came to *Caphar Arab*, and then turn'd to the right hand, the way to *Nazareth*, which is a ſmall village. The church is ſaid to ſtand over the place where the angel appear'd to the B. *Virgin*, with the *Ave Maria*. There they were ſhew'd *Joſeph*'s houſe, and the Synagogue where our SAVIOUR preach'd the ſermon which offended the *Jews* ſo much, that they thruſt them out of the city, St. *Luke* IV. 9, and would have thrown them down a precipice, but for his miraculous withdrawing himſelf.

Nazareth.

About two hours diſtance from *Nazareth* eaſtward, is mount *Tabor*, ſaid to be the mount upon which he was transfigured. And here, to be ſure, they could not miſs the *three Tabernacles* propoſed by St. *Peter*, altho' I never heard that he made them, *for he wiſt not what to ſay*, St. *Mar.* IX. 6. And here all theſe places are *Grotto's* as we obſerv'd before.

Mount Tabor.

Mount *Tabor* yields a fine proſpect of the *Mediterranean* northweſt, and, all round, of the vallies of *Eſdraelon* and *Galilee*. At the bottom of the mount is *Daberah*, which is ſaid to have taken its name from *Deborah*. Eaſtward lies mount *Hermon*, and *Endor*, famous for *Saul's* witch. Not far from which lies the ſea of *Tiberias*. Southward are the mountains of *Gilboa* where *Saul* and *Jonathan* were kill'd. And, towards the north, is the mount upon which CHRIST preach'd that admirable ſermon, St. *Matth.* V. VI. and VII. From this mount are alſo to be ſeen the plains of *Dothan*, where *Joſeph's* brethren ſold him; and where our LORD fed the multitude.

Endor.

Mount Gilboa.

Going from *Tabor*, they paſs'd by *Cana* of *Galilee*, and ſo went to *Acra* and *Sidon*, before mention'd. But having a mind to ſee *Damaſcus*, our Travellers went eaſtward, and paſs'd mount *Libanus*, at the foot of which, on the oppoſite ſide, is the large river *Sotane*, which runs into *Caſimir*, where they croſs'd a bridge, and lay upon the banks of it.

Cana.

In three days, from *Sidon*, they came from the river *Barrady*, which ſupplied the city of *Damaſcus* with water. Not far from its fountain, it divides into three ſtreams, the middle of which runs by *Damaſcus*, and the two others (which our author conjectures to have been the *Abana* and *Pharpar* of *Naaman*) go round the gardens, on each ſide, from whence are canals drawn into thoſe gardens, which make *Damaſcus* look like

Abana and Pharpar.

paradise from the oppolite hill. This river was call'd *Chrysorrhoas* by the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

Damaſcus. When they came to the city, they were introduced by a janizary. It was once (next to *Babylon* and *Nineveh*) the greateſt city in that part of the world, and the metropolis of *Syria*, whoſe kings made a very conſiderable figure, and often plagued the *Jews* and *Iſraelites*. The city is now about two miles long, but encompaſs'd with gardens 30 miles in circuit, which makes a vaſt addition to the pleaſure of the place, by ſhewing a number of turrets, cupola's, and ſummer-houſes, peeping from among the greens. It is ſo beautiful at a diſtance, that the *Turks* ſay, *Mahomet* refus'd to enter it, telling thoſe who were with him, that two paradiſes were not to fall to one man's ſhare, and as he expected his in the next life, he would not take it at *Damaſcus*.

The city ſtands in 33 degrees, is the ſeat of a *Beglerbeg*, and vice-roy of that part of *Syria*; it is call'd *Scam* by the *Turks*, and is two days journey from the *Mediterranean*, eaſt from *Sidon*. The houſes are built of ſun-dry'd bricks, or clay, and our author ſays, when thoſe walls are waſh'd with any conſiderable rain, the ſtreets are not paſſable for mire and dirt. The ſtreets are narrow, but the city ſpreads, from the middle, to a conſiderable breadth, at both ends of the town. The beauty of their houſes conſiſts in marble carved portals, and in the elegancy of the inſide, where, after you have paſs'd the portico, you find, in moſt of them, a ſquare court, adorn'd with trees and fountains, there is an open gallery round, divided into apartments, with *Divans*, or broad *Sopha*'s, ſpread with carpets and cuſhions to lean on. Here the *Turks* eat, drink coffee, ſmoke, ſleep, and receive company. And thoſe galleries in the better ſort of houſes, are floor'd and lin'd with marble; and the arches, pillars, and cieling, painted and gilded, and the carpets and cuſhions richly embroider'd.

The moſt remarkable buildings now in *Damaſcus*, are, 1. The church of St. *John Baptiſt*, now a moſque, which has three large gates cover'd with braſs, ſtamp'd with *Arabic* characters. And it is ſpacious and lofty within, (as I ſuppoſe he could ſee at a diſtance, for he tells us, no Chriſtian was allow'd to enter it) built with three iſles, and ſupported by beautiful pillars. 2. The caſtle, where he ſpeaks of nothing remarkable, but a great quantity of ancient arms, among which he took particular notice of a *Roman Baliſta*, or croſs-bow, for throwing ſtones or darts; and a ſtone chain. 3. A beautiful bagnio. And, 4. A remarkable coffee-houſe able to contain 500 people, divided into two apartments; that for the ſummer had an artificial iſland in it, ſurrounded by a ſwift ſtream, the whole ſhaded over head with trees. Here the *Turks* came in numbers, being much delighted with greens and water; for they have a proverb, *that thoſe, with a beautiful face, are a ſufficient cure for the ſpleen.*

But, that religious places may not paſs unregarded, here is ſhew'd *Judas*'s houſe, in the ſtreet call'd *Straight*; the place where *Ananias* reſtored St. *Paul* to his ſight; but this is a grotto too, and is adorn'd with a *Chriſtian* altar, and a *Turkiſh* oratory hard by it. About half a mile from the city, is ſhew'd the place where St. *Paul* was ſtricken down, and ſaw the viſion. And another place where he reſted after the viſion. There is alſo the gate where *he was let down in a baſket*. The *Greek Patriarch* told our author, that there were then in *Damaſcus* 1200 of his communion. *Religious places, relating to St. Paul.*

About four hours from the city, there is a *Greek* convent call'd *Sidonia*, where about 20 monks and 40 nuns live together upon a rock, to which one muſt aſcend, by ſteps cut in the rock, where having good wine, and good company, they live very comfortably. This place muſt have been famous for ſomething, for there are no leſs than 16 churches and oratories near it: And it is a wonder that ſo many religious, of both ſexes, have not diſcover'd the particular ſanctity of the ground before now. But they have done as well: For, they have a picture of the B. *Virgin*, which did a great many cures; but a ſacrilegious wretch having ſtolen it away, it became real fleſh and bones, and might have upbraided him for his impiety, if he had not immediately carried it back, and there it is now, in a ſtone coffin, within an iron grate, under which there is a ſilver baſon for the receiving the oyl, which conſtantly perſpires thro' this metamorphos'd body, to cure all diſtempers. *A pretended miraculous image of the B. virgin.*

Damaſcus is ſtill a place of conſiderable trade; the chief branches of which are, ſword-blades, and the ſilks call'd *Damask*, from this city. And roſe-water, from the *Damask* roſes, with which the gardens abound. Beſides raw ſilk, wine, and prunes. *Trade of Damaſcus.*

In their return from *Damaſcus*, they came to the city *Balbeck*, ſaid to be the old *Heliopolis*, on the eaſt ſide of the valley of *Bocar*. This city is ſquare, and has a good wall, but the houſes are mean, as the *Turks* houſes generally are. Here are ſome glorious ruins, particularly of a heathen temple, which, by what remains of it, ſhews it to have been a magnificent ſtructure. The firſt thing that ſtrikes the eye is a circular building of marble, with a row of pillars, quite round it, Balbeck, *or* Heliopolis. *A heathen temple.*

it, of the *Corinthian* order, whose cornish, altho' ruin'd in several places, shews very grand to this day. This *Rotunda* the *Greeks* use for a church; but our author thinks the tottering condition of it might inspire those Christians with more devotion than they appear'd to have. Behind this, there stands a portico of 150 paces in length, arch'd on the top, and leads to the temple itself, which is an oblong square, 64 yards long, and half that measure broad. The body of the temple, which was standing at the time Mr. *Maundrel* was there, was supported with pillars of the same order. [But the proportions, as Mr. *Salmon* has them, do not agree to any order but the *Tuscan*. For a pillar of the *Corinthian* order, of 6 foot and 3 inches diameter, ought to be 65 foot long; whereas these pillars are represented only as 45.] The stones which make the wall of the temple had heathen deities carv'd upon them; among the rest a *Ganymede* done to the life, carried away by an eagle, which should make it a temple of *Jupiter*. In the walls were two rows of pilasters, one above another, with niches between them for statues. At the upper end of the temple, were the remains of two fluted pillars, probably design'd to form a canopy over the great altar of the principal idol. And all round the wall, at the upper end are carved in relievo, *Neptunes*, *Tritons*, &c. The roof is entirely gone, but what remains is enough to shew the primitive grandeur of it.

Another piece of antiquity Mr. *Maundrel* gives an account of, is a part of the old wall of the city, of such prodigious stones, that he is afraid to mention them, and says that the natives ascribe the mason work to the Devil. Our author and his company measur'd three of them, which lay in one row, at the end of one another. One was 21 yards long, and the other two 20 yards each, and 4 yards broad, and as many in thickness. They were in a part of the wall 20 foot from the ground. There was likewise a pillar of the *Tuscan* order, a yard and a half diameter, and 14 yards high, which ought to have been but 10 and an half.

Prodigious stones in an old wall.

Going over another part of mount *Libanus*, after they left *Balbeck*, they travell'd four hours upon hard snow, the 7th day of *May*. Upon one part of this mount, among the snow, they saw the great cedars of *Lebanon*, so often mention'd in holy writ. One of which our author measur'd, and found it 12 yards and 6 inches about, and 37 yards in compass at the top; about 5 yards from the ground, it divided itself into 5 limbs, each of which was as big as a large tree. But there were not above 16 of those large trees, which were all fresh; and a vast forest of small ones.

Cedars of Lebanon.

In this expedition, they saw *Canobine*, a convent of *Maronites*, and the seat of their patriarch, in an opening of mount *Libanus*, a good way up the hill, but a sweet place, well furnish'd with water, and adorn'd with greens. It is said to have been founded by *Theodosius* the elder.

From this Mr. *Maundrel* and his company return'd to *Tripoli*, and so to *Aleppo*. So that for any part of *Syria*, farther east, we must find another guide. And there having been much talk of *Palmyra*, we shall say something of it, before we leave *Syria*, as Mr. *Harris* has it from Dr. *Hallifax*.

Palmyra is the same with *Tadmor*, the former being only a later translation of the second; both signifying, in their original, palm trees. This is the city said, in scripture, * to have been built by *Solomon*. It is placed in our maps in *Arabia Deserta*; but, either they run that part of *Arabia* too far north, or *Palmyra* as much farther south than it ought to be. *Echard* places it in the latitude of *Tripoli*, which is 34 deg. 20 m. 135 miles n. e. of *Damascus*, and 110 s. e. from *Antioch*. Dr. *Heylin* gives this following situation to *Palmyrene*, or the country about *Palmyra*. That it is bounded on the east by *Euphrates*, on the west by *Syria Proper*, on the north by *Comagena*, and on the south by mount *Libanus*, which divides it from *Desart Arabia*. And he says that the *Romans* gave it the name of *Salutaris*, from the hot springs in it, which cur'd several distempers. But, having, in our first division of this part of the world, brought all the east part of the *Syrian* empire, between *Arabia* and *Anatolia*, under the general name of *Syria*, and, finding nothing, at present, worth observation, but the ruins about *Palmyra*, we shall return to Dr. *Hallifax*, and so finish the continent of *Asia*.

Palmyra.

* 1 Kings, IX. 18.

Tadmor, as it is still nam'd by the natives, is inclos'd on three sides with long ridges of mountains, with a large plain towards the south, in which is that valley of salt mentioned 2. *Sam.* VIII. 13. where *David* kill'd 18000 *Syrians*.

The soil near this city is so barren that there is nothing to be seen of green about it, except the palm trees, from whence it was nam'd *Tadmor*, [and is therefore said in *Solomon*'s time to have been built *in the Wilderness, in the Land.*] By the former accounts of it, it was once a famous city, and, by the ruins yet remaining, it must have been of great extent: But there is no vestige of any wall: And at present it is inhabited by only 40 families of poor *Arabs* who live in huts, within the precincts of an old heathen

temple,

Temple of Jupiter Belus.

temple, probably dedicated to *Jupiter Belus*; the court of which is 220 yards ſquare, encompaſs'd with a ſtately wall, of large ſquare ſtone, with pilaſters and corniſhes, as appears from ſome remains of it. There are two ſtones left which make the ſides of the gate, 35 foot high each, and cary'd with vines, and cluſters of grapes; but the gate is wall'd up to a narrow door, with an inſcription, which ſhews both *Greek* and *Latin* Letters, but now not to be made out. It ſeems to have had a colonnade round it, there being ſome remains of two rows of pillars, with beautiful capitels, and a fine corniſh, but we are not told of what order.

The temple itſelf ſeems to have been about 100 foot long, and 40 broad; and the ſtones which remain are curiouſly cut into vines, grapes, eagles and cupids, very exactly proportion'd, the windows are narrower at the bottom than at the top, and handſomly cary'd. Part of it is now a Moſque.

Not far from the temple are a multitude of marble pillars, ſcatter'd up and down for a mile together, and an obelisk, or large pillar rather, conſiſting of ſeven ſtones, beſides the capital, wrought aboutwith cary'd work like the two famous pillars at *Rome*, but not ſo high; for this at *Palmyra* is but 50 foot, and the circumference at the pedeſtal 12 and an half feet. On each hand of this, ſtand two other pillars, a quarter of a mile diſtant from each other, which ſeem to anſwer to one another as if there had been a whole row of them. Upon theſe remains you find many inſcriptions, but ſo defac'd that nothing can be made of them.

From this obelisk, on the other ſide, there is a magnificent entrance to a noble *Piazza* of above half a mile long, with two rows of ſtately marble pillars, 26 foot high and three foot diameter, which ſhews them of the *Corinthian* order. Our author ſuppoſes by the placing of the remaining 129, that they were 560 in all. At the end of theſe, are the ruins of a ſtately building, ſuppos'd to have been a banquetting houſe; perhaps part of the palace of their kings, which is on the weſt of the *Piazza*; where are the remains of two gates, each having four pillars, two of which are ſtill left, which are of *Porphyry* 30 foot high. But of the palace itſelf there is little or nothing left to ſhew the form; but from the broken pillars and pieces of wall, one may imagine it was very magnificient.

Another great piece of antiquity there, are the ſepulchres; which are ſquare towers, four or five ſtories high, ſtanding on both ſides of a hollow way, and a mile in length. There are many of them, all of one form, but of different magnificence; ſome being of fineſt marble and better adorn'd than the others. But the inſcriptions all defac'd, except two or three, which only contain the names of the deceas'd.

This city, with the territory about it is ſaid to have continued a free ſtate (that is, under its own kings, but ſubject firſt to the *Parthians* and then to the *Romans*) till the emperor *Aurelian* demoliſh'd it, and carried their queen *Zenobia*, the wife of *Odenatus* captive to *Rome*. It is at preſent in the hands of the ſtroling *Arabs*, and their *Emirs*, who are ſometimes call'd kings, are very troubleſome to the *Turks*, and the danger of being ill us'd by them, is the reaſon why *Europeans* travel ſo little that way. And thus I ſhall take leave of this laſt diviſion of *Turky* in *Aſia*.

SECT. VII.

Of the Aſiatic Iſles in the Mediterranean.

ALTHO' we have given this title to this ſection, it will not be expected that we ſhould ſpeak at large of all the iſlands in this part of the *Mediterranean*, they being ſo many in number, that the very naming every one of them, with their ſituation and latitude, would take up a greater ſpace than we can, at preſent, allow them, beſides that many of them are very inconſiderable. We ſhall therefore only deſcribe a few of the moſt remarkable of them; with this caution to the reader, that we deſign to take in the iſlands only of the *Archipelagus* and the *Levant* ſea from *Candy* eaſtward, all along the *Aſian* coaſt of the *Mediterranean* to the borders of *Egypt*.

The moſt conſiderable iſlands in this part of the *Mediterranean*, from *Conſtantinople* along the weſt coaſt of *Natolia*, and, which, as Dr. *Heylin* ſays, were firſt united by *Veſpaſian* into a province, and next reckon'd as a part of the *Aſian Dioceſe*, under the proconſul of *Aſia*, are 1. *Stalimene*, the old *Lemnos*, 2. *Tenedos*, 3. *Mytilene*, or *Lesbos*, 4. *Scio*, in *Moll*'s map, *Xio*, the ancient *Chios*, 5. *Sdelle*, the old *Delos*, 6. *Samos*, 7. *Nicaria*, of old *Icaria*, 8. *Lango*, formerly *Coos*, 9. *Patmos*, now *Palmoſa*, 10. *Rhodes*; to which we ſhall add the two famous iſlands, formerly powerful kingdoms, *viz.* 11. *Candia*, the celebrated *Crete* of the ancients, and 12 the iſland of *Cyprus*. There are many other iſlands in this tract of ſea, but they are of leſs conſideration, and thereſore we ſhall paſs them by. Of the firſt ten, we ſhall give but a ſhort account, that we may enlarge upon the two laſt.

Stalimene

Lemnos. *Stalimene*, the *Lemnos* of the ancients, lies northwest of the famous *Troy*, over against the *Dardanels*, almost at the head of the *Archipelagus*. There is little remarkable in it, at present, except a sort of earth, call'd formerly *Terra Lemnia*, of a medicinal quality: But the island being now subject to the *Turks*, they suffer none of it to be carried out, except what is put in small bags, and seal'd with the *Grand Signior*'s seal, and therefore it is now call'd *Terra Sigillata*. This island had likewise the name of *Dipolis* formerly, from two cities in it, *Hœphestia* and *Myrina*. It was dedicated to *Vulcan*.

Tenedos. 2. *Tenedos* is situated in sight of old *Troy*, as *Virgil* observes, from which it is not above five miles distant, according to *Heylin*, but the *English Atlas* calls it twelve. It is not reckon'd more than 18 miles in compass. The most memorable thing anciently recorded of it, was, its having been the hiding place of the *Greeks* in the pretended retreat from *Troy*, taken notice of by *Virgil* in his second *Æneid*. It was dedicated to *Apollo*, and is only remarkable now for excellent muscade wine. It is in the hands of the *Turks*, who took it from the *Venetians* in 1657.

Lesbos. 3. *Mytelene*, the ancient *Lesbos* of the *Greeks*, is a large island 160 miles in circuit. It takes the name of *Mytelene* from the chief city in the island. It lies over against *Pergamus* about eight miles from the *Asian* coast. There are great remains of the ancient city from whence it has its name, but they are only broken marble pillars, in great plenty; most of them being either white or ash colour'd. This island was famous for the birth of *Sappho* so celebrated for her poetry, and particularly for that sort of verse which still bears her name, that she was call'd the 10th *Muse*. Here likewise was born *Pittacus*, one of the seven wise men of *Greece*. As also, *Theophrastus*, *Alcæus*, and *Arion*, all famous in their different ways, *viz.* for philosophy, poetry, and musick. From *Arion*'s skill in musick, is the fable of the *Dolphin*'s taking him upon his back, being charm'd with his harp, and carrying him thro' the sea to *Corinth*. This island is a good soil, and abounds with corn, wine and oyl. It has chang'd many masters, as all the islands in those seas have done; and is, at present, subject to the *Turks*.

Chios. 4. *Scio* or *Xio*, the ancient *Chios*, lies over against *Smyrna*, about 12 miles from the *Asian* shore. It is 120 miles in compass. This island is most remarkable for the great plenty of mastick found in it, which is a gum distilling from the *Lentisk* tree, whereof they sell above 10000 l. worth every year. The chief city, call'd *Chios* was built, or repair'd, by the *Genoeses*, in whose possession it was. They likewise built a castle both to defend the town, and command the port. It was given to the family of *Giustiniani* by *Andronicus Paleologus* the *Greek* emperor, for their assistance in war. And after the *Turks* had taken *Constantinople*, the *Genoeses* of that family still kept it, paying a tribute to the Sultan of 18000 crowns a year, and enjoy'd full liberty of their religion till the year 1566, that it was taken from them by *Solimon*, sirnam'd *the Magnificent*. The *Venetians* took it in 1694; but lost it, the year following, so that it is now in the hands of the *Turks*. Nothwithstanding this, the christians both of the *Greek* and *Roman* churches have free liberty of their religion, and have their several bishops in the island. It produces wine and oyl, but not in great plenty. But the staple commodities are, silk, wrought in velvet and damask; mastick; (the trees from whence it comes being all the *Grand Signor*'s) and honey and wax. The *Turks* and *French* pay three *per cent* for all that they buy in the island, and the *Jews* and *Armenians* pay five. The city of *Chios* is one of the seven, which claim the honour of *Homer*'s birth.

Delos. 5. *Sdelle*, the ancient *Delos*, one of the *Cyclades*, otherwise call'd *The Islands of the Arches*. These islands said to be 53 in number, with *Delos* for their center, lie more to the westward than those last mentioned, and consequently at a greater distance from the *Asian* coast. *Delos* was celebrated by the poets for the birth of *Apollo* and *Diana*, who were call'd *Cynthius*, and *Cynthia*, from the hill *Cynthus*, which is near the city of *Delos*. In this island there was a famous temple of *Apollo*, where, it was said, the oracles were deliver'd in more intelligible terms, than they were in other places. The city of *Delos* was a place of great trade after the *Romans* had destroy'd *Corinth*; for the merchants remov'd to this island, as being at a convenient distance from *Europe* and *Asia*; it continued in a flourishing condition till it was wasted by *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; and was quite deserted when oracles ceas'd.

Samos. 6. *Samos* lies over against *Ephesus*, and is reckon'd between 80 and 90 miles in compass; but it is strange to see such variety of opinions in authors, about the distance of this island from the continent of *Asia*. Mr. *Sandys*, who sail'd by it, in his voyage from *Constantinople* to *Egypt* says, it is not a quarter of a mile from the *Asian* shore. Dr. *Heylin*, (with whom the *Gazetteer* agrees) reckons it five miles; and our *English Atlas* no less than 25. But this last is, perhaps, an error of the press; for as it lies in the map of *Greece*,

the *Atlas* rather agrees with *Sandys*.

This iſland abounds in every thiug neceſſary for good living, except wine, of which, perhaps, it is the only iſland in thoſe ſeas, that has not any; but there are many iſlands near it, from whence they may be ſupplied, as well as from the continent. It is invironed on the north, and part of the weſt, with inacceſſible rocks; but in the ſouth part, there is one of the beſt harbours in the *Archipelago*; in the laſt century, much infeſted with pirates. Near this harbour ſtood the city of *Samia*, a place of great account in former times, but gone to decay, as many other cities of *Greece* are.

This iſland was of old ſacred to *Juno*, as being the place of her birth. But more to be regarded for having produc'd the renown'd *Pythagoras*, the great maſter of philoſophy. But this iſland has run the fate of other appendages of *Greece*, which was, to become a prey to different maſters, 'till it fell, at laſt, into the hands of the *Turks*.

Nicaria. 7. *Nicaria*, or *Niceria*, lies weſt of *Samos*, and is in circuit, about 37 miles, but very narrow. It was formerly call'd *Icaria*, from *Icarus*, the ſon of *Dædalus*, who in his flight from *Crete*, after his father, (who was the firſt inventer of ſails) was caſt away upon this iſland, (then call'd *Dolychia*) which ſtory of flying from their purſuers, by the help of ſails, furniſh'd the poets with the invention of wings, which *Ovid* ſo ingeniouſly deſcribes.

Coos 8. *Lango*, the old *Coos*, at the bottom of the *Archipelagus*, over-againſt *Halicarnaſſus* in *Caria*. It is 70 miles in circuit, and very fruitful, eſpecially in vines, and cypreſs trees. The chief city, call'd *Coos*, was famous, anciently, for the temple of *Æſculapius*; to which numbers reſorted, to pray for health, or to return thanks for their recovery. This iſland was, in later days, in the hands of the knights of *Malta*, whilſt they continued maſters of *Rhodes*, but fell, with that iſland, into the hands of the *Turks*. *Hippocrates*, the famous philoſopher and phyſician, was a native of this iſland.

Patmos. 9. *Patmoſa*, or *Palmoſa*, the ancient *Patmos*, moſt remarkable for the baniſhment of St. *John* to it, where he himſelf tells us, *Rev.* I. 9, he had the revelation diſcover'd to him: And they pretend to ſhew the place where he wrote the account of it, as we have it to this day. The iſland is, according to Mr. *Thevenot*, 18 miles round, a deſart place, inhabited by 3000 Chriſtians, who have much ado to live; but having good harbours, they are ſupplied from other places. It lies ſouth from *Samos*; and was a common receptacle for offenders, during the government of the heathen emperors of *Rome*.

Rhodes. 10. *Rhodes* lies in that part of the *Mediterranean*, which, as we obſerv'd before, the *Turks* call the *White Sea*, and is commonly call'd, by us, the *Levant*. It is ſituated on the ſouth of *Caria* and *Jonia*, in the entry of the *Levant* from the *Archipelagus*, and is about 20 miles from the *Aſian* coaſt. It is 140 miles in compaſs, and a fruitful country. The wine made here was ſo exellent, that the *Romans* kept it for the *Gods*, and their choiceſt friends, as *Virgil* ſays in his *Georgicks*, B. II.

The chief ciry of this iſland bears the ſame name, and is another of the ſeven which contend for *Homer*'s birth. It is ſituated on the eaſt part of the iſle, near the ſea, upon a declining hill, and has a moſt commodious harbour. This city was reckon'd one of the ſtrongeſt in the *Levant*. They were of old a warlike people, and particularly famous, next to the *Phœnicians*, for their skill in navigation; inſomuch that their maritime laws were adopted by the *Romans*. They held out long againſt the *Greeks*, and, being become their aſſociate, gave as much trouble to the *Romans*: But were, at laſt, forced to court them for their aſſiſtance againſt the *Macedonians*, and ſubmitted to receive a *Roman* governor, and this iſland was reckoned in the province of the *Aſian Iſles*; and, whilſt it continued under their government, the city of *Rhodes* was the greateſt nurſery for learning of any in that part of the world. *Cæſar* ſtudy'd there to good purpoſe, and, *Tiberius* pretended to retire thither for ſtudy, but indeed out of diſguſt, and to plot his future greatneſs. Upon the diviſion of the *Roman* empire, this iſland fell to the eaſtern emperor's ſhare. In the year 1124, it was taken by the *Venetians*, but recover'd by the emperor of the eaſt in 1227. About 56 years after that, the *Turks* got poſſeſſion of it, and kept it 25 years. Then the knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* took it from the *Turks* in 1308, and bravely defended it for 200 years; and particularly in 1480 they defeated the forces of *Mahomet* the great, and made him retire with ſhame and loſs. In 1522, *Soliman* the magnificent came to attack it with no leſs an army than 200,000 men; and *Thevenot*, and other authors, tell us, that the city was betray'd to him by *Amaral*, then *Chancellor* of the order, who, out of pique for being diſappointed of being choſen *Grand Maſter*, gave *Soliman* ſuch intelligence, by a letter faſten'd to an arrow, that he carried the town at a weak place deſcrib'd in the letter.

The city deſcrib'd. The city, as *Thevenot* deſcribes it, has two harbours. The great one is a large ſquare, but very much expos'd to eaſterly winds.

winds. On the ſouth ſide of the harbour is a new fort, built by the *Turks*, and has a baſtion and curtain, well mounted, reaching to the town wall. Oppoſite to that, on the north ſide, is an old caſtle, call'd St. *Angelo*. Near the foundation of this caſtle is the place where the famous *Coloſſus* is ſaid to have ſtood, being a monſtrous ſtatue, ſtriding 300 foot; ſo that, being 70 cubits high, ſhips ſail'd between the legs of it.

The Coloſſus of Rhode.

But, with ſubmiſſion to better judgment, I think the proportions here are not very natural. The heighth of the whole ſtatue is ſaid to have been but 70 cubits, that is, 105 foot; but the diſtance between the feet is ſaid to have been 50 fathoms, or 300 foot; a pretty large ſtride for a man, even of braſs, to ſtretch his legs three times his own length. If the 70 cubits were geometrical cubits, then the heighth muſt have been 525 foot. I wiſh they had told us, by what rules of mechaniſm this *Coloſſus* was erected. It was indeed call'd one of the wonders of the world, and well it might, the thumb of it having been more than a man could fathom. But, as it ſtood but five times as long as it was a-making, (which they ſay was 12 years) and was overturn'd by an earthquake, it is only now talk'd of, as it was mention'd by *Pliny*, *viz.* as a wonder that had been. It is ſaid to have been made by *Chares*, a native of *Lindus*, (a place 60 miles from *Rhodes*, upon the point of the iſland) at the charge of 300 talents furniſh'd by *Demetrius*. Dr. *Prideaux* makes it, by his calculation, to have been began 300 years before CHRIST, to have been ſet up in the 288th, and overthrown in the 222d year before the incarnation. This reverend author does not give any dimenſions of it, except the heighth, of 70 cubits, and ſays the reſt was in juſt proportion. He tells us, that the *Rhodians* got contributions from all the ſtates of *Grecian* original, upon account of the earthquake, but eſpecially for ſetting up the *Coloſſus*; by which charity they got five times as much as their damage had been: But, to ſhun the expence of ſetting up the ſtatue, they pretended that the oracle of *Delphos* forbade it. So that the Coloſſus lay near 900 years there, and then was ſold to a *Jew*, who loaded 900 camels with the braſs of it; amounting, by our author's computation, to 720,000 pound weight.

The other harbour at *Rhodes* is call'd that of the galleys, where many may lie, but only one can enter at once; and the entry is ſhut with a chain, every night.

The churches in the city are turn'd to moſques, and the Chriſtians are not ſuffer'd, as *Thevenot* ſays, to lodge in the town; but have ſhops there in the day time, and go home to the adjacent villages at night.

There are many other iſlands in the *Archipelago*, mention'd by ſeveral authors; but it would be too tedious to treat of them; we ſhall therefore proceed to

11. *Candia*, the ancient *Crete*. This iſland is the largeſt of all the iſlands in this part of the ſea; being about 550 miles in compaſs. The length is from eaſt to weſt above 250, and 50 broad from ſouth to north. It ſeems equally to belong to *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*, or rather to none of them. So that *Virgil* ſaid very true, when he plac'd this iſland in the middle of the ſea; * for it is about 100 miles diſtant from the *Aſian* coaſt, as much from the *European*, and little more from that of *Africa*.

Crete.

* Æneid. B. III.

This iſland was famous, among the ancients, for having been the birth-place of their moſt remarkable *Gods*. *Saturn* was king of it, and having agreed with his brother *Titan* to leave the kingdom to him after his own death, and therefore having promis'd to deſtroy all his own male children, (which gave riſe to the fable of *Saturn*'s devouring his ſons) *Saturn*'s wife *Cybele*, as ſoon as ſhe had brought forth *Jupiter*, found means to convey him to mount *Ida*, which is in this iſland. This being diſcover'd, ſome-time after, *Titan* made war upon *Saturn*, but was defeated by *Jupiter*, which gave occaſion to the fable of the *Giants War*. But *Jupiter*, *like a good ſon*, riſing in rebellion againſt his father, made him *abdicate* the government, and fly for his ſafety, and ſo *Jupiter* govern'd the kingdom during his life, and became THE IMMORTAL after his death, having divine honours paid him, for no other reaſon that I can ſee, but becauſe he was one of the wickedeſt princes of his age, not only for his unnatural *rebellion* and *uſurpation*, but for giving his people an example of other *unnatural crimes*, which, being ſanctified by his practice, became common among his worſhippers. The birth of this *Devil of a God*, and of others begotten by him, (but moſt of them diſhoneſtly) made *Crete* to be look'd upon as ſacred to all future ages, whilſt heatheniſm obtain'd.

Jupiter born in Crete.

Another memorable occurrence which render'd it famous in ancient times, was the amour of queen *Paſiphae*, which, (when ſtripp'd of the fable of the *Bull*, and the other poetical flights) was no more than what ſome other great ladies are ſaid to have done ſince. *Paſiphae* was the wife of *Minos*, king of *Crete*, ſon (as is ſaid) of *Jupiter* by *Europa*, but ſeems to have been a better man than his father, at leaſt, before he commenc'd *God*. But this lady, altho' ſhe had ſeveral

Paſiphae's ſtory.

veral children by her husband, taking a liking to one of his officers, whose name answer'd to a *Bull* (for I cannot think it was *Taurus*, because they did not speak *Latin* in *Crete*) by the assistance of *Dædalus*, who was so kind as to pimp for her majesty, she was got with child by this officer, which coming to the king's ears, he put the pimp in prison, who made his escape, and out-sailing the boats, (sent to bring him back) by the help of sails which he had invented, he arriv'd in *Sicily*, but his son *Icarus*, having more sail than ballast, was cast away, as we observ'd above.

This *Dædalus* was an ingenious man, and had invented many curious things; among the rest, a labyrinth, into which, if any one enter'd far, they were lost as in a wilderness. Here *Minos* shut up so many *Athenian* youths, whom he requir'd to be sent to him every year, and put them to death; 'till *Theseus*, by the assistance of *Ariadne*, *Minos*'s daughter, found a way out of the labyrinth, after he had kill'd those who had been employ'd to kill the young *Athenians* before.

And that of Theseus.

This island had once 100 cities, and therefore call'd *Hecatompolis*; but there are only three or four remaining now, and nothing like what they were before. But they were noted for *Liars*, as St. *Paul* objects to them, *Tit.* I. 12, by quoting, in prose, what the poet *Epimenides* said of them in verse. The gospel was first preach'd in this island by St. *Paul*, who left *Titus* in it, to settle the church, and to ordain presbyters in every city.

From the death of *Minos*, the *Cretans* form'd themselves into a commonwealth, and continued so, 'till the *Romans* (with difficulty) conquer'd them, under pretence of their having assisted *Mithridates* in the *Pontic* war; and by *Augustus Cæsar*, the island was join'd to the *Cerenaic* province; from which, after *Nero*'s death, it was separated, and had a governor of its own. It follow'd the eastern empire, 'till it was subdued by the *Saracens*, in the emperor *Michael Balbus*'s time: And was recover'd to the empire in 963. After which the *Venetians* got it given to them, who bravely maintain'd their possession against the *Turks*, particularly against *Selymus* II. in 1571, about the time he conquer'd *Cyprus*. And a little before Dr. *Heylin* publish'd his *Cosmography*, they had withstood the forces of *Sultan Ibrahim*, for a whole year; and his book was first printed in 1624, and the second time in 1657. But *Ibrahim* was murder'd in 1648. But since that time, after a tedious war, the *Turks* became masters of it in 1669, and keep it to this day.

The air of this island is temperate, being between 34 and 37 degrees, and the soil is rich and fertile, abounding with corn, oyl, wine, and fruits of different sorts. The chief commodities are, *Muscade* wine, malmsey, sugar, sugar-candy, honey, wax, gum, olives, &c. The language is the modern *Greek*, and *Turkish*, but most of the better sort speak *Italian*, from the *Venetians* living so long in the island. Their establish'd religion is the *Mahometan*, but the Christians are tolerated.

12. The last island we shall mention is that of *Cyprus*. It lies near the coast of *Syria*, over-against *Tortosa* and *Tripoli*, being much in the same latitude, and of the same bulk, with *Crete*, but of a different shape; being shorter than *Candy*, but broader at the west end than any part of *Candy*, at least if the maps are right. Dr. *Heylin* makes it 60 miles from the coast of *Cilicia*, and 100 from that of *Syria*. But the *Atlas* makes it only 50 miles from any part of the coast of *Asia*. Cyprus.

Its different names.

It has often chang'd its name; *Cethinia*, *Ceraſtis*, *Amathusia*, *Paphia*, *Salamina*, *Macaria*, *Asperia*, and *Ærosa*, were all names, by which this island has been call'd by different authors; but *Cyprus* is what it most universally obtain'd, probably, from the cypress trees with which it abounded.

The nature of the soil.

It is hot and sultry in summer, having no rivers properly speaking, but is water'd by floods from the hills, when it rains, but those are dried up, soon after the rain ceases. And they tell us, of its being many years together without rain, in *Constantine*'s time, so that the people deserted it, for a time. Yet it abounded in corn, wine, oyl, sugar, cotton, honey, wooll, turpentine, allom, verdegrease, and all kinds of metals; and from the plenty of all things, the *Greeks* call'd it *Macaria*, or *Happy*. Those call'd rivers, altho' often dry, are *Lycus* and *Lapithus*, the one running north, and the other south; both having their rise from the mountain *Olympus*, a hill 50 miles in circuit, planted with trees of different kinds; and at the foot of it, at every league's end, there is a monastery of *Greek* monks, as so many mile-stones, round the bottom of the hill, and fountains of water, for the use of the houses. There are two smaller rivers, call'd *Bodeus*, and *Tolius*, but all the four often dry; so that there is no sign of water in their courses.

The history of the island.

This island is a place of great antiquity, being said to have been peopled from the grandson of *Japhet*, the son of *Noah*, after whose name *Cittim*, the ancient city of *Citium* in *Cyprus* is said to have been call'd. In process of time, the island became tributary to *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*. But soon after possess'd by their nearer neighbours, the *Phœnicians*, who being powerful

powerful by sea, invaded the coast of *Cyprus*. The next possessors were the *Grecians* from *Salamis*, *Athens*, and *Arcadia*. They built the city of *Salamis*, under the conduct of *Teucer* the son of *Telamon*, who finding the island overgrown with wood, cut down great quantities of it for building ships, and other uses. But that not being sufficient, they afterwards made a law, that every man should have the property of as much ground as he could clear of wood, stub'd up from the roots; which encouragement soon brought the low country into a plain.

It was, as Dr. *Heylin* says, divided into 9 kingdoms, which were subdued by *Cyrus*, but were only made tributary; for he allowed their kings both their titles and possessions. And Dr. *Prideaux* mentions *Evagoras*, as king of *Cyprus*, or rather of *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, in the reign of *Artaxerxes*. For the same author takes notice of the 9 kings of that island during the reign of *Ochus* king of *Persia*, the son and successor of *Artaxerxes*. And we find by *Arrian*'s history of *Alexander*, that there were several kings in *Cyprus* in his time, who, hearing of *Alexander*'s success against *Darius*, all join'd with that conqueror, and were very active in the siege of *Tyre*.

After *Alexander*'s death, *Ptolomy*, to whose share *Egypt* fell, took possession of *Cyprus*, where he had several conflicts with *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, who dispossess'd him of it. But some years after he recover'd it, and it continued, with frequent disputes, in his family, 'till *Cato* invaded it, and, upon the death of *Ptolomy Auletes*, took full possession of it for the *Romans*. An expedition unworthy of the profession of vertue pretended to by *Cato*: For *Ptolomy* was their ally, and had no way deserv'd that usage; but the *Romans* wanted money, and *Cato* must procure it; and *Ptolomy* must be put to the bann of the republick, because he was rich, as their own historians say. And indeed it answer'd the end, and the celebrated *Cato*, who could not bear the yoke of *Cæsar*'s power, but tore out his own bowels to get rid of it, made no bones of plundering another man's kingdom, and carrying 7000 talents to *Rome*, by an unjust war. But he was a strenuous asserter of republican principles, and therefore, with all his faults, must be the *God-like Cato*.

From this time, *Cyprus* became a *Roman* province, and, with the *Asiatic* provinces, fell to the share of the emperor of *Constantinople*. It was taken by the *Saracens* during the reign of the second *Constans*, about the year 641. Being afterwards recover'd to the *Eastern* empire, it continued thus to the year 1107, when *Richard* I. king of *England*, being deny'd liberty of watering, was so exasperated, that he landed by force, and subduing the island, sold it to the *Templars*, and afterwards gave it to *Guy* of *Lusignan*, the titulary king of *Jerusalem*, whose posterity kept it, in freedom, to the year 1423, at what time the sultan of *Egypt* invaded it, and brought it under tribute. In this state it continued to the year 1473, and then it was given up, (according to the will of *John*, the last king of it) to the *Venetians*, who still paid the tribute of 40,000 crowns to the sultans. But *Selimus* II. took it from them in 1570. *Bragadino*, a *Venetian*, having bravely defended *Famagosta*, as long as he had any hope of relief, was at last forced to capitulate with *Mustapha*, the *Turkish* general, who basely murder'd him, and the chief men of the town, against their faith given.

Tavernier, in his fourth expedition to *Asia*, touch'd at this island. He tells us, that the chief anchoring places for their ships are, 1. *Salines*, where he lay, and where there was a *French* consul; 2. *Paphos*, and 3. *Cerines*. For the port of *Famagosta* is not capable of receiving a ship of any burden.

Cities.

The chief city of the island, at present, is *Nicosia*, which, he says, is almost in the middle of the island, and was, in former times, a great city, and now, altho' much smaller, is a place of defence. This is the residence of the *Bey*, or *Turkish* governor. The *Venetian* palaces were thrown down by the *Turks*, in expectation of finding treasure under them. There were several churches in it, which are now mosques. The religion was Christian, after the rites of the *Greek* church, 'till the *Venetians* brought in popery; both which are tolerated; but they pay so dear for it, that our author says, many turn *Mahometans* to escape the tax, which is from 150 to 18 crowns a head, according to their quality. 1. Nicosia.

Famagosta lies upon the south-east coast over-against the *Syrian Tripoli*, and is the place of greatest strength in the island, and is govern'd by a *Bey*, independent of the governor of the island, according to the custom of the *Turkish* policy, as we observ'd before. In this city the Christians may have shops, but are not allow'd to lodge. The other towns are *Cerines*, *Salines*, *Limisso*, and *Paphos*, all fine cities when *Cyprus* was independent, but now of no great consideration. 2. Famagosta.

Many stories were told by the ancients of the dissolute lives of the people of this island, and for that reason it was dedicated to *Venus*, the patroness of loose desires. She had a famous temple at *Paphos*, where she was worship'd by rites, not very

very reputable for a fair lady, much leſs for a *Goddeſs*.

The poor trade of this iſland, at preſent, conſiſts in ſilk, cotton, oyl, ſaffron, rhubarb and ſuch like commodities, beſides a few Barrels of pickled birds, about the bigneſs of larks, which they ſend every year to *Venice*, where they are much eſteem'd.

Having thus gone thro' the continent of *Aſia*, together with the moſt remarkable iſlands in all the ſeas belonging to it, as far as they have been yet diſcover'd, we ſhall give a ſhort deſcription of that part of the ſea, which waſhes the *Aſian* coaſt, from the *Black* ſea to the coaſt of *Egypt*.

The weſt ſeas of Aſia.

From the *Black* or *Euxine* ſea, of which we have formerly treated, there is a ſtreight lying almoſt north and ſouth to the *Propontis*, call'd likewiſe *The Sea of Marmora*, and in the *Atlas*, the ſea of *Conſtantinople*. This ſtreight was call'd the *Boſphorus of Thrace*, and is ſcarce a mile broad at the entry into the *Marmora*, as we obſerv'd before. The city of *Conſtantinople* lies in this *Boſphorus*; But as it is on the *Europe* ſide, we ſhall ſay nothing of it here.

The Thracian Boſphorus.

At the ſouth end of this ſtreight lies the *Propontis*, which is a ſea of about 120 Miles in length from northeaſt to ſouthweſt, and in ſome places 60 miles over. It has part of *Natolia* upon the *Aſian* ſide, and old *Thrace*, now call'd *Romania*, upon the *European*. This ſea is call'd *Marmora* from a ſmall iſland lying in it.

Propontus or ſea of Marmora.

This ſea has another ſtreight at the ſouthweſt end, call'd the *Helleſpont*. It is about 45 miles long, and three broad, in a line from northeaſt to ſouthweſt, by which it has a communication with the *Archipelagus*. About the middle of this ſtreight, or perhaps nearer the *Archipelagus*, the land jets out on both ſides, where there are two caſtles, one upon the *European*, and the other upon the *Aſian* ſide: The firſt ſaid to be upon the ground where old *Seſtos* ſtood, and the other, the *Aſian Abydos*; and the breadth of the *Helleſpont* is ſo inconſiderable there, that the caſtles can eaſily command the ſtreight. At the northweſt end, entring into the *Archipelago*, lie the *Dardanels* caſtles.

Helleſpont.

From the ſtreight you enter the *Archipelago*, or *Ægean Sea*, in which are moſt of the iſlands deſcribed in this Section. This ſea waſhes the weſtern coaſt of *Natolia*, and runs all along the eaſt coaſt of *Greece*.

Archipelagus.

But altho' the *Alchipelagus* is a part of the *Mediterranean*, it changes its name (at leaſt it did ſo of old) as often as it does it courſe; and therefore, as it turns towards the eaſt at the ſouthweſt point of *Natolia*, and runs eaſterly towards *Syria*, it had the name of the *Carpathean Sea*, by the *Turks*, the *White Sea*, and by us the *Levant*. A ſea ſo conſiderable to the *Trade* of *Britain*; that it concerns us all to wiſh well to it. May our TRADE flouriſh, and may all who contrive to cramp or obſtruct it, either abroad or at home, meet with the reward which they ſo well deſerve. *And let all the People ſay* AMEN.

Levant.

The Geography of *Aſia*.

And now that we have travell'd, thro' all *Aſia*, at leaſt ſo much of it as is ſufficiently known, I ſhall only detain the reader with a ſhort recapitulation of the ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates upon the continent, as they lie in order in our maps having found it impracticable to keep always to the regular geography, in the method I was obliged to follow. But, that no part of this laſt ſheet may be void, I ſhall lay them down in one view.

This great part of the world is ſub-divided into five other parts, *viz. Tartary*, *China*, *India*, *Perſia*, and *Turky*.

1. Tartary.

Tartary, (the greateſt part of which is very little known to us,) is computed to lie from 55 degrees to 41 deg. north lat. that is, from the river *Tamour* to the great wall of *China*, which makes *Tartary*, ſeparately taken, to be 1440 miles in length from north to ſouth, and may be much farther for what any man can tell. The breadth of it, as far as we know, is taken from the ſea, which divides the continent from *Japan*, and runs towards the north, upon the eaſt coaſt of *Tartary*. From that ſea to the weſtward, it is reckon'd 1000 miles broad in moſt places. But as it is ſaid to be, at preſent join'd to *China*, and that thoſe who are call'd *Chams* of *Tartary* in *Aſia*, are only vice roys, that muſt be left to farther diſcoveries.

The weſtern *Aſiatic Tartary*, is the old *Schythia* in *Aſia*, and the people retain their old way of living in tents. The *Eaſtern Tartars* live in towns, and are a fierce ſavage people.

2. China.

China, lies ſouth of *Tartary* from 41 deg. to 21, which makes it 1200 miles long; and in breadth from eaſt to weſt 1380, according to Mr. *Gordon*, that is from the eaſt ſea to *India*. It appears by this, to be bounded eaſtward by the *Eaſt Sea*, and takes in *Corea*, by the ocean on the ſouth; by *India* beyond *Ganges* on the weſt; and by *Tartary* on the north.

Upon the weſt ſide lies *India without the Ganges*, ſo call'd by the *Greeks* and *Romans* becauſe, as to them, it was beyond that river, as it is to us. In this tract of land are the kingdoms of

Bouton,

Bouton, northweſt of *China*, which has part of *Tartary* on the north, *China* on the eaſt, *Aſem* on the ſouth, and part of the *Mogul*'s country on the weſt.

Aſem has likewiſe *China* on the eaſt, *Ava* on the ſouth, the *Mogul*'s country on the weſt, and *Bouton* on the north.

Tonquin has *China* on the north and eaſt, being, as it were, a part of it, and *Cochinchina* on the ſouth, and *Laos* on the weſt.

Cochinchina has *Tonquin* on the north, the ſea between it and the *Philippine* iſles on the eaſt, the *Indian Ocean* on the ſouth, and *Cambodia* and *Lower Siam* on the weſt.

Laos has *Tonquin* and *Cochinchina* on the eaſt, *Cambodia*, or *Cambaia*, on the ſouth, *Ava* and *Siam* on the weſt, and *China* on the north.

Cambodia has *Cochinchina* on the eaſt, the *Indian Ocean* on the ſouth, *Lower Siam* on the weſt, and *Laos* on the north.

Siam is divided into *Upper* and *Lower*.

Upper Siam has *Laos* on the eaſt, *Lower Siam* on the ſouth, *Pegu* on the weſt, and part of *Ava* and *Laos* on the north.

Lower Siam has the *Gulph* of *Siam* on the eaſt, the *Indian Ocean* on the ſouth, the *Gulph* of *Bengal* on the weſt, and *Upper Siam* on the north. In this kingdom is contain'd the peninſula of *Malacca*.

Pegu has part of *Laos* and *Upper Siam* on the eaſt, the *Gulph* of *Bengal* on the ſouth and weſt, and *Ava* on the north.

Ava is the ſame way bounded, on the eaſt, as *Pegu* is; it has *Pegu* on the ſouth, part of the *Gulph* of *Bengal*, and part of the *Mogul*'s country, on the weſt, and *Aſem* on the north. In this is comprehended *Aracan*.

We have, in the proper place, given an account of the government of theſe kingdoms, and to what empires they belong; ſo that we only ſhew the geography of them here.

The 3d great ſubdiviſion of *Aſia* is

3. India. *India*, which (ſtrip'd of the kingdoms now mention'd) is confin'd to *Indoſtan*, or *India* within the *Ganges*.

This country reaches from *Tartary* to the *Indian Ocean*, that is, from 35 to 8 degrees north lat. and ſo is 1600 miles in length, but narrow on the ſouth, but in the middle, and towards the north, above 1000 miles in breadth, being bounded by *Aſem*, and the coaſt of *Cormandel*, on the eaſt, by the *Indian Ocean* on the ſouth, by *Perſia* and the *Arabian Gulph* on the weſt, and by *Tartary* on the north. For a farther account we refer to the deſcription of it, in its proper place.

4. Perſia. The 4th general diviſion is *Perſia*, which lies between the 25th and 45th deg. of lat. and conſequently is 1200 miles from ſouth to north, and, by the *Atlas*, 960 from eaſt to weſt, having part of *Tartary* and *Indoſtan* on the eaſt, the *Perſian* and *Arabian* gulphs on the ſouth, part of *Arabia* and *Turky* in *Aſia* on the weſt, and part of *Circaſſia*, the *Caſpian Sea*, and part of *Tartary*, on the ſouth.

5. Turky. The laſt ſubdiviſion of *Aſia* is *Turky*, in which, as formerly, we comprehend *Arabia*, but ſhall here give the geography of it apart.

Arabia is that tract of land which lies between *Euphrates* and the *Gulph* of *Perſia* on the eaſt, and the *Red Sea* on the weſt: Bounded by the *Arabian Sea*, from the ſtreights of *Babelmandel*, round the coaſt, to the cape of *Roſalgate*, and ſo northweſt up to the mouth of the united rivers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and follows the *Euphrates* as far as *Eyraca Arabic*. So that it reaches from 10 to 36 deg. of lat. But having deſcrib'd the ſhape, and given the extent of it, before, we ſhall ſay no more of it here.

The reſt of *Turky* in *Aſia* is bounded on the eaſt by the dominions of *Perſia*; on the ſouth by *Arabia*; on the weſt by the *Mediterranean*, under different names, (as has been ſhewn in this ſection) and on the north by the *Black Sea*. A noble dominion, loſt for the iniquity of the inhabitants! I pray GOD, it may not be the fate of other nations; for, however faſhionable it may be to laugh at religion, and make a jeſt of *Providence*; *Doubtleſs, there is a* GOD *that judges the earth.*

The End of the Firſt Volume.

THE

INDEX.

N. B. *The ſingle figures* 1 *and* 2 *denote the reſpective* columns *here refer'd to.*

A

ABAS, or *Abbas*, Sophi of *Perſia*; beats the *Turks* and *Tartars*, Fo. 575. 1. Erects a high pillar of deaths heads, 522. 1. Brings a river through a mountain to *Iſpahan*, 521. 2. Sullies his character by cruelties, 575. 2. 576. See *Sefi*.

Abdallahs, a ſort of religious beggars, in *Perſia*, 580. 1. A tragical ſtory of one, *ibid.*

Abdication. See *Baltimore*; *Jupiter*.

Abgarus; the tradition concerning him cenſur'd, 765. 1.

Abſtinence; the true end of it, 757. 2.

Achen, in *Sumatra*. Entertainment there of the *Dutch*, 362, 434, 721. 1. *Engliſh*, 363, 374, 2. 375, 377, 378, 424. 2. 719, 2. *Portugueſe*, 377. 2. 378. 1. And *French*, 476, 478, 479. A maiden queen there; not the conſtitution, 722. 2. The place and people deſcribed, 364, 480, &c. 719. *See* Admiral; *Beaulieu*; *Beſt*; *Davis*; *Dutch*; Elephants; *Elizabeth*; *Engliſh*; *French*; Gallies; Guards; *Keeling*; *Lancaſter*; Letter; *Peyton*; *Portugueſe*; Pſalms; Religion; Soldiers; Trade; Uſurpation.

Acoſta, an author of credit, 304.

Adam, a *German* jeſuite, complies with the *Tartarian* uſurpation in *China*, 627. 2. Becomes a favourite, *ibid. and* 628. 1. Afterwards condemn'd there, but releaſed again, *ibid.*

Adams, his voyage to *Japan*, 367, 666. Becomes a favourite, 368. 2. And remains there, 369. 1. 415. 2. 418.

Addiſon, his favourite republick gently touch'd upon, 756. 1.

Admiral, at *Achen*, a woman, 364, 2.

Adrian (Cardinal) regent in *Spain*, favours *Cortez*'s cauſe, 97. 2. Made Pope, 98. 1.

Adultery puniſh'd with death, 331. 2. 345. 2. 572. 2. 641. 2. 643. 2. 685. 1. 737. 1.

Æolipile, its deſcription and uſe, 306. 1. 310. 1.

Æra of the Mahometans, 533. 1.

Affectation of foreign modes expoſed, 1.

Agaſi, his mean ſpirit, 557. But cunning to ſave his life, *ibid.*

Age. *See* Old Age.

Aguilar, a *Spaniard*, priſoner in *Jucutan*, recover'd by *Cortez*, 43. 2. Of great ſervice to him afterwards, *ibid.* &c.

Air, its different temperature accounted for, 306. 2. 307. 1. 413. 1. *See* Wind.

Alborac, *Mahomet*'s pad, deſcribed, 530.

Albuquerque, a *Portugueſe*, his diſcoveries and ſucceſs in the Eaſt, 10. 2. 11. 1. 546. 1. 702. 1.

Alcon, a *Spaniard*, mad for love of an *Indian* lady, 101. 2. 102. 1. See *Capillana*.

Alcoran, an apparent impoſture, 529. 2. 535, 536. 2. Stuffed with notorious blunders, 536. 2. 555. 2. 770. 1. By whoſe aſſiſtance it was compiled, 529. 1. And how alter'd afterwards, 539. 2. Some account of its contents, 545. 2.

Aleppo deſcrib'd, 776.

Alexander the great, vindicated againſt Q. *Curtius*, 566. 2. See *Curtius*.

Allegiance, natural; none exempted from it, 742. 1. Not to be transfer'd, 101. 2. 598. *See* Loyalty.

Alloes. *See* Lignum-*Alloes*.

All-Souls; a ridiculous feaſt in *Japan*, 682. 1.

Almagro, aſſociate with *Pizarro*, 99. 1. Diſobliged by him, 102. 2. 116. 2. 117. 1. Made marſhal of *Peru*, 113. 1. His expedition to *Chili*, and ſudden return, *ibid.* Defeated in a civil war, by *Pizarro*'s brother, 117. Condemn'd and ſtrangled, *ibid. and* 118. 1. His friends cruelly treated, *ibid.* Murder *Pizarro*, 119. His ſon takes upon him the government of *Peru*, 119. 2. Defeated by *Di Caſtro*, 121. And put to death, as a rebel, 122. 1.

Almanack; the *Mexican*, remarkable, 332. 2.

Alphabet. None uſed in *China*, 653. 1. That of *Siam* deſcribed, *ibid.*

Altars of the jeſuites ſaints, very coſtly, 594, 1.

Alvaredo (*Alonzo*) one of *Pizarro*'s captains, 115. 2. Defeated by *Almagro*, and taken, 116. 1. Kindly treated by him, *ibid.* But eſcapes, 116. 2. 117. 1. Pleads kindly for *Almagro* at laſt, 117. 2.

Alvaredo (*James*) an adherent to *Almagro*, 117. 2. And his executor, 118. 1. Ill us'd by *Pizarro*, returns to *Spain*, with complaints, and dies, 118.

Alvaredo (*Pedro*) one of *Cortez*'s captains, 43. 2. A

gallant officer, 76, 111. 1. Of great ſervice in the conqueſt of *Mexico*, 77, 90. 2, &c. Entruſted with the cuſtody of *Montezuma*, 68. 2. Kills ſeveral of the *Mexican* nobles, 72. Marches towards *Peru*, on farther diſcoveries, 111. Alarms *Pizarro*, 111. 1. Has an interview with *Almagro*, 111. 2. And with *Pizarro*, 112. 2. Returns to his government of *Guatimala*, *ibid.* Reduces ſome revolted provinces, 177, 1. Confirm'd in his government by the king, *ibid. and* 184. Kill'd by an odd accident, 187. 1. And his lady by another, ſoon after, *ibid.*

Amadabat, a city of great trade, deſcrib'd, 592.

Amaranga, an herb which cures an impoſthume, 731. 1.

Amazons; Q. *Curtius*'s fables concerning them exploded, 752. 1. See *Rivers*.

Ambaſſadors, to be treated with diſtinction, 562. 2. 585. 2. 586. 2. Their tempers to be conſider'd, as much as their abilities, 589. 2. How treated in *Siam*, 657. 1. See *Herbert*; *Holſtein*; *Ides*; *Muſcovite*; *Roe*; *Sherley*.

Ambergreaſe, in the *Philippine* iſlands, thrown up by the ſea in great plenty, 696. 1.

Ambition, cover'd with the cloak of religion, 342. 1. The ground of uſurpation, 494. 2.

Amboyna deſcribed, 700. 1. How taken by the *Dutch*, 15. 1. 388. 1. 455. 1. 700. 1. 703. 2. Their monſtrous maſſacre of the *Engliſh* there, 704. 2. 705. 2. Related at large, 459, &c. Never to be forgotten, 15. 1. 460. 1. What ſatisfaction they made us for it, 467.

Ameda, a tree in *America*, medicinal againſt contagious diſtempers, 286. 1. 288. 1. Thonght to be *Saxafras*, 286. 1.

America, whence ſo named, 31. 2. 32. 1. Why ſo late diſcover'd, 3. And by whom, 17. 1. The natural and moral hiſtory of it, 304.

Anchors, made of heavy wood, 645. 1.

Ancients, acquainted with navigation, 3, &c. Miſtaken in their notions of hot and cold climates, 304, 412. 2. And divers other things now diſcover'd, 551. 2.

Ancyra deſcribed, 751.

Animals, of various kinds, in *America*, 321. 2.

Annals of *China*, well kept, 617.

Annara, his brave and loyal conduct, 491. 1.

Antegoa deſcribed, 277. 1.

Antidote againſt poiſons, 321. 1. 323, 476. 1. 498. 2. 559. 2. 560. 1. 639. 1. 694. 1. 741. 1. Againſt contagious diſtempers, 286. 1. 288. 1. Againſt ſore eyes, 323. 2. Againſt fluxes, 692. 1. 700. 1. Againſt an impoſthume, 731. 1. See *Amaarnga*; *Ameda*; *Areca*; *Bezoar*; Scorpions.

Antioch deſcribed, 776. 1.

Antiquities about *Jeruſalem*, 785. Many of them queſtionable, *ibid.*

Ants, in the Oriental Iſlands, of various kinds, 731. 2. 732. 1.

Apothecaries; none employ'd in *China*, 616. 2.

Aquæducts, in *Peru*, prodigious large, 341. 1. In *Iſpahan*, very curious, 563. 2. And at *Tyre*, 778. 2. And near *Bethlehem*, 784. 1.

Aquavitæ, much drank in the Eaſt, 363. 1. 553. 1.

Arabia deſcribed, 768. 2. 795. 2. See *Arabians*.

Arabians, anciently very learned, 774. And their language fine, *ibid.* Now utterly illiterate, 537. 1. 774. 2. Not addicted to any Religion, 537. 1. But much given to luſt and rapine, *ibid.* and 773. 1. Indulg'd therein by the *Alcoran*, 536. 2. 537. 1. Particularly fond of the *Engliſh*, 403, 773. 1.

Arbitrary power in all the governments of *Aſia*, 504. 1. And moſt parts of the World, *ibid.* Sometimes exerciſed in better conſtitutions, *ibid. and* 708. 1. Not always abuſed, 654. 1. See *Elizabeth*; *Stuart*.

Architecture; ſome remarks on the rules of proportion, 787. 1. 791. 1.

Areca, a fruit much in requeſt in the Eaſt, 546. 1. 650. 2. Reckon'd an antidote againſt divers diſtempers, *ibid.*

Argol (*Sam.*) a captain in the *Virginia* expedition, 237. 2. Does great ſervice there, 238. 2. &c. Knighted for it, 239. 2. And made deputy of *Virginia*, 240. 1.

Arrianiſm, condemn'd by the firſt general council at *Nice*, 748. 1. Inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity, *ibid* Such hereticks can't hold any Preferment here, with common honeſty, *ibid.*

Arias (*Pet.*) a *Spaniard*, governor of *Darien*, 38. 2. 39. 1. His lieutenant diſobliges the natives, 39. 2. He falls out with *Nunez*, a neighbouring governor, *ibid.* Decoys him to *Darien*, and puts him to death, 40. 1.

Armenia deſcribed, 761. See *Armenians*.

Armenians, ſome account of their religion, 767, 768. 1. Their marriage ceremonies, 561. 2. Their feaſt of *Epiphany*, 553. 2. And *Holy Thurſday*, 584. 1.

Arms of the *Indians* in *America*, 44. 1.

Armies, the order of their marching in *Japan*, 417. Prodigiouſly numerous in *China*, 622. 1. One of boys gains a great victory, 335. 2. *See* Standing Armies.

Aſaph Chan, the *Mogul*'s brother-in-law, 487. 2. His inſolence check'd, 491. 2. How gain'd to favour the *Engliſh*, 493. 1. Taken priſoner by *Mahobet*, 516. 1. Condemn'd for mal-adminiſtration, but ſpared execution, *ibid.* Which he gratefully remembers, 516. 2. See *Mahobet*; *Nourmahal*.

Aſgil, his ridiculous principle, 624. 1.

Asia, how peopled at firſt, 359. The general diviſion of it, 794. 2.

Aſſa fætida, the produce of a tree, at *Warmoot* in *Perſia*, 518. 2. Uſed in all their ſauces there, *ibid.*

Aſſyria, now call'd *Curdiſtan*, 763. 1. A deſcription of it, 763. 2, &c.

Aſtracan deſcribed, 550.

Aſtrology much admir'd in *India*, 503. 2. And *Perſia*, 573. 2.

Aſtronomy encourag'd in *China*, 601.

Atabualpa, a rich prince in *Peru*, 104. 1. Uſurps his brother's throne, 104. 2. Attack'd by *Pizarro*, 105. 1. 108. 1. Is diſhearten'd, 105. 2. Impriſon'd at an interview, 108. 1. Condemn'd and ſtrangled, after ranſom paid, 109. 1. See *Atauchi*.

Atauchi, brother to *Atahualpa*, 110. 1. Sent by him to collect gold for his ranſom, *ibid.* Falls upon the *Spaniards*, with ſome ſucceſs, *ibid.* Makes an example of one of the priſoners, and generouſly releaſes the reſt, *ibid.* and 111. 1. A prince of exemplary virtues, *ibid.* Dies of grief for the ruin of his country, *ibid.*

Attale, a *Malabar* captain, very ſerviceable to the *Engliſh*, 430. 2. 431. 1.

Avalon. See *Baltimore*.

Avarice of the *Spaniards* condemn'd, 344. 1. Handſomely cenſur'd by an *Indian*, 344. 2.

Authority ſacred, 60. 1. 620. 2. 691. 2. 694. 2. *See* Parents; Princes.

Auxiliaries, foreigners moſt dangerous, 598. 2. *See* Foreigners.

B

BABYLON deſcribed, 525. No remains of it now left, 526. 1.

Bagaha tree, ſuperſtitiouſly regarded in *Ceylon*, 730. 2. 731. 1. 744. 1.

Bagdad deſcribed, 726. 1. Not the ancient *Babylon*, ibid. *and* 766.

Bahama Iſlands, diſcover'd by *Columbus*, 17. 1. A deſcription of them, 273. 1.

Balboa. See *Nunez*.

Baldivia, a valiant captain under *Pizarro*, 145. 2. 147. 1. Governor of *Los Charcas*, *ibid.* Makes diſcoveries in *Chili*, *ibid.* Finds gold mines there, of prodigious riches, 146. 1. 192. 1. Builds a city of his own name, 148. 2. 192. 2. Oppreſſing the people, they riſe; and by an excellent ſtratagem defeat, and ſlay him and his whole army, 149, 150.

Balm, moſt excellent, at *Tolu*, 321. 1. How produced, *ibid.* Uſed in religious unctions, *ibid.*

Balſom. *See* Balm.

Balſora deſcribed, 766.

Baltimore (Lord) proprietor of *Mary-land*, 246. 2. 248. 1. As abſolute as any tributary king, 248. 2. Forc'd to abdicate his government in 1688, *ibid.* How intitled to the province of *Avalon*, 269. 2. And how diſpoſeſs'd of it, 270. 1.

Bambou-tree, its various uſes, 646, 650. 1.

Banda Iſlands deſcribed, 699. 2. &c. Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* about them, 440. 2. &c. 456. &c. Freely ſurrender'd to the king of *England*,

England, 441, 443. 1. Well defended by capt. *Courthop*, for ſome time, 442. At laſt forced to ſubmit to the *Dutch*, 443. 1. And uſed like brutes, 443. 2. 444, 705, 707. The articles of the treaty, concerning them, 705. 2. Shamefully violated by the *Dutch*, 707. See *Courthop*; *Dutch*.
Banians in *India*, their proper buſineſs, 501. 2. Their temper and principles, 546, 2.
Banjar Maſſeen, in *Borneo*; an *Engliſh* factory there, imprudently deſerted, 712, &c.
Bannian-tree, ſuperſtitiouſly regarded in *India*, 508. 1.
Bantam, in *Java*; a factory begun there by commod. *Lancaſter*, 380. 1. 381. 2. Its trade ſpoil'd by the *Dutch*, 380. 2. 715. 1. A deſcription of the people and place, *ibid.* Coronation of the king, 384. His letter to K. *James*, 388. 2. A *Dutch* revolution there, 717. 1.
Baptiſm, not to be haſtily adminiſter'd, nor by any but a perſon regularly ordain'd, 211. 2. 286. 1. The ceremony in *India*, 509. 1. And among the *Mingrelians*, in *Aſia*, 757. 2. That of baptizing the croſs, by the *Armenians*, 553. 2. See *Magellan*.
Barba. See *De Barba*.
Barbadoes, the moſt conſiderable of the *Caribee* Iſlands, 277. 2. A deſcription of it, *ibid.* &c.
Bardilier's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 467.
Bargains, how contracted, in *Ceylon*, 739. 1.
Barre, an *Engliſh* captain, his conduct in *Borneo*, 712, &c.
Baſſora. See *Balſora*.
Baſtinado, a common puniſhment in *China*, 620. 1. May be undergone by proxy, 620. 2.
Batavia, formerly *Jacatra*, in *Java*, deſcribed, 715. The ſtrongeſt place in the *Eaſt-Indies*, 715. 2. The *Dutch* general there, much more grand than their boaſted king of *Holland*, 717. 2.
Baths, in *Ireland*, hot enough to ſcald a fowl, 257. 1. In *Guadaloup*, ſo hot as to boil meat, 300. 1. Others near *Potoſi*, 309. 1. Others in *Los Carcas*, 310. 1. Others in *Bithynia*, 748. 1. The natural cauſe of them, 310, 524. 1. Exceeding fine in *Perſia*, 521. 2.
Bats, in *Guzarat*, as big as crows, 592. 1.
Battles, how fought in *Siam*, 656. 1. *See* Armies.
Bears, white, as large as cows; and good meat, 256. 2. 282.
Beaver, an amphibious creature, deſcribed, 322. 2.
Beaulieu, a *French* admiral, his voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 475.
Bebut, a *Perſian* courtier, his parricide condignly rewarded, 575. 2. 576. 1.
Bencoulen; the *Engliſh* factory there, 719. 1. Diſturb'd by the natives, and why, 721.
Bengal deſcribed, 495. 1.
Berkley (Dr.) his propoſal for a college in *Bermudas*, why not encourag'd, 273. 1.
Bermudas Iſlands, deſcribed, 272. See *Berkley*.
Beſt (Captain) his voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 422. 2. And his ſucceſs there, 423.
Betel, a plant, uſed like tobacco in the eaſtern countries, 639. 1. 650. 2. 709. 2. A choice preſent, 660. 2. The tree deſcribed, 730. 1.
Bethlehem deſcribed, 784. 1. Some of the antiquities now ſhewn there, queſtionable, *ibid.*
Bezoar, whence produced, 323, 497. 1.
Bible, of too little authority, in this refined age, 4.
Bieby, a princeſs of *Decan*, makes a gallant ſtand againſt the *Mogul*, 511. 2. Survives not the ruin of her country, 512. 1.
Birds, of ſtrange kind, in the *Weſt-Indies*, 324. In *Perſia*, 571. 1. In *Tonquin*, 639. 1. In *Siam*, 651. 2. In the *Philippine* Iſlands, 696. 1. In *Timor*, 698. 2. In *Ceylon*, 732.
Birth-day of the *Mogul*, how celebrated, 489. 2. 490. 1.
Birth-right little regarded by the *Dutch*, and ſome *Chriſtians*, 449, 452. Religion not inconſiſtent with it, 452. 2. *See* Religion; Uſurpation.
Biſhops ſettled in *China*, 629. 1.
Bithynia deſcribed, 747. 2. 748. Conquer'd by *Alexander*, 748. 2. 749. 1.
Blacks, none in *Borneo*, 709. 2. Their complexion not entirely owing to the ſun, *ibid.*
Blades. *See* Sword-blades.
Blood-ſtone found in *Siam*, 548. 1. How produced, *ibid.* Its uſe, *ibid.*
Bluſhing, not always thought a ſign of the want of education, 606. 2.
Boarding-ſchools, how improveable, 757. 2.
Boats, very extraordinary, in the *Ladrone* Iſlands, 689. 1.
Bongo, the king of it, converted to Chriſtianity, 683. 1.
Bonner (Captain) his voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 445. Kill'd in a fight with the *Dutch*, 446. 2.
Bonzi, the *Japan* prieſts, 680. 2. Their impoſtures, 680, &c.
Borneo, one of the *Sunda* Iſlands, deſcribed, 708, &c. See *Banjar*; *Blacks*.
Boſton, in *New-England*, a fine city, 246. 1.
Boulainvilliers's Life of *Mahomet*, cenſur'd, 528.
Boys. *See* Armies.
Bravery of a *Mexican* prince, 334. 2. And other *Indians*, 157. 2. See *Tlacallec*.
Brazille diſcover'd by *Pinſon*, 32. 2. 206. 2. Its deſcription, 206. 2. 344.
Bread-fruit, growing like apples, in the *Ladrone* Iſlands, 688. 2.
Bribery and corruption, deteſtable, 366. 2. A Capital crime ſtill among the heathens, 677. 2.
Bricks, baked in the ſun, 518. 1. A particular way of burning them, at *Gambron*, 590. 2. 591. 1.
Bridge of bulruſhes, very curious, 340. 1.
Bridge-town, in *Barbadoes*, deſcribed, 280. 2.
Bruyman, a merchant of *Hamburg*, ambaſſador from *Holſtein* to *Perſia*, 549. 2. His outrageous Behaviour, 552, 562. 2. 581. 1. 582. 2. 583. 1. 585. 2. 586. 1. 588. 2.
Buck-skins, at *Formoſa*, more valued than gold, 606. 2.
Buddou, a deity, in *Ceylon*, 741. His prieſts, and worſhip, 741. 2. 742, &c.
Buenos Ayres, founded by *Mendoza*, 202. 1.
Bugs, a foreign vermine, common in *India*, 498. 1. How deſtroy'd, 608. 1. See *Camphire*; *Capita*.
Buildings, very magnificent, in *Peru*, 190, 191. In *Eaſt-India*, 511. 1. And at *Babylon*, 525. 2.
Bullocks, in the *Comoro* Iſlands, bought for 3 *s.* 6 *d.* each, 425. 1.
Burgos; the biſhop of it, preſident of the council for the buſineſs of the *Weſt-Indies*, favours *Velaſquez*, in oppoſition to *Cortez*, 97. 2.
Burials, perform'd with ſtrange ceremonies, in *America*, 331. 1. 345. 1. In the *Eaſt-Indies*, 450. 2. 471. 1. 509. 2. In *Perſia*, 527. 2. 528. 1. 580. 2. In *Circaſſia*, 588. 2. In *Mingrelia*, 758. 1. In *China*, 635. 2. 636. 1. 644. In *Siam*, 659, 661. In *Japan*, 686. And in other parts of the eaſt, 547. 1. 592. 1. 606. 2. 607. 1.
Burnet's reflections on the clergy, cenſur'd, 742. 1.
Burning mountains. See *Volcano's*.
Burning water. See *Naphti*.
Burning themſelves with their dead husbands, a cuſtom of heathen widows, 547. 1. Whence it had its original, *ibid.*
Butter conſecrated, among the *Armenians*, for the ſolemnity on *Holy Thurſday*. 584. 1.

C

CABAL, a beaſt in *Siam*, which breeds the *Cabriz*, or blood-ſtone, 548. 1.
Cabot diſcovers *Newfoundland*, 31. 1.
Calaat, a ſplendid robe, preſented to the Chan at *Scamachie*, 583. 2. The ceremony of the inveſtiture, *ibid.*
Calicut; the *Engliſh* well receiv'd there, 433. A factory ſettled, 434. Ill us'd by the governor, 435. 1. Their ſtratagem to do themſelves juſtice, *ibid.* and 445. 2. The country deſcribed, 456. 2. 595.
California diſcover'd by Sir *Francis Drake*, 211. 2. Voluntarily ſubmits to the crown of *England*, *ibid.* and 225. 1. Thence named *New Albion*, 211. 2. Never inſiſted upon afterwards, 225. 1.
Calumet of peace, deſcribed, 291. 1. Religiouſly regarded among the *Americans*, *ibid.* and 292.
Camels, of ſeveral ſorts, 570. Kept at ſmall expence, 570. 2. Mighty ſerviceable, *ibid.* Stoop to their burthens, *ibid.* and 497. 2. In which they reſemble ſome men, 497. How they are diſtinguiſh'd from dromedaries, 570. 1. 774. 1.
Camlets, made of goats hair, mix'd with camels, 751. 2. 753. 1.

The INDEX.

Camphire plentiful in *China*, 608. 1. How gather'd, *ibid.* Its use in preserving dead bodies, 608. 2. Its saw-dust destroys bugs, 608. 1.

Canada discover'd by *Cartier*, 283. 2. The *French* kindly treated there, *ibid.* Afterwards forc'd to leave it, 288. 2. But returning again, become a very great colony, 289. 2. See *Cartier*; *Champlain*; *De la Salle*.

Canals, in *Peru*, wonderfully made, 341. 1. In *China*, extremely advantageous, 607. 1.

Canary Islands described, 7. 2.

Candia, in *Ceylon*; a revolution there, 425. See *Fimala*.

Candia Island, the ancient *Crete*, 791. 2. Described, *ibid.* and 792. See *Dædalus*; *Jupiter*; *Pasiphae*.

Candia (*Pedro di*) one of *Pizarro*'s companions, 100. 2. Ventures alone among the natives of *Peru*, *ibid.* Civilly treated, *ibid.*

Candidius, a *Dutch* divine, 605. 1. His description of *Formosa* ridiculous, 605.

Candish's voyage round the world, 213. 220.

Candles. *See* Tallow-tree.

Candou, a tree in the *Maldivia* islands, lighter than cork; with which they raise stones out of the water, 469. 2.

Canibals in the *Caribee* Islands, 18. 1. Under the line, 32. 2. Near the river of *Plate*, 40. 2. 201. 1. 203. 2. 204. 2. Near *Rio Grande*, 151. 2. 152. 2. 190. 1. At *Panuco*, 177. 1. In *Brazil*, 207. 208. 1. 224. 2. 344. 2. 347. 1. In *Mexico*, 328. 1. In *Sumatra*, 480. 2. 719. 2. In *Amboyna*, 700. 1. In *Ceram*, *ibid.* No reason to doubt, but there were such savages, 700. 2.

Canoes, at *Ternate*, very grand, 212. 1.

Cape of *Good Hope*, discover'd, 9. 2.

Capillana, an *Indian* lady, entertains *Pizarro* with great honour, 101. See *Alcon*.

Capita, a tree in *Ceylon*, which drives away fleas, 732. 2. Some *Capital* brooms much wanted here, *ibid.*

Capital crimes, in *China*, what, and how punish'd, 620. 2.

Caravan to *Mecca*; described, 769. 2.

Caribee Islands discover'd by *Columbus*; 18. 1. Described, 276, 277.

Carolina described, 249, &c.

Caron, a *Dutchman*; president at *Japan*, 679. 2. His original and descent, *ibid.* By a detestable forgery, he procures a general massacre of the Christians there, 666. 2. 667, 684. 2. The manner of his death particularly remarkable, 669. 1.

Carriers. *See* Pigeons.

Cartier's voyages to *Canada*, 282

Cartsekuki, a *Persian* nobleman, his exemplary loyalty, 575. 2. Is passively obedient, when he cannot be actively so, *ibid.* Highly honour'd by his sovereign, 576. 2.

Casas. See *Las Casas*.

Casbin; a city in *Persia*, described, 558. 2.

Cascades. *See* Water-falls.

Casoni (Card.) his sudden death very remarkable, 669. 1. Generally reckon'd a judgment, *ibid.*

Caspian sea, has a constant flux of many rivers into it, but no visible discharge, 523. 2. 551. 2. How to be accounted for, *ibid.* Many vulgar errors about it, *ibid.*

Castoreum. See *Beaver*.

Cat. *See* Flying-cat.

Catherine. See St. *Katherine*.

Cato's character, not so god-like as the republicans affect to represent it, 793. 1.

Cat's-eye; the most valuable jewel in *Ceylon*, 732. 2.

Cavalcade of the *Dairo* at *Meaco*, most pompous, 677. 2. 678. And of the *Chinese* emperor, 621. 2.

Causeways, most stupendious, made quite cros *Peru*, 343. 2.

Cayman. See *Crocodile*.

Cedars of *Libanus*, prodigious large, 787. 1.

Censure of the answer of the congregation at *Rome* to the queries concerning the mission in *China*, 633. 1.

Ceremonies. *See* Baptism; Birth-day; Burials; *Calaat*; Coronation; Divorce; Drinking; Eating; Feasting; Friendship; Funerals; Marriage; Religious worship; Respect; Salutation; Visits; Welcome.

Certificate of pilgrimage, a protection, 557.

Geteba's head, an imposture of the jesuites, detected, 760.

Ceylon described, 725, &c. A revolution there, 733. 1.

Chain of gold, in *Peru*, of a prodigious size, 343. 1.

Cham, or *Cham*, the title of the vice-roys in *Persia*, &c. 578. 1.

Champlain's voyage to *Canada*, 289. 1.

Change of principles according to the times censur'd, 344. 2.

Chariots drawn by buffaloes, 450. 2. Or Bulls, 678. 1. Or oxen, 558. 1. 592. 1. Very magnificent in *Japan*, 678.

Charity. *See* Conquest.

Charles I. his martyrdom shamefully slighted, 460. 1. Why never to be forgotten, *ibid.* See *Stuart*.

Charles II. See *Stuart*.

Charms, much used by the *Maldivians*, 472. 1. And in *Ceylon*, 743. 1.

Chastity; a strange proof of it, in *China*, 609. 2.

Cheapness of provisions in the *Comoro* islands, 425, 1. And the *Maldivia*'s, 469. 2. And *Saldania*, 362. 1.

Children, sacrificed to idols, in *Peru*, 329. 1. Never swadled; yet never crooked, unless by accident, 345. 2.

Chili describ'd, 113. 1. 192. *Almagro*'s expedition thither, 113. 2. 145. 2. And after that *Baldivia*'s, 145.

China, its origine and description, 596, &c. The *Revolution* of that empire, 598. 1. 627. 2. An instance of generous despair, 598. 1. *China* and *Tartary* united, 599. 1. *See* Alphabet; Armies; Astronomy; Auxiliaries; Canals; Cavalcade; Cities; Dress; Fish; Funerals; History; Language; Marriage; Punishments; Religion; Revenue; *Tartary*; Trees; Wall; Water; Writing.

China-oranges, the best described, 607. 2. 608. 1.

China-ware, how made, 613. 2.

Chinches, in *India*, like buggs, 498. 1.

Chinese basely submit to an handful of foreigners, 599. 1. Well rewarded by them, 600. 2. Extremely ceremonious, 611. Converted by the jesuites, 634. 2.

Chocolate, how made, 319. 1.

Chop; the meaning of it: 434. 1.

Choram, an usurper of *Indostan*, 592. 2. His behaviour, 593. 1.

Chrism. See Dispensation.

Christianity, how propagated in *America*, 176. 1. 325. 2. 344. 2. In the *Philippine* islands, 196. 1. 690. 1. In *China*, 626. 2. &c. In *Japan*, 682. 2. 683. Extirpated in *Japan*, 421. 2. 666. 2. &c. Renounc'd by the *Dutch* there, 444. 1. 668. 2. 684. 2. Vindicated against *Mahomet*, 537. 2. And our modern *Arians*, 748. 1.

Christopher's. See St. *Christopher*'s.

Church of *England*, the best assertor of true loyalty, 742. 1.

Churches of the jesuites colony near *Paraguay*, magnificent, 355. Those of *Asia*, tho' ruin'd by the *Turks*, have the east end still remaining, 778. 2.

Cilicia described, 753. 2.

Circassia; some account of it, 587. 2. 588.

Cinamon-tree described, 730. The best in *Ceylon*, *ibid.* and 732. 2.

Cities in *China*, prodigiously populous, 600. 2. 602. 2.

Clemency of a king of *Peru*, exemplary, 343. 1.

Clergy, when corrupt, the worst of men, 742. 1. Those of the church of *England*, better disciplin'd, *ibid.* See Priests; Religion.

Climates, how different in the same country, 313. 1.

Clocks; the want of them how supplied formerly in *India*, 504. 1. And in the Oriental Islands, 740. 2.

Cloth, ours more valued in *China*, than their richest silks, 613. 1.

Cloves; how they grow, 702. Vast plenty in the *Molucca* islands, 415. 2. Most excellent in *Macchian*, 701. 1.

Coaches. *See* Chariots.

Cochin-china described, 644. 2.

Cochinele; how produced, 319. 2.

Cock fighting, a great diversion in *Siam*, why forbidden there, 649. 2. *Mahomet*'s fiction of the cock-angel, 531. Whence borrow'd, *ibid.*

Cocoa-tree described, 319, 469. 1. See *Tavarcar*.

Cod; the vast plenty of these fish in *Newfoundland*, 268. 1. 271. 1.

Coffee;

Coffee; its ſuppos'd effects, 571. 2. 572. 1. The tree deſcribed, 774. 1.
Coin; that of *Iſpahan* deſcribed, 564, 2. And that of *China*, 622. 2.
Cold, extreme, in the *Magellan* ſtreights, 221. 1. 222. 1. At *Charleton* iſland, 261. And even on the burning mountains in *Mexico*, 314. 1. *See* Air; Heat.
Colis, officers in *China*, of extraordinary power, 619. 1.
Coloſſus, at *Rhodes*, deſcribed, 791. 1. Its diſproportion cenſur'd, *ibid.* What became of it, *ibid.*
Columbus (*Chr.*) his diſcoveries, 15, &c. 273. 2.
Combat, ſingle, between two *Indian* kings, 337. 1.
Commands, unjuſt, loyally diſobey'd, 575. 2.
Common-wealth, without a king, a monſter with many heads, 617. 2.
Comoro iſlands deſcribed, 362. 1. Proviſions wonderful cheap there, 425. 1.
Compaſs; its invention, 5. 2. Its variation, 16. 2. 374. 1. *See* The Preface; Fogs.
Complements, high-flown, in *Perſia*, 571. 1. Troubleſome in *China*, 611. 2. Much in vogue in *Ceylon*, 740. 1. Thoſe of the *French* compar'd with the *Engliſh*, *ibid.*
Compliers with evil cuſtoms cenſur'd, 344. 2. 598, 635. 1.
Computation of time, very ingenious, in *Mexico*, 332. 2. 333. 1. Very odd in *China*, 622. 2. See Almanack; Clocks.
Condore, a voracious bird, in *America*, 324. 1.
Confeſſion odly exacted, in the *Maldivian* iſlands, 470. 1. Ridiculouſly in *Japan*, 680. 2.
Confirmation us'd by the pagan prieſts in *Indoſtan*, 509. 2.
Confucius; an account of him and his ſect, 624. 2. 625. 1. Worſhip'd in *China*, 596. 630. 2. 631. 1. The jeſuites indulge it, 596, 631. 2. The controverſy about it, 596, 625. 1. 630. 2. 631.
Conqueſt, no good title in itſelf, 179. 2. One made out of mere charity, 342. 2.
Conſcience, ſometimes miſcalled, 245. 2.
Contempt of a ſovereign, the forerunner of his deſtruction, 336. 2.
Content, how happily enjoy'd by the native *Indians*, 346.
Controverſy, when hot, of fatal conſequence, 767. See *Confucius*; *Neſtorius*.
Convents, in *Mexico*, 327. 1. 328. 2. Under exemplary regulations, 328. 2. The like in *Siam*, 653. 1. 658.
onverſion. *See* Chriſtianity.
Corea deſcribed, 603.
Coriate, his indiſcreet zeal, 499. 2. 500. 1.
Cork. *See Candou.*
Cornelisſon Schouten's diſcoveries, 300. 2.
Cormorants, catching fiſh for their maſters, 609. 2.
Coronation of the emperor of *Mexico*, 335. 2. Of the king of *Bantam*, 384. Of the king of *Tonquin*, 641. 2.
Coroon, ſecond ſon to the Mogul, plots the deſtruction of his brother *Coſorone*, 487. 2. Procures him to be ſecretly murder'd, 513. 2. Rebels againſt his father, *ibid.* Defeated, and pardon'd, 514. Succeeds to the throne, 517. 1. And marries his own daughter, *ibid.* See *Aſaph*; *Coſorone*, *Normahal.*
Corruption prevails in *China*, after the revolution there, 612. 2. 619. 2. *See* Clergy.
Corſi, a jeſuite, puzzled to defend a miracle, in *Indoſtan*, 501. 1.
Cortez (*Hernando*) a *Spaniſh* gentleman, ſent upon the expedition to *Mexico* by *Velaſquez*, 42. Lands firſt at *Cozumel*, 43. 1. Then at *Tabaſco*, 43. 2. Is attack'd by the *Indians*, *ibid.* Defeats them, 44. Makes peace with them, *ibid.* Thence ſails to the gulph of *Mexico*, 45. 1. Receives ſeveral *Mexican* deputies, diſſuading him from proceeding, *ibid.* &c. Sends preſents to, and receives from, *Montezuma*, 46. 1. Is preſs'd not to advance, *ibid.* &c. Artfully quells a mutiny, 48. 1. Invited to *Zempoala* 48. 2. Erects the corporation of *La Vera Cruz*, *ibid.* and 49. 2. Reſigns to them his commiſſion from *Velaſquez*, and receives a new one from them, *ibid.* Advances to *Zempoala*, 49. 1. Thence to *Quiabiſtan*, ibid. Makes a ſtrong alliance againſt *Montezuma*, 49. 2. Deſtroys their idols, 50. 1. Sends deputies to *Spain*, *ibid.* Advances towards *Mexico*, 51. Skirmiſhes with the *Tlaſcalans*, 51. 2. Who ſoon ſubmit to him, 54. Diſcovers a plot of the *Cholulans* againſt him, and revenges it, 55. Enters *Mexico*, 57. 1. Is met by *Montezuma*, *ibid.* Their conference, 58. Returns the viſit, and is conducted to the great temple, with great reſpect, 59. His friends being ill uſed at *Vera Cruz*, by the *Mexicans*, 60. He reſolves to make *Montezuma* priſoner, 61. Which he artfully prevails with him to ſubmit to, 62. 1. Puts the king in chains, 62. 2. Condemns and executes a *Mexican* general, *ibid.* Diſcovers a plot againſt him, 64. 1. Receives the ſubmiſſion of *Mexico* to *Spain*, 65. 1. Goes to meet *Narvaez*, ſurprizes, and defeats him, 70. Returns to *Mexico*, to quell an inſurrection, 71. 2. After *Montezuma*'s death, 74. 1. He retires privately from thence, 76. 1: But is attack'd in his retreat, with loſs, 76. 2. Being engag'd again by the whole power of *Mexico*, 77. 2. He defeats them, and gets a great booty, but receives a dangerous wound, 78. Marches to *Tlaſcala*, which continues firm to him, 79. Thence againſt the *Tepeacans*, whom he ſubdues, 80. Defeats the *Mexicans* again, 81. Receives ſome ſupply from *Spain*, 82. 2. 83. Sends deputies to *Spain*, 82. 2, With a great army he enters *Tezeuco*; where he gallantly reſtores their lawful king, 84. He ſupports his allies againſt the *Mexicans*, 85. 2. 87. 1. Advancing towards *Mexico*, his perſonal valour ſaves his army from a defeat, 87. 1. He receives freſh recruits of *Spaniards*, *ibid.* Opens his way, through great difficulties, to *Mexico*, 87. 2, &c. Diſcovers a conſpiracy againſt his life, 89. 2. And wiſely puts an end to it, 90. 1. Aſſaults *Mexico* by land and water, 93. Enters the city, 95. And intercepts the emperor, 96. Treats him gallantly; and unites that empire to *Spain*, 97. 1. The ſucceſs of his meſſages to *Spain*, *ibid.* &c. Ill us'd in his abſence afterwards, by new officers from *Spain*, 178. Confirm'd in his government, 179. Recall'd to *Spain*, and created marqueſs *Della Valle*, 180. 1. Returns to *Mexico*, *ibid.*
Coſorone, the Mogul's eldeſt ſon, an excellent prince, 487. 2. 492. 2. And a great friend to Chriſtians, *ibid.* His popularity renders him ſuſpected, *ibid.* Remov'd from court, and confin'd, *ibid.* Protected by *Annara*, 491. 1. Deliver'd up to *Aſaph*, *ibid.* Rudely treated by him, 491. 2. Releas'd by the king, 492. 1. But afterwards put into the hands of *Coroon*, and murder'd, 513. 2. See *Annara*; *Aſaph*; *Coroon*; *Selim.*
Cotton-tree deſcribed, 320. 1.
Covetouſneſs handſomely rebuked by an *American*, 36. 1.
Courage of an *American*, extraordinary, 164. 2.
Courthope (Capt.) his voyage to the *Banda* iſlands, 441. 1. Receives the ſurrender of them for the crown of *England*, *ibid.* Inſulted by the *Dutch*, 442. 1. Has an interview with them, 442. 2. Keeps poſſeſſion gallantly three years, without aſſiſtance, 443, 459. 1. 704. 2. 705. 1. Kill'd in an engagement with the *Dutch*, 443. 2.
Cowardice, the *Brazilians* notion of it, 344. 2. Juſtly deteſted, 502. 1. Severely puniſh'd, 482. 1. The natural cauſe of it, 648. 2. *See* Diſgrace.
Cows, bought extremely cheap, in *Saldania*, 373. 2. And the *Comori* iſlands, 432. 2. *See* Hides.
Cox, an *Engliſh* merchant in *Japan*, confutes a bragging *Dutchman* there, 421.
Cranes. *See* Cormorants.
Creation; a ſtrange notion of it among the *Americans*, 295. 2. And in the *Eaſt-Indies*, 507. 2.
Crete, now *Candia*, the birth-place of the moſt remarkable heathen gods, 791. 1. Deſcribed, *ibid.* and 792. See *Dædalus*; *Jupiter*; *Paſiphae.*
Criminals, how treated, in *Achen*, 481. 2.
Crocodiles, in the South-Sea, 308. 1. In *Sumatra*, deſcribed, 548. 2. 549 1. In *Amadabat*, monſtrous, 592. 1.
Cromwell (*Oliv.*) with all his faults, had ſome good qualities, 246. 2. *See* Foreigners.
Crooked people, ſeldom ſeen in *America*, tho' never ſwadled in their infancy, 345. 2.

Croſs, ſhamefully defiled, by the *Dutch*, in *Japan*, 665. 2. The ceremony of baptizing it, among the *Armenians*, 553. 2.
Crown, made of the skin of a hedge-hog, 285. 1.
Crucifixion, common in *Japan*, 368. 1. 417. 2.
Cryſe of honour, deſcribed, 362. 2.
Cuba, diſcover'd by *Columbus*, 17. 1. See *Velaſquez*.
Cumberland (Earl of) his voyages, 216. &c.
Curdiſtan, the ancient *Aſſyria*, deſcribed, 763.
Currents at ſea, various, 370. 2. 411. 1. 432. 2. See *Monſoons*.
Curtius (Q.) his miſtake about *Cyrus*'s ſepulchre, 566. 2. 567. 1. About *Araxes*, 283. His fiction of the *Amazons*, 585. 1. 752. 1.
Cuſtoms; ſome univerſal, 165. 2. Others particular, 664. 2. *See* Ceremonies.
Cyprus, deſcribed, 792, 793.
Cyrus's ſepulchre, not robb'd by *Alexander*, 566. 2. 567. His palace, 590. 1.

D

DÆDALUS; the poets fiction about him, 792. 1.
Dairo, how abſolute, in *Japan*, 674. 1. His authority invaded, *ibid.* 2. The magnificence of his cavalcades, 677. 2.
Dale (Sir *Tho.*) his expedition to *Virginia*, 238. &c. To the *Eaſt-Indies*, 436. 2. His death there, 437. 2. A great loſs to the *Engliſh*, 705. 1.
Damaſcus deſcribed, 785. 2. 786.
Darien, planted by the *Spaniards*, 35. 1. The firſt on the continent of *America*, 52. 1.
Date trees, male and female, 518. 2. 519. 1.
David's pſalms, ſung at *Achen*, 379. 2.
Davis (*John*) his voyages to the north-weſt, 256. 2. And to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 361. 2. &c. 369. Much eſteem'd by the king of *Achen*, 363. 1. Murder'd by the *Japaneſes*, 371. 1.
Day, 11 *Dec.* the longeſt, in *Peru*, 147. 1.
Dead bodies, well preſerv'd, in *Peru*. 330. 1. How diſpoſed of in *Perſia*, 522. 1. *See* Funerals; Prayer.
Dead Sea, or lake of *Sodom*, deſcribed, 783. 2.
De Barba decoy'd into *Cortez*'s camp, 82. 1. And ſerves under him, *ibid.* Falling into an ambuſcade, he is mortally wounded by the *Mexicans*, 92.
Debts, how recover'd, at *Achen*, 481. 2. And in *Ceylon*, 739. 2. 740. 1. *See* Inſolvent.
Decan, conquer'd by *Aureng-Zebe*, 506. 2. See *Bieby*.
Declaration. *See* War.
Deiſts. See *Prideaux*.
Deity; the *Indians* notion of it, 325, 329. 1. 341. 1.
De la Salle, governor of *Frontinac*, 290. 1. Sets out upon new diſcoveries. *ibid.* 2. *and* 293. 2. Murder'd by his own people, 295. 1.
De la Val's voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*, 467.
De Leon (*Velaſq.*) ſent by *Cortez*, to treat with *Narvaez*, 69. His gallant behaviour there, *ibid.* Kill'd in a battle with the *Mexicans*, 76. 2.
Deliverance at ſea, miraculous, 267. 2.
Deſarts of *Arabia*, 771. 1.
De Solis, his expedition weſtward, 33. 2. Lands in South-*America*; where he is kill'd and eaten by the natives, 40. 2. 201. 1.
De Soto (*Ferd.*) *Pizarro*'s lieutenant in *Peru*, returns to *Spain*, 155. 2. Sent upon the conqueſt of *Florida*, *ibid.* And made governor of *Cuba*, *ibid.* Gains ſeveral of the *Indians* by gentle uſage, 156. 2. 158. 1. Takes others in their own ſnares, 157. 1. Has a friendly interview with a ſovereign princeſs of the *Indians*, 160. 1. Defeats a great army at *Mavila*, 162. Dies of a fever, much lamented, appointing *Moſcoſo* his ſucceſſor, 166. 1.
Deſperate fight with the *Japaneſe*, 371.
De Vaca, ſent to *Rio de Plata*, 203. 1. Enters *Paraguay*, *ibid.* *and* 205. 1. Arrives at his government of the *Aſſumption*, 203. 2. Subdues the *Guayacures*, 204. 1. And other nations, 204. 2. And uſes them well, *ibid.* *and* 205. Confin'd by a mutiny, 205. 2. And ſent to *Spain*, *ibid.* *and* 206. 1.
Devil, how far concern'd in the heathen worſhip, 326. Worſhip'd by the *Chineſe Tartars*, 600. 1. And ſome others, 642. 2. But not by the *Japaneſe*, 680. 2.
Devotion, paid to miſtaken objects, 416. 1.
Dew of *Hermon*, 779. 1.
De Waert's voyage to *Ceylon*, 453. 2. Is well receiv'd there, *ibid.* *and* 454. 1. Aſſiſts them againſt the *Portugueze*, 454. 1. Diſobliges the king, and is kill'd, 454. 2. 733. 1.
Dexterity of the *Indians*, 157. 2. 332. 1. And of the *Perſians*, 527. 2. 553. 1. 557. 2. 558. 1. 564. 1.
Diamond-mine in *Golconda*, 514. 2. 515.
Diarbeck, the ancient *Meſopotamia*, deſcribed, 764. 2.
Di Caſtro (*Vaca*) authorized to regulate the affairs of *Peru*, 120. 1. And to ſucceed *Pizarro*, as governor, *ibid.* Defeats young *Almagro* at *Chupas*, 121. 2. And executes him for treaſon, 122. 1. Settles the government prudently, both in church and ſtate, 122. 2. *and* 123. New regulations, projected in *Spain*, cauſe freſh troubles, and a new governor, 123. 2. See *Nunez*.
Diſcipline of the *Japan* armies, exemplary, 417. 2.
Diſcoveries of foreign countries, briefly mention'd, 6, &c. See *Dutch*; *Engliſh*; *French*; *Portugueze*; *Spaniſh*.
Diſcretion. *See* Ambaſſadors; Surrender.
Diſeaſes, uncommon, in *America*, 103. 1. 286. 1.
Diſgrace put upon vanquiſh'd cowards, 337. 1.
Diſpenſation for the uſe of the balm of *Tolu*, in religious unctions, in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, 321. 1. For the jeſuites to wear their caps at church, in *China*, 611. 2.
Diſſenters planted in *New-England*, 245. 2.
Diſſenſions, fatal, among the *Spaniards* in *America*, 180. 1. 182. 2. 183. Among the *Engliſh*, 257. 2. 258. 1. And among the *Indians* themſelves, 312. 2.
Diving for pearls; the method of it, 591. 1.
Divorces, in *America*, 331. 2. In the *Maldivian* iſlands, 470. 2. In *Perſia*, 572. 2. 573. 1. In *China*, 634. 2. *See* Marriage.
Dogs, multiplied ſo faſt in *Hiſpaniola*, as to become a publick nuſance, 322. 1. *See* Maſtiff.
D'Olea, a *Spaniſh* trooper, bravely reſcues his general (*Cortez*) in a dangerous battle, 88. 2. 89. 1.
D'Olid, one of *Cortez*'s commanders, 70, &c. In principal confidence with him, 177. 2. Sent on an expedition to *Honduras*, *ibid.* And there murder'd, as a traytor, 178. 1.
Domingo (the Bp. of it) made preſident of *Mexico*, 182. 1. Has a good correſpondence with *Cortez*, *ibid.* And governs with great prudence, *ibid.* Returns to *Spain*, 183. 2.
Donnacona, king of *Canada*, welcomes *Cartier*, 283. 2. And makes a league with him, 284. 2. Afterwards, through the treachery of an *Indian* interpreter, growing reſerv'd, he is ſeiz'd by *Cartier*, 287. 1. And carried to *France*, *ibid.* Where he is baptiz'd, and dies, *ibid.* 2. See *Cartier*; *Tagnoagny*.
Door to the ſepulchre of the kings of *Judah*, very ſurpriſing, 783. 1.
D'Ordaz, one of *Cortez*'s captains, 42, &c. A relation to *Velaſquez*, 42. 2. A good ſoldier, 44. 2. Diſcontented, 48. 1. Seiz'd, and afterwards reconciled, 49. 1. Sent as one of his deputies, to *Spain*, 82. 2. 97. 1.
Downton's voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 428. 1. He bravely beats the *Portugueze* fleet, 430. But dies at *Bantam*, much lamented, 432. 1.
Doyly made governor of *Jamaica*, under the uſurpation; authoriz'd, as rightful governor, after the reſtoration, 275. 1.
Drake (Sir *Francis*) his voyages, 209. Takes many rich prizes, 210. Receives a ſurrender of the crown of *California* to Q. *Elizabeth*, 211. 2. And that of *Ternate*, 703. 1. Sails round the globe, 213. 1.
Dreſs of the prieſts in *Sembrero*, ſurprizing, 374. 2. Of the *Perſians*, expenſive, 527. 1. And ſo of the *Chineſe*, 610. 2.
Drink, made in a very extraordinary manner, 301
Drinking; particular ceremonies about it, in *China*, 611. 1. And in *Ceylon*, 728. 2.
Dromedary, a moſt expeditious creature for travelling, 497, 510. 2. 774. 1.
Dubil, in *Perſia*, extirpated for its debauchery, 582. 2.
Duel between two *Indian* kings, 337. 1.
Duero, ſecretary to *Narvaez*, and *Cortez*'s friend, 67. 1.

67. 1. Rescued by *Cortez* out of the hands of the *Mexicans*, 75. 2. Retires to *Cuba*, 82. 2. And solicits for *Velasquez*, against *Cortez*, *ibid.* and 28. 1.

Duncken, a *Dutchman*, false witness against the *English* at *Amboyna*, dies raving mad, 463.

Du-pin, his ingenuous acknowledgment of *Romish* forgeries, 765. 1.

DUTCH, good *Christians!* 235. 2. 718. 1. And our dear friends! *ibid.* and 362. 2. How they became High and mighty, 385. 1. 421. 2. 458. 2. Their plantations in *America*, 300. And their encroachments in the *East-Indies*, 448, &c. 703. &c. They usurp upon other *Europeans*, 15. 1. 246. 303. 1. 388. 1. 415. 1. 444, 449. 2. 652. 2. 666, 669. 2. 672. 1. 691. 2. 692. 2. 693. 2. 700. 1. 703, 704, 2. 707. 1. Think possession a good title, 246. 1. 458, 459. 1. And make trade their God, 666, 669. 1. 672. 1. Their artifices to promote it, 382. 2. 383. 2. 386. 2. 387. 2. 388. 2. 421. 1. 449. 1. 466. 2. 640, 652. 2. 666, 667, 669. 2. 692. 2. 698. 1. 702. 1. 707. 2. Their base treachery, 235. 2, 239. 1. 399. 2. 434. 1. 436. 2. 478. 1. Their insolence, and cruel tyranny, 446. 2. 458. 2. 459. 1. 477. 2. 478. 1. 704. 2. 705. 1. 707. 2. Their booorish behaviour, 382, 388. 1. 398, 399. 1. Their contempt of authority, 449. 2. Their disregard to faith and treaties, 444. 1. 446. 2. 460. 2. 705. 2. 707. 2. Universally detested, 382, 384. 1. 388. 1. 398. 1. 400. 1. 414. 1. 422. 2. 432. 1. 437. 1. 441. 1. 443. 2. 476. 2. 692. 2. 704. 2. 708. 2. 744. 2. They spirit up infidels against Christians, 235. 2. 246. 2. 302. 1. 444. 1. 664. 2. 665. 2. 666, 667, 669. 1. 679. 2. Make the Christian name scandalous, 400. 1. 416. 2. 424, 434. 1. 458. 2. 476. 2. 744. 2. Defile the cross, 665. 2. 684. 2. Renounce Christianity, in *Japan*, 421. 2. 444. 1. 456. 1. 665. 2. 666. 2. 668. 2. 684. 2. And procure an extirpation of it there, 666. 2. 667, 679. 2. Tolerate any thing but a freedom of trade, 653. 1. 666. 2. Their boasted liberty, a sham, 692. 693. 2. 700. 1. 708. 2. Their disputes with the *English* about the *Banda* Islands, 440. 2. &c. 456. 1. &c. Their diabolical massacre of them at *Amboyna*, 459. 2. And their inventions of torture there, 462. 1. Satisfaction promised for it, 466. 2. And how perform'd, 467. 2. Their fictitious king of *Holland*, 385. 1. 387. 2. 420. 2. 421, 444. 2. 453. 1. 666. 1. 670. 1. 692. 2. 705. 1. Their High and Mightinesses decently rebuked, by the K. of *Achen*, 362. 2. 363. 1. 434. 2. By admiral *Michelburn*, 370. By Mr. *Scot*, 384. 1. By admiral *Middleton*, 388. By capt. *Middleton*, 399. By capt. *Sarris*, 414. By adm. *Dale*, 437. By capt. *Courthope*, 443. And by Mr. *Cox*, 421. 2. 666. 1. And neatly trick'd, by one of their own admirals, 672. 1. See *Amboyna*; *Banda*; *Caron*; Christianity; *Cox*; *Courthope*; *Dale*; *Duncken*; *Grave*; *Michelburn*; *Middleton*; *Sarris*; *Scot*.

Dying of scarlet, most excellent at *Tyre*, 778. 2.

E

EARTHQUAKES generally near the sea, 314. 2. Give some warning before they happen, 302. 2. Their natural cause, 305. 2. 314. 2. 693. 2.

East-Indies, when first attempted by sea, 9. *English* voyages thither, 360, &c. The company incorporated, 372. Their factories there, 434, 1.

Easter; how celebrated at *Jerusalem*, 784.

Eating and drinking in *China*, by a signal, and in exact time, 611. 1. In *Mingrelia*, king and clown, all at one banquet, 755. 2.

Ebony-trees, of black, white, red, and yellow, 549. 2.

Ecbar, the Mogul, descended from *Tamerlane*; 510. 2. A great warrior, *ibid.* Erects stupendous buildings, 511. 1. Dies of poison which he had prepared for another, 512. See *Bieby*; *Selim*.

Eclipses; the *Chinese* notion of them, 602. 1. And the *Borneans*, 711. 1.

Eddo. See *Jeddo*.

Education; the methods of it in *America*, 331. 2. In *China*, 617. 1. And in *Mingrelia*, 757. 2. How improvable here, *ibid.* See Blushing; Convents.

Eggs, how preserv'd, in *Tonquin*, 639. 1.

Elective monarchies, inconvenient, 483. 2.

Elephants, how taken, 453. 2. 649. 1. How exactly disciplin'd, in *Achen*, 485, 490. 1. 497. 2. 498. 1. And how strangely honour'd there, 490. 1. And by the Mogul, *ibid.* How bred to war, 649. Their use in battle, 503. 1. Kept very cheap, in *Achen*, 482. 2. But expensive in *India*, 498. 1. Some farther account of their nature, 497. 2. 731. 2. *See* Mastiff; Tyger.

Elizabeth (Q.) her letter to the K. of *Achen*, 376. And his answer, 378. 2. Highly extoll'd, by some writers, purely out of a spirit of contradiction, 707. 2. A glorious princess, in all respects, except the murder of the Q. of *Scots*, 708. 1.

Embalming, very curious at *Cosco*, in *Peru*, 330. 1.

Emeralds, how they grow, 317. 2. Plentiful in the *West-Indies*, 318. 1. Some very large, 317. 2. One worship'd in *Quito*, 190. 2.

England; its honour maintain'd, in some measure, against foreigners, even by the usurper *Oliver*, 246. 2. 274. 2. 275. 1.

English voyages, and discoveries, in the northern seas, 6. On the *African* coast, 7. In *America*, 209, *and* 281. 2. In the *East-Indies*, 360, &c. Their natural brave spirit, 262. 1. 383. 2. Accustom'd to fight for their commanders, right or wrong, 274. 2. Much respected abroad, 363. 1. 382. 2. 383. 2. 436. 1. 719. 2. 722. 2. Misrepresented by the jesuites, 365. 2. 416. 2. And by the *Dutch*, 382. 1. 387. 1. 416. 2. See *Dutch*.

Enthusiastical notions and practice of the *Japanese Bonzi*, 679. 2. 680. 1. And of the *Jaddeses* in *Ceylon*, 742. 2.

Epiphany, how celebrated by the *Armenians*, 553. 2.

Episcopacy settled in *China*, 629. 1.

Equivocation of the jesuites in *China*, 632. 2.

Escalante, *Cortez*'s lieutenant at *Vera Cruz*, 50. 2. 60. 1. Defeats a party of *Mexicans*; but dies of his wounds, *ibid.* 2.

Eunuchs, in *Persia*, wherein preferable to those of *Italy*, 527. 2.

Exclusion of the next heir, a stretch of power, 618. 1.

Execution. *See* Punishment.

Exercises taught the children in *America*, 331. 2. in the *Maldivia* islands, 472. 2. In *Persia*, 527. 2. *See* Dexterity; Education.

Extravagance of a *Spanish* officer, at play, 330. 1.

Eyraca Arabic, the ancient *Chaldea*, described, 765. 2. See *Babylon*; *Bagdad*; *Balsora*.

F

FACTIONS, domestick, always destructive, 312. 2.

Factories, *English*, in the *East-Indies*, 434. 1.

Faquirs, a sort of mendicants in *Indostan*, 502. 1. Great pretenders to sanctity and mortification, *ibid.*

Fathers punish'd in *Siam*, for the misbehaviour of their children, 648. 1. See *Parents*.

Feast, at *Mexico*, in honour of *Vitziliputzli*, 328. 1. In *Firando*, to which they solemnly invited their dead friends, 419. 2. In *Persia*, in honour of *Hali*, 554. 2. Of lanthorns, in *China*, 626. 1. See *All-souls*; *Easter*; *Epiphany*; *Gibon*.

Feathers. *See* Pictures.

Fidaia Sama, right heir of *Japan*, kept from his throne by an usurper, 417. 1. Yet neither exiled, nor personally mal-treated, but attended nobly, and married to the possessor's daughter, *ibid.* Attempts his restoration, without success, 421. 2.

Fig-tree, in *Peru*, of a surprizing nature, 320. 2.

Fimala, heir to the crown of *Candea*, in *Ceylon*, converted and baptiz'd, 452. Restor'd to his right, tho' opposed by the *Portugueze*, ibid.

Firando. See *Foyne*.

Fire, solemnly worship'd on mount *Taurus*, 524. 1. 544. 1. See *Volcano*.

Fish, extremely cheap at *Astracan*, 550. 1. Plentiful in the *Caspian* sea, 551. 2. *See* Flying-fish; Gold-fish; Hunter-fish; *Manati*; Silver-fish.

Fishing, in *America*, 21. 2. 22. 1. In the *Maldivia* islands, 472. 2. In *China*, 609. 2. In *Ceylon*, 732. 1. *See* Cormorants; Herring; Hunter-fish; Pearls.

Flames, extraordinary, proceeding from the sea, 369. 2.

Flattery,

Flattery, ſervile, in *Indoſtan*, 505. 2.
Fleece. *See* Golden Fleece.
Floating villages, in *Peru*, 305. 2. And in *Borneo*, 709. 1. See *Candou*; Gardens.
Flood; the *Braziliians* notion of it, 344. 2. An extraordinary one at *Guatimala*, 187. 1. Another at *Golconda*, 410. 1.
Florida diſcover'd by *Corduba*, 41. 1. 153. Attempted in vain by others, 154. 1. &c. The country deſcribed, 154. 2. &c. See *De Leon*; *De Soto*; *Moſcoſo*; *Narvaez*.
Flower-trees, very curious, in *China*, 608. 1.
Flux and reflux of the ſea, accounted for, 306. 2. 307. 1.
Flying fiſh in the *Mexican* ſeas, 308. 1. Flying Cat, in *Borneo*, 710. 2.
Fogs, near *Greenland*, hinder the compaſs to traverſe, 259. 2.
Forbiſher. See *Frobiſher*.
Force, not the Chriſtian way of making converts, 115. 1. 543. 1.
Foreign guards, a diſhonour to a ſovereign, 62. 2. 72. 1. *See* Foreigners.
Foreigners, juſtly diſtaſteful, 171. 1. 452. 2. 457, 574. 1. To be well guarded againſt, 312. 2. 457, 598, 599. 1. 600. 2. 612. 2. 717. 1. See *Cromwell*; Uſurpers.
Foreſts, in *America*, many and large, 320. 2. Full of curious trees, *ibid.*
Forms. *See* Bargains; Ceremonies; Swearing.
Formoſa; ſome account of it, 604, &c. See *Candidius*; *Pſalmanaazar*.
Fountain, of oil, in *Sumatra*, 481. 1. Of ſtrange qualities, in *America*, 309. 2. And *China*, 609. 1.
Fowls. *See* Birds; *Lughan*; Wild-fowls.
Foyne, K. of *Firando*, viſits capt. *Sarris*, 415. 2. 416. 1. Very civil to the *Engliſh*, ibid. *and* 419. 2. 421. 2. His letter to K. *James*, 420. His death a great loſs, 421. 2.
Free-thinkers; their ſchemes of religion ridiculous, 326. 2. 659. 2. Unknown to our fore-fathers, 260. 2. Their dangerous ſtate, 659. 2. *See* Revelation.
French; their diſcoveries in *New-England*, 242. 2. *Carolina*, 249, &c. *Canada*, 282, 348. Their ſettlements there, 297. 2. 298. And elſewhere in *America*, 299. 2. Their voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 467, &c. Their intereſt, how loſt, in *Ceylon*, 735. 2. See *Bardiliere*; *Beaulieu*; *Cartier*; *Champlain*; Complements; *De la Salle*; *De la Val*; *Frontenac*; *Grave*; *Hennepin*; *La Motte*; *La Roche*; *Laudenniere*; *Miſſiſippi*; Pox; Report; *Ribault*; *Verazzano*.
Friendſhip, how ſacred, in *Brazile*, 345. 2. And the *Maldivia* iſlands, 470. 2. And in *Perſia*, 571. The ceremonies of contracting it, *ibid.*
Frobiſher's voyages northward, 225. 1. 255. His diſcoveries afterwards neglected, 225. 1.
Frolick. See *Choram*.
Frontenac, governor of *New France*, in 1689. 296. 1. Defends *Quebec* againſt the *Engliſh*, 296. 2. His anſwer to their ſummons, *ibid.* Owns no king of *England* but *James* II. *ibid.* See *Phipps*.
Fruit, cauſing madneſs, 320. 2. 453. 2. *See* Trees.
Fruit-trees, very particular, in *America*, 299. 2. 300. 1. 319, 320. In *Indoſtan*, 496. 2. In *China*, 607. 2. 608. 1. And in *Siam*, 650. 2.
Funerals. *See* Burials; Mourning.
Furrs, much worne, in *China*, and very coſtly, 610. 2.
Future ſtate; the *Indians* notion of it, 22.

G

GABOT (or *Cabot*) his voyage and diſcoveries, 31, 254. 2.
Galatia, deſcribed, 751. 1.
Gallies, at *Achen*, curiouſly manag'd, 364. 2.
Gambroon, in *Carmania*, a city of great trade, 518. 1. 590. 2. The *Engliſh* privileges there, *ibid.* A deſcription of it, *ibid.* The air not healthful, 526. 2. 568. 1.
Gaming, prodigiouſly extravagant, 330. 1. Gives occaſion to a good *Spaniſh* proverb, *ibid.*
Gardens, floating, in *Mexico*, 309. 2. Hanging, at *Babylon*, 525. 2.
Generoſity of a *Spaniſh* captain, 268. 1. And of an *Indian* gentleman, 499. 2.
Genſing, a plant of the higheſt value in *Tartary* and *China*, 597. 2. 614. 2.
George (St.) his hiſtory uncertain, 759. 1.
Georgia, in *America*, its event yet uncertain, 254. 2. In *Aſia*, deſcribed, 758. 2, &c.
Gibon Feaſt, in *Japan*, 681. 2.
Gigantic *Indians*, 161.
Gilbert (Sir *Hum.*) his expeditions to *America*, 265. 2. 266. Caſt away, 267. 2.
Giron, commiſſion'd by the preſident of *Peru*, becomes turbulent, 138. 2. 139. 1. 140. 2. 142. 2. Seizes the governor of *Coſco*, 143. 1. Deſerted by his party, he is defeated, taken, and executed, 145. 1.
Goa taken by the *Portugueze*, 11. 1. 507. 1. The metropolis of all their dominions in *Aſia*, ibid. *and* 594. Deſcribed, 507. 1. 594, 595.
Goats, at *Ancyra*, the fineſt in the world, 751. 2.
GOD; the *Indians* notion of him, 325, 329. *See* Idolatry.
Godinez, a malecontent in *Peru*, murders *Sebaſtian Caſtilla*, 141. Uſurps the government of *Los Charcas*, 142. 1. Arreſted, and executed, *ibid.*
Golconda, conquer'd by *Aureng-Zebe*, 506. 2. A rich diamond-mine there, 514. 2. 515. 1. A terrible inundation there, 410. 1.
Gold, in the *Weſt-Indies*, in great plenty, 315. 2. Different ways of finding it, *ibid.* The beſt, where found, 316. 1. Prodigious quantities of it brought to *Spain*, ibid. Mines of it alſo in *China*, 607. 2. Not coin'd there, but ſold as merchandize, 622. 2. And ſo alſo in *Japan*, 673. 1. Little valued in the *Ladrone* iſlands, 689. 2. Plentiful in the *Philippine* iſlands, 692. 1. And in *Borneo*, 711, 1. And in *Sumatra*, 720. 1. See Chain.
Gold-fiſh, and ſilver-fiſh, in *China*, 609.
Gold-fleece; the fable of it explain'd, 755. 1.
Gonzalez D'Avila, his diſcoveries, 175. 2. Converts *Nicoya*, ibid. And *Nicaragua*, 176. 1. Supplanted by *Pedrarias*, 177. Kills *D'Olid*, 178. 1.
Good-Friday, how ſolemniz'd now at *Jeruſalem*, 782.
Goſpel, not to be propagated by violence, 115. 1. 543. 1.
Government in *Chili*, patriarchical, 148. 2. Originally hereditary every where, 333. 1. 338. 1. *See* Arbitrary; Elective.
Grace ſaying, at meat, now wearing out of faſhion, 344. 2. 472. 1.
Granganimeo, brother to the K. of *Roanoc*, 225. 1. A man of ſtrict honour, 225. 2. And very kind to the *Engliſh*, *ibid.*
Grappling at ſea; the *Romans* invention of it, 5. 1.
Gratitude; gallant inſtances of it, 110. 1. 117. 2. 135. 1.
Grave, a *French* captain, barbarouſly treated by the *Dutch*, 477. 2. 478. 1.
Greek church; its preſent deplorable ſtate, 745, 767, 784.
Greenland; ſome account of it, 255.
Griſalva's diſcoveries in *America*, 41, 45. 1. 46. 2.
Guatimozin, emperor of *Mexico*, very popular, 81. 1. Defends his city to the laſt extremity, 93. 1. 94. Retreating at laſt, he is intercepted, and brought priſoner to *Cortez*, 96. His heroic behaviour on that occaſion, *ibid.*
Gum *Lacque*, 591. 2. 673. 2. Gum *Dragon*, 696. 2. *See* Japanning.
Gunpowder-tree, in *Tonquin*, 640. 1.
Guy, governor of *Newfoundland*, his prudent conduct, 269.
Guzman (*Nunez*) procures a commiſſion for the government of *Panuco*, 180. 1. Raiſes diſturbance gainſt *Cortez*, ibid. *and* 183. 1. Behaves moſt tyrannically, 180. 2. 181. 1. 182. 2. Marches towards the South-Sea, 181. 1. Plants ſeveral colonies, 181. 2. Why not puniſh'd, as he deſerv'd, 182. 1. 183. 2.

H

HAGARENS, the *Arabians*, ſo call'd from *Hagar*, 772. 2.
Hali, ſon-in-law to *Mahomet*, highly reverenced by the

the *Perſians*, in oppoſition to the *Turks*, 525. 1. His death yearly celebrated, 554. 2. How his doctrine obtain'd in *Perſia*, 573. 1.
Halley (Dr.) his account of the *Monſoons*, 411, &c.
Hamajun, the right heir of *India*, honourably protected, and reſtor'd, by the *Perſians*, 559. 1.
Hanging gardens, at *Babylon*, 525. 2.
Hawkins (capt.) arrives at *Surat*, 390. 1. His traffick there baſely interrupted by the *Portugueze*, *ibid.* And his life endanger'd, 391. In great favour with the *Mogul*, 392. And therefore much envied, *ibid.* And at laſt forc'd to leave the country, 394. 1.
Head. See *Ceteba*.
Heat, different, at ſeveral places in the ſame latitude, how accounted for, 306. 2. 307. *See* Ancients.
Heaven, ridiculouſly deſcrib'd by *Mahomet*, 530, &c.
Hegira. See *Æra*.
Hejinck's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 448. 2. &c.
Hennipin's miſſion to *Canada*, 289. 2, &c.
Herbert (Sir *Tho.*) his travels in *Aſia*, 506, &c. His deſcription of *Indoſtan*, 507. 1, &c. And of *Perſia*, 517, &c.
Hereditary monarchy, the firſt inſtitution of government, 333. 1. How interrupted, 617. 2. 618. 1.
Hereſy. See *Arianiſm*; *Neſtorius*.
Hernando, K. of *Tezeuco*, gallantly reſtor'd to his birth-right by *Cortez*, 84. 2. Converted, and baptiz'd, 85. 1. A faſt friend to *Cortez*, 94. 1.
Herring-fiſhery, ſhamefully ſuffer'd to be engroſs'd by the *Dutch*, 704. 2. 705. 1.
Hides, a beneficial trade to *Spain*, from *America*, 322. 1.
High and Mighty. See *Dutch*.
Hippon's voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, 407. 2.
Hiſpaniola diſcover'd by *Columbus*, 17. 1. The *Spaniards* commit unpardonable outrages there, during his abſence, 23. 1.
Hiſtory, generally uſeful, 2. 1. That of *America*, natural and moral, 304, &c. *See* Annals.
Hochelaga diſcover'd by *Cartier*, 284. 2. 285.
Holguin intercepts the emperor of *Mexico*, 96. See *Guatimozin*.
Hollanders, not Chriſtians, 665. 2. See *Dutch*; King of *Holland*; *New-Holland*.
Holſtein ambaſſadors travels to *Perſia*, 549, &c. See *Bruyman*.
Holy Fire at *Eaſter*, an impoſture of the *Greeks*, in *Jeruſalem*, 784. 2. Holy Land, its preſent ſtate, 775, 779. Holy ſepulchre deſcribed, 781. 2. &c. Holy ſtairs, now ſhewn at *Rome*, ibid. Holy Thurſday, how obſerv'd by the *Armenians*, 584. 1. *See* Antiquities; Tradition.
Honour, exemplary, in the *Indians*, 29. 1. 101, 111. 1. 157. 2. 196. 1. 334. 1. 336. 1. 499. 2. Very pernicious, when wrong plac'd, 183. 1. That of a ſoldier, truly defined, *ibid.* See *Atauchi*; *Capillana*; *Maiobanexius*; *Tlacallec*.
Hore's expedition to *Newfoundland*, 265. 2. Another (of the ſame name) in the *Eaſt-Indies*, 445.
Horſes, at firſt, very ſtrange to the *Americans*, 44. 2. 52. 1. Bought cheap, 295. 2. Kept cheap, 755. 2. Carefully attended in *Indoſtan*, 497. 2. And in *Perſia*, 570. 1. How fed in *Arabia*, 774. 1.
Hot Baths. *See* Baths.
Hottentots, not quite without religion and government, 697. 1.
Houſes, very curious in *Japan*, 663. 1. *See* Buildings; Floating.
Hudſon's diſcoveries in *America*, 246. 1. 257.
Hudſon's-Bay Company, when incorporated, 264. 1.
Humane fleſh, ſold in the ſhambles, 190. 1. Humane ſacrifices common in *America*, 327, &c.
Hunt's baſe treachery to the *Indians*, 242. 2. Of ill conſequence to the *Engliſh*, 243. 1.
Hunter-fiſh, in *America*, deſcrib'd, 22. 1.
Hurricane, how cauſed, 305. 2. *See* Earthquake; *Typhon*.

I

JACATRA, now *Batavia*, conquer'd and fortified by the *Dutch*, 715. See *Batavia*.
Jackals, a great nuſance at *Gambroon*, 518. 2.
Jamaica, diſcover'd by *Columbus*, 21. 1. And planted by his ſon, 34. 1. 273. 2. The natives ſhamefully abuſed, *ibid.* Taken by the *Engliſh*, 274. Deſcribed, 275. See *Doily*; *Shirley*; *Venables*.
James (Capt.) his expedition to *Hudſon's-Bay*, 259. 2. His reaſons againſt purſuing the diſcovery of a paſſage north weſt, 263. 2.
James II. (King) a great encourager of commerce, 692. 2. Therefore, probably, not acceptable to the *Dutch*, *ibid.* See *Stuart*.
Japan, firſt diſcover'd by the *Portugueze*, 13. 1. 666. 2. The people deſperately hardy, 370. 2. 371. Uſurpations there, 417. 674. 2. The *Engliſh* privileges there, 418. 2. 419. 1. But of ſhort continuance, 420. 2. The emperor's letter to the imaginary king of *Holland*, *ibid.* Chriſtianity extirpated there, 421. 2. 665. 2. &c. But the *Dutch* ſtill tolerated, 456. 1. 665. 2. 666. A deſcription of the place and people, 662, &c. See *Adams*; Armies; *Caron*; Cavalcade; *Cox*; Crucifixion; *Dairo*; *Davis*; *Fidaia*; Japanning; *Tayko*; *Xavier*.
Japanning; the art of it, 673. 2.
Jaſon's golden fleece; the fable explain'd, 755. 1.
Java deſcribed, and the firſt *Engliſh* factories there, 380, &c. 715, &c. Uſurp'd by the *Dutch*, *ibid.* See *Bantam*; *Batavia*.
Ice, prodigious, about *Greenland*, 259. 2. In *Hudſon's-Bay*, 260. 1. 263. 1. *See* Cold.
Icneumon, how it kills the crocodile, 549. 1.
Ides, the *Muſcovite* ambaſſador, his audience of the emperor of *China*, 621.
Idolatry defined, 324. 2. Its riſe and progreſs, *ibid.* and 325. 1. 543. 2, &c. In *Armenia*, 325. 342. 1. In *China*, 596, 624. The beſt argument againſt it, 596. 2. *See* Idols; Jeſuites.
Idols, in *Mexico*, 325. 2. In *Japan*, 418. 2. 419. 1. 679. 2. 680. 1. In *Indoſtan*, 494. 2. In *China*, 625. 2. How treated in *China*, 624. 2. In *Siam*, 660. 1. In *Ceylon*, 741, &c. See *Buddou*; *Codam*; *Dabis*; Impoſture; *Mahomet*; *Marra*; *Maunada*; *Vitziliputzli*; *Xaca*.
Jeddo, in *Japan*, deſcribed, 418. 1.
Jericho. *See* Roſe.
Jeruſalem; 780. 1. A ſhort hiſtory of it, *ibid.* Its preſent ſtate deſcribed, *ibid.* &c. *See* Antiquities; Superſtition; Traditions.
Jeſuits; patrons of reſiſtance and rebellion, 667. 2. 674. 2. 675. 1. Comply with uſurpation, 627. 2. Indulge polygamy, 635. 1. And idolatry, 596. 1. 626. 2. 630. 2. 631. 2. 634. 1. Engroſs the beſt ſettlements in *Brazille*, 207. 2. And *Paraguay*, 353. Impoſe upon the pope, 632, 633. 2. And ſlight his decrees, 626. 2. 631. 2. Aſſert falſe miracles, 501. 1. 760. 1. Miſrepreſent the *Engliſh*, 365. 2. 368. 1. Confronted, and confuted, 366. Their imprudence, in *Japan*, aggravated by the *Dutch*, occaſions the extirpation of Chriſtianity there, 667. 1, &c. Entitled to the converſion of *China*, 626. 2. Moſt of them baniſh'd thence, 628. 1. But procure a toleration there at laſt, 629. 2. 630. See *Adam*; Altars; *Caron*; *Ceteba*; Chriſtianity; Churches; Colony; *Confucius*; Controverſy; Converſion; *Corſi*; *Dutch*; *Garbillon*; *Japan*; Idolatry; Images; Infallibility; *Intorcetta*; *Le Comte*; *Martinez*; *Mildenhal*; Miracles; *Navarette*; *Paraguay*; Polygamy; Pope; Reſiſtance; *Rizzi*; *Soſan*; Toleration; *Tournon*; *Verbieſt*; Uſurpation; Worſhip; *Xavier*.
Jeſus Chriſt, own'd by *Mahomet*, to be his ſuperior, 532. 1.
Jews, numerous near mount *Taurus*, 524. 1. Tolerated by the *Portugueze*, at *Goa*, 594. 2. 595. 1.
Ignorance, the mother of ſuperſtition, 544. 1. 767. 2.
Images of the inviſible God, abſurd, even to an heathen, 341. 2. The origine of them in religious worſhip, 544. 1. Offenſive to the *Armenians*, 522. 1. The miſſionaries in *China*, inconſiſtent, 596, 628. 2. How the worſhip of them came to be eſtabliſh'd, 748. 2. 767. 2. Supported by forgery. 765. 1. See *Abgarus*; *Buddou*; *Confucius*; Idols.
Immortality of the ſoul, generally believ'd in the

West-Indies, 330. 2. 338. 1. 344. 2. 345. 1. In *Indoſtan*, 508. 2. And *China*, 624. 1.
Impoſture; the marks of it, 536, &c. Not chargeable upon Chriſtianity, 537. 2, &c. See *Bonzi*; *Ceteba*; Holy Fire; *Jaddeſe*; Jeſuits; *Loretto*; *Mahomet*.
Inceſtuous marriages of the *Incas* of *Peru*, 339. 1. 242.. 2. And the kings of *Siam*, 656. 2. 660. 2. And of *Ceylon*, 736. 2.
Incontinence; a ſtrange way to diſcover it, in *China*, 609. 2.
India. See *Indoſtan*.
Indians, brutiſhly treated by ſome *Spaniards*, in *Hiſpaniola*, 23. 1. Their honeſty, 250. 1. And ingenuity, 324. 1. *See* Arms; Horſes; Pictures.
Indigo, plentiful in *Indoſtan*, 497. 1. How produced, *ibid.*
Indoſtan, the proper *India*, deſcribed, 494, &c. 795.
Infallibility, impoſed upon, 631. 2. 632. *See* Pope.
Informers, encourag'd by tyrants, 481. 1. Deteſted by all worthy men, 654. 2.
Inquiſition makes hypocrites, 595. 1.
Inſolvent debtors, in *Achen*, puniſh'd at the creditor's diſcretion; death only excepted, 481. 2.
Inſtinct, in brutes, how great, 323. 2.
Intereſt. See *Dutch*.
Intrigues. *See* Incontinence.
Invaders of another's right, deteſtable, 344. 2. 452. 2. *See* Foreigners; Uſurpers.
Inveſtiture. See *Calaat*.
Iſhmael Sha, his reſtoration in *Perſia*, 574. 1. Beats the foreigners out of his country, *ibid.* And fortifies it againſt all invaſions, *ibid.*
Iſpahan, the capital of *Perſia*, deſcribed, 520. 2, &c. 563, &c.
Judgments, upon notorious offenders, remarkable, 295. 2. 463, 869. 1.
Jupiter, ſon of *Saturn* K. of *Crete*, rebels againſt his father, 791. 2. Forces him to *abdicate*, *ibid.* Uſurps the vacant throne, *ibid.* Infamous for many other unnatural crimes, *ibid.* Nevertheleſs, rever'd as a *God*, and his memory *Immortal*, *ibid.*
Juſtice, exemplary, among the *Brazilians*, 346. 2. And in *Indoſtan*, 504. 2. And *Siam*, 652. 1.

K

KEELING's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 389, 2. 432. 1.
Kilan, in *Perſia*, another paradiſe, 581. 2. Reduced by *Sha Abas*, *ibid.*
King of *Holland!* vainly boaſted of, by the *Dutch*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, 385. 1. 420. 2. 421. 444. 2. 453, 666, 2. 670. 1. 705. 1. 717. 2. See *Dutch*.
Kings, two at once, in *Tonquin*, 641. 1. *See* Allegiance; Arbitrary; Authority; Birth-day; Clemency; Commands; Common-wealth; Conqueſt; Coronation; Crown; *Dairo*; Duel; Excluſion; Foreign; Government; Guards; Hereditary; Letter; Loyalty; Monarchy; Natural; Revenue; Revolution; Sovereign; *Stuart*; Titles; Uſurper.
Knaves, the great ones have beſt luck, 733. 1.
Knivet, his ſtrange adventures in *America*, 221. 1. 222, &c.
Knox's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 723. His adventures in *Ceylon*, *ibid.* &c.

L

L'ACQUE, the uſe of it in *Perſia*, 591. 2. And *Japan*, 673. 2. *See* Gum; Japanning; Varniſh.
Ladrone Iſlands, diſcover'd by *Magellan*, 687. 1. Deſcribed, 688.
Lady, dies for her country, 511. 2. See *Bieby*; *Capillana*.
Lakes, of ſeveral kinds, 308. Many in *America*, deſcribed, *ibid.* &c.
Lamentation. *See* Mourning.
Lancaſter's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 373, &c. And his great ſervices there, *ibid.*
Language of the *Chineſe*, how difficult to learn, 614. 2. 615. That of *Ceylon* deſcribed, 740. 1. *See* Alphabet; Compliments; Letters; Printing; Proverbs; Speeches; Writing.
Lanthorns. *See* Feaſt.
Laokun, a philoſopher in *China*, 624. 1. His doctrine and idolatrous ſect, *ibid.*
La Roche's expedition to *Canada*, 287. 2. 288. 2.
La Salle. See *De la Salle*.
Las Caſas, a Bp. in *America*, procures good laws, in favour of the natives, 344. 1.
Laudonniere's expedition to *Carolina*, 250. 2, &c.
Laws, how executed, in the *Maldivian* Iſlands, 473. 1. And in *Siam*, 655. 2. *See* Lawyers; Liberty.
Lawyers, none in *Mexico*, 176. 2. Nor in the *Maldivian* Iſlands, 473. 1.
Leak in a ſhip, how ſtopt, 436. 1.
Learning, how encourag'd in *China*, 617. 1. Very little in *Ceylon*, 740. 2. *See* Education; Schools.
Leather, miſcall'd *Turkey*, comes from *Perſia*, 568. 2.
Leigh's expedition to *Newfoundland*, 268.
Lemnia. See *Terra*.
Lerma, ill us'd by *Pizarro*, revolts from him to *Almagro*, 115. 2. 116. 1. Kill'd in cold blood, 117. 2.
Letters from Q. *Eliz.* to the K. of *Achen*, 376. From the K. of *Achen*, to Q. *Eliz.* 378. 2. From the K. of *Ternate*, to K. *James*, 386. 2. From the K. of *Tidore*, to K. *James*, 387. 2. From the K. of *Bantam*, to K. *James*, 388. 2. From the K. of *Firando*, to K. *James*, 420. 1. From the emperor of *Japan*, to the (ſuppos'd) K. of *Holland*, *ibid.* 2. From the K. of *Achen*, to K. *James*, 424. 2. From the *Mogul*, to K. *James*, 493. 2. See *Frontinac*; *Middleton*; *Phipps*.
Levant; the trade thither, very conſiderable to the *Engliſh*, 794. 2.
Libanus. *See* Cedars.
Libbi tree, in the *Philippine* Iſlands, produces the *Sagoe*, 692. 1. A deſcription of it, *ibid.*
Liberty, without the obligation of laws, a great unhappineſs, 19. When once loſt, very hard to be recover'd, 484. 2. *See* Conſcience; *Dutch*; Foreigners; Republick; Slavery; Tyranny; Uſurpers.
Lice; a tax upon them, 342. 2.
Light. *See* Flames.
Lignum Alloes, a moſt coſtly perfume, in *Tonquin*, 640. 1.
Lima, now the metropolis of *Peru*, 191. 1.
Lion, and a tyger, let looſe, by the *Indians*, upon a *Spaniard*, would not hurt him, 100. 2. See *Candia*.
Liver-growing, how ſtrangely cured, 651. 2. *See* Lizards.
Lizards, a ſtrange ointment made of them in *China*, 609. 2. How the growing of their liver is cured, 651. 2.
Loadſtone, known to the ancients, 5. 2. But not its uſe in navigation, *ibid.* *See* Compaſs; *Magnet*.
Lockman; a ridiculous ſtory, among the *Perſians*, about his being ſtrangely brought back to life, 558. 2.
Locuſts, very troubleſome, in *Perſia*, 570. 2. Deſtroy'd by the birds, *ibid.* *and* 571. 1. And in *Chaldea*, by the winds, 767. 1.
Long Iſland, near *New-York*, deſcribed, 271. 2.
Lords, ſometimes made for very ſlender merit, 650. 1. *See* Elephants.
Loretto; the chapel there being miraculouſly remov'd croſs the ſea, ridiculous, 744. 1. 784. 2.
Love; a noble inſtance of it, 29. 2. The ſtrongeſt obligation to obedience, 737. 1. See *Alcon*; *Macham*.
Loyalty, miſtaken, 126. 1. Not to be ſacrific'd to intereſt, 128. 1. A natural duty, 235. 1. Prior to all other ties, 598. *See* Allegiance; Authority; Church; Commands; Jeſuits; Obedience; *Ouſanguey*.
Loyola's altar at *Rome*, immenſly rich, 594. 1.
Lucaye Iſlands. See *Bahama*.
Lughan, a water-fowl, in the *Philippine* Iſlands, which kills whales, 690.
Lycia deſcribed, 753. 2.
Lydia deſcribed, 750. 2.

The INDEX.

M

MACE, how produced, 701. 2. Its virtues, *ibid.* and 702. 1. *See* Nutmeg.

Macham's adventures on the coaſt of *Africa*, 7.

Madagaſcar, diſcover'd by *Pereyra*, 10. 2.

Madera, diſcover'd by *Macham*, 7. 2. 8. 1. Planted by the *Portugueze*, 8. 1.

Madneſs, occaſion'd by a fruit, 453. 2. See *Alcon.*

Magellan (*Ferd.*) a *Portugueze*, 687. 2. Serves under *Albuquerque*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, ibid. Leaves *Portugal*, in diſguſt, and offers his ſervice to *Spain*, 688. 1. His voyage, and diſcoveries, 192. 2. &c. 688. 1. 689. Quells a mutiny at ſea, 193. 2. 194. 1. Kill'd in the *Philippine* Iſlands, in an engagement with the *Indians*, 196. 2. 688. 1. 690. 2.

Magnet. *See* Loadſtone.

Maguenay, a moſt uſeful tree in *America*, 319. 2.

Mahobet, the Mogul's general, very ſucceſsful, 514. In great favour with the Mogul, and kind to the *Engliſh*, 488. 1. 513. 1. Diſgrac'd, by the intrigues of a faction at court, 515. 1. And treated with great indignity, *ibid.* 2. Raiſes forces, fights and defeats the royal army, wherein the *Mogul* is taken, 516. Begs to have a fair hearing, reſtores peace to the country, and retires, *ibid.* See *Aſaph*; *Coroon*; *Normahal*; *Selim.*

Mahomet; an account of him, and his impoſture, 528, &c. He makes ſucceſs an argument of providence, 529. Tolerates all ſenſual pleaſures, *ibid.* But diſclaims idolatry, *ibid.* And at the ſame time oppoſes the Trinity, and the Divinity of *Chriſt*, *ibid.* And aſſerts predeſtination, 533. 2. His pretended journey to heaven, 540, &c. His ſeveral inconſiſtencies, 534. 1. 535. 1. He dies delirious, at *Medina*, ibid. 2. And is buried there, not at *Mecca*, 535. 1. 770. 2. His character, 535. *See* Æra; *Alborac*; *Alcoran*; *Boulainvilliers*; Cock; *Hali*; Impoſture; *Mecca*; *Prideaux.*

Maiz, an *American* grain, ſerving both for bread and drink, 318. 1. How cultivated, *ibid.*

Majority, not always in the right, 605. 1.

Malabar deſcribed, 546. 2. See *Calicut.*

Malacca, deſcribed, 646. 1.

Maldivian Iſlands, 11000 in number, 362. 2. Deſcribed, 467. 2. 468.

Mamoa, a tree peculiar to St. *Croix*, 299. 2.

Man's fleſh ſold in the ſhambles, in *Popayan*, 190. 1.

Manati, a particular fiſh, in *America*, 307. 2.

Manchenile tree, in *Domingo*, its poiſonous nature, 320. 2. How cured, 321. 1.

Manco Capac, the firſt king of *Peru*, 358. 2. How he became ſo, *ibid.* Another *Manco*, the right heir of *Peru*, 110. 2. Promiſed to be reſtor'd, by the *Spaniards*, *ibid. and* 112. 1. Goes to *Pizarro* to that purpoſe, and is publickly inveſted, 112. 1. Very kind to the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* 2. *and* 113. 2. 126. 2. 151. 1. But baſely deceiv'd by them, and impriſon'd, 114. 2. Getting his liberty, he raiſes his forces, *ibid.* Attacks *Coſco*, but is forc'd to retire, 115. Appears in arms again; but without ſucceſs, 118. Unfortunately kill'd by a brutiſh *Spaniard*, 126. 2. See *Paullu*; *Perez.*

Mandelſloe's travels in *Perſia*, 589. 2. And *India*, 591. 2. Eſcapes a great danger at *Agra*, 593. Returns home, by way of *England*, 595. 2. 596. 1.

Manna, the beſt produced at *Coraſan*, in *Perſia*, 566. 2.

Mannada, a monſtrous idol, at *Meaco*, 419. 1.

Maps, very incorrect, 495. 2.

March. *See* Armies.

Marina, a beautiful young *Indian*, preſented to *Cortez*, and converted to Chriſtianity, 45. 1. Very ſerviceable to him, as an interpreter, *ibid. and* 49. 1. 50. 1. 55. 1. Artfully impoſes upon *Montezuma*, 61. 2. 63. 1.

Marino. See *Addiſon*; *St. Marino.*

Marlow's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 422. 1. And his death, *ibid.* 2.

Marriage ceremonies in *Mexico*, 331. 1. In *Brazille*, 345. 2. In the *Maldivian* Iſlands, 470. 2. In *Indoſtan*, 502. 2. 509. In *Perſia*, 527. 2. 572. Upon the coaſt of *Coromandel*, 547. 1. Among the *Armenians*, 561. 2. In *Formoſa*, 606. In *China*, 635. 1. In *Siam*, 660. 2. In *Japan*, 685. In *Borneo*, 711. 2. In *Ceylon*, 744. 2. 745. 1. In *Mingrelia*, 757. 2. *See* Adultery; Chaſtity; Children; Divorce; Friendſhip; Inceſt; Polygamy; Widows; Wives.

Martinez, a jeſuit, his queries ſent to *Rome*, concerning the miſſion in *China*, 631. 2. 632. Charged with equivocation, 632. 2. Suffers death in the perſecution there, 627. 1: See *Navarette.*

Martyrs in *Japan*, remarkably firm, 422. 1. See *Charles* 1.

Mary, a ſort of timber in *Siam*, excellent for ſhips, 650. 2.

Maryland, planted by Lord *Baltimore*, 246. 2. 248. 1. And greatly improv'd, 248. 2. His government like that of a tributary king, *ibid.* Forc'd to abdicate it, at the revolution, *ibid.* The country deſcribed, 248.

Maſtick, the produce of the *Lentisk* tree, 789. 1. Plenty of it in *Scio*, *ibid.*

Maſtiff (*Engliſh*) engages with an elephant, 498. 1. Greatly admir'd by the Mogul, *ibid.* *See* Wolves.

Matcham, a furious wild beaſt, in *Jacatra*, 385. 2.

Matta, a famous idol, in *Indoſtan*, 494. 2. His ſtrange worſhip, *ibid.*

Meaco, in *Japan*, deſcribed, 419. 1.

Mecca, the place of *Mahomet*'s birth, 528. 2. 769. 1. How poſſeſs'd by him, 534. 2. The temple there, 534. 1. His pilgrimage thither, 534. 2. A deſcription of the place, 770. 1. The order of pilgrimage to it, 769. 2.

Medicinal plants, famous in *Ceylon*, 731. 1.

Medina, *Mahomet*'s tomb there deſcribed, 770. 2.

Melons, growing on trees, in *Siam*, 650. 2.

Mendoza (*Pedro*) founds *Buenos Ayres*, 202. 1.

Mercado (*Juan Nunez*) page to *Cortez*, 95. 1. Kills a *Mexican* champion, in a ſingle combat, *ibid.*

Merchants of *London*, triumph over corrupt artifices, 366. 2. An honourable profeſſion, 569. 1. Not to be deſpiſed, 676. 2. 677. 1. Tho' miſcall'd *ſturdy beggars*, 366. 2. *See* Trade.

Mercury. *See* Quick-ſilver.

Merit, not every where duly regarded, 348. 1. The old road to preferment, before the revolution, in *China*, 612. 2. And ſtill ſo, in ſome meaſure, among the *Perſians*, 578. 1.

Meſopotamia. See *Diarbeck.*

Meſſiah, how ridiculouſly look'd for, once a year, at *Achen*, 364. 2.

Mexico, diſcover'd by *Griſalva*, 41. 2. The climate, 305. 2. Enter'd by *Cortez*, 57. 1. The palace royal deſcribed. 59. 1. And the temple, 327. 1. &c. Owns the K. of *Spain*'s ſovereignty, 65. 1. An inſurrection there, 71. 2. The occaſion of it, 72. A new emperor elected. 73. 2. 74. 2. 75. 1. A ceſſation of arms, 75. 2. Broke by the *Mexicans*. 76. A bloody engagement, 76. 2. A general battle, 77. 2. The royal ſtandard taken, 78. 1. Which gains *Cortez* the victory, *ibid.* Another emperor elected, 81. 1. A freſh engagement, and victory, *ibid.* Another ſomewhat dubious, 87. 1. More victories over them, *ibid.* 2, &c. The city diſtreſs'd for want of water, 90. 2. Attack'd by land and ſea, *ibid.* &c. A cunning ſtratagem, 92. Another, 94. 1. The city enter'd, *ibid.* 2. *and* 95. 1. The emperor taken, 96. And the whole empire ſubdued, 97. 1. After 60 pitch'd battles, or attacks, 171. 1. The city repair'd, and magiſtrates eſtabliſh'd, 175. Freſh diſorders there, among the *Spaniards*, 178, &c. Prudently appeas'd, 182. The ſituation of it, like *Venice*, 309. 1. Some account of the people, government, and ſucceſſion, 333. 2, &c. *See* Animals; Cold; Combat; Computation; Coronation; *Cortez*; *Domingo*; Education; Gardens; *Guatimozin*; Lake; Marriage; Mines; *Montezuma*; Moral; Natural; Pictures; Prodigies; Prophecies; *Qualpopoca*; Religion; *Tlacallec*; Trees; *Volcano.*

Mice, of an extraordinary ſort, in *Circaſſia*, 588. 1.

Michelburn (Sir *Edw.*) his voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 369. His gallant rebuke to the *Dutch* impudence at *Bantam*, 370. 1.

Middleton (Capt. *Dav.*) his ſeveral voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 373. 1. 386. 1. 389. 2. 394. 2. 397. 2. Inſulted by the *Dutch*, at *Lantore*, but behaves bravely,

bravely, 398, 399. 1. They baſely plot againſt his life, but in vain, 399. 2. See *Keeling*; *Lancaſter*; *Middleton*.

Middleton (Sir *Hen.*) his voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 386. 1. 400. 2. Reſcues ſome *Dutch*, and the K. of *Ternate*, from their enemies, *ibid.* 2. Ungratefully treated by the former, *ibid.* Chaſtiſes the *Dutch* boors at *Bantam*, 388. 1. Treacherouſly abus'd by the *Turks* at *Mocha*, 401. His gallant behaviour under it, *ibid.* 2. *and* 402. 1. He eſcapes, and gets on board his ſhip, by a ſtratagem, 403. 2. 404. 1. Threatens the *Turks*, and receives ſatisfaction, *ibid.* &c. Does himſelf juſtice of *Mocreb*, 406. Takes capt. *Hawkins* and *Sharpey* on board, 394, *and* 406. Seizes ſeveral *Turkiſh* ſhips, 407. 1. Dies at *Bantam*, 409. 2. See *Hawkins*; *Mocreb*; *Naſſan*; *Regib*; *Sarris*; *Sharpey*.

Mildenhall's travels to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 365. 1. His audience of the Mogul, *ibid.* 2. Oppoſed by the jeſuits, *ibid. and* 366. 1. But carries his point againſt them, *ibid.*

Minerals, of divers ſorts, in *America*, 315. 1. *See* Emeralds; Gold; Mines; Quick-ſilver; Silver; Vermilion.

Mines. See *Baldivia*; *Golconda*; *Potoſi*.

Mingrelia deſcribed, 754. 1, &c.

Miniſters of ſtate, ſometimes conſult only their own intereſt, 151. 1. 408. 2.

Miracles, frequently forg'd, to ſerve a turn, 115. 1. 501. 1. 529. 1. 760, 784. 2. 786. 2. Ought to be well examin'd, 500. 2. 501. 1. Their proper marks, 541, 682. 2. See *Ceteba*; *Corſi*; Holy Fire; Impoſture; *Loretto*.

Miſcarriage, how ridiculouſly ſaid to be forc'd, in *Formoſa*, 605. 1.

Miſſionaries, why not more ſucceſsful, 500. 2. *See* Jeſuits.

Miſſiſippi; the *French* ſettlements there, 299, 348. 2, &c. The famous bubble, *ibid.* See *De la Salle*; *Hennipin*.

Mocha; how the *Engliſh* were treated there by the *Turks*, 401, 438. See *Middleton*; *Shilling*.

Mocreb-Chan, an officer at *Surat*, 390. 1. Treacherous to the *Engliſh*, *ibid.* 2. 391, 392. 2. 393. 2. 406. Rebuk'd by the Mogul, 392. And impriſon'd, 393. 1. 406. 1. But eſcapes puniſhment by corruption, *ibid.* And, afterwards, ſhews more civility to the *Engliſh*, 430. 2. 431. See *Downton*; *Hawkins*; *Middleton*; *Naſſan*.

Modeſty of the women, in *Circaſſia*, 588. 2. And in *Siam*, 648. 1.

Mogul, his changeable temper, 393. 2. The riſe of his family, 510. 1. How he came to the throne, 490. 2. His prodigious riches, and grandeur, 506. See *Aſaph*; *Bieby*; Birth-day; *Coroon*; *Coſorone*; *Ecbur*; Elephants; *Hawkins*; *Indoſtan*; Letter; *Mahobet*; *Mildenhal*; *Mocreb*; *Normahal*; Palace; Revenue; *Roe*; *Selim*.

Mobeb, one of the Mogul's generals, his ſtratagem to gain a ſtrong caſtle, 511.

Moloſſos. *See* Rum; Sugar.

Molucca iſlands diſcover'd, 11. 2. 688. 1. A deſcription of them, 415. Inſolence of the *Dutch* there, 414. 1. Decently rebuk'd, *ibid.* 2. See *Drake*; *Sarris*,

Monarchy, hereditary, by divine inſtitution, 333. 1. How it came to be violated, 618. 1.

Money. *See* Coin.

Monkeys; ſtrange ſtories of them, in *America*, 323. 2. 324. 1. See *Oaran*.

Monopolies, generally grievous, 353. 1.

Monroy, one of *Baldivia*'s officers, ſurpriz'd by the *Indians*, and taken, 146. 2. His life generouſly ſav'd by an *Indian* lady, *ibid.* Kills her husband, and eſcapes, *ibid.*

Monſoons. See *Halley*.

Monſter; a ſtrange one taken by *Pinſon*, 33. 1. See *Oaran*.

Montezuma, emperor of *Mexico*, 42. 1. But not the right heir, 46. 2. His preſent to *Cortez*, 46. 1. Diſcourages him to proceed, *ibid.* Very uneaſy at his approach, *ibid.* 2. *and* 47. Sends him orders to be gone, 48. 1. Some of his vaſſals make peace with *Cortez*, *ibid.* 2. *and* 49. He ſends them a a reprimand, 49. His officers ſeiz'd by the vaſſals, and ſet at liberty by *Cortez*, *ibid.* 2. Sends freſh preſents to *Cortez*, but deſires him to leave the country, *ibid.* Endeavours in vain to intimidate or cutrap him, 51, *and* 54. 2. 55. 1. 56. 1. Sends freſh meſſages and preſents, 54, 56. 1. He conſults his magicians, and loſes all hopes, 56. 2. Sends a great party of his nobles to conduct *Cortez* to *Mexico*, 57. 1. And meets him in perſon, at his entry, *ibid.* Receives him with profound reſpect, *ibid.* 2. His perſon and appearance deſcribed, *ibid.* He entertains him magnificently, *ibid.* Their conference, 58, 59. His palace deſcribed, 59. 1. Takes *Cortez* to ſee the great temple, *ibid.* 2. And orders a chapel to be fitted up for the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* One of his generals occaſions a breach, 60. Which the emperor diſowns, 61. 1. And delivers him up to be puniſh'd, *ibid.* 2. *and* 62. 2. At the preſſing inſtances of *Cortez*, he puts himſelf into his hands, without any reſiſtance, 62. 1. And is ſhamefully fetter'd, *ibid.* But ſoon looſed again, 63. 1. Has the liberty to viſit the temples and palaces, attended by ſome *Spaniards*, *ibid.* Stops a conſpiracy of his ſubjects, 64. 1. Summons a council of ſtate, *ibid.* 2. Submits to the king of *Spain*, and owns himſelf a tributary, 65. 1. Sends preſents to *Cortez*, for his ſovereign, *ibid.* But preſſes him now to depart, *ibid.* 2. Offers him aſſiſtance againſt *Narvaez*, 68. 2. 69. 1. An inſurrection of the *Mexicans*, 71. 2, &c. Having another emperor at their head, 73. 2. *Montezuma* ſhews himſelf, and makes a ſpeech to the *Revolutioniſts*, *ibid. and* 74. 1. Whereupon many of them lay down their arms, *ibid.* Others audaciouſly inſult him; where, by a ſtone, he is mortally wonnded, 74. 1. His character, *ibid. and* 337. 2. Much lamented by *Cortez*, *ibid.* 2. Two of his ſons afterwards kill'd in battle, and a third converted, and created count de *Montezuma*, 75. 1. See *Cortez*; *Mexico*; Prodigies.

Montſerrat, diſcover'd by *Columbus*, 277. 1. Its deſciption, *ibid.*

Monuments. See *Ecbar*; *Lockman*; *Mahomet*; *Mauſoleum*.

Moon, her influence upon the motions of the ſea, 377. 1. *See* Flux.

Mooſes; animals fit for uſe, in *New-England*, 322. 1.

Moral hiſtory of *America*, 324. 1, &c.

Morſes, or ſea oxen, very dangerous, in *America*, 268. 1.

Moſcoſo, ſucceſſor to *De Soto*, reſolves to quit the conqueſt of *Florida*, 166. See *De Soto*.

Moſes, the moſt ancient hiſtorian, 359. 1. All others copied, more or leſs, from him, *ibid.* *See* Creation.

Motion. *See* Flux.

Mountains. *See* Rivers; Volcano's.

Mourning. *See* Burials.

Mouſa. See *Attale*.

Murder judicially puniſh'd, 295. 2. Puniſh'd only by fines, in *Java*, 381. 1. *See* Self-murder.

N

NABUCHODONOSOR, the common ſtile of the kings of *Babylon*, 763. 2.

Naka, a dangerous fiſh in the *Caſpian* ſea, 551. 2.

Name, of GOD, not to be lightly uſed, 554. 1. That of the king of *Siam*, not known 'till his death, 656. 2.

Nankin, in *China*, prodigiouſly populous, 602. 2. The *Porcelane* tower deſcribed, *ibid.*

Naphti, a ſort of water, which will take fire from the ſun-beams, 523. 1.

Narvaez, ſent by *Velaſquez*, to ſeize *Cortez*, 66. 1. Commits divers outrages, 67. 2, &c. Defeated, wounded, and taken, 70. 2. And his men liſt under *Cortez*, 71.

Nativities oddly calculated, 643. 1.

Natolia deſcribed, 746. 1.

Natural hiſtory of *America*, 304, &c. *See* Allegiance.

Navigation, how ancient, 3. 2. How improv'd, 4. Rules obſerv'd in it, 308. *See* Admiral; Compaſs; Currents; Diſcoveries; Flux; Fogs; Galleys; Monſoons; Trade; Winds.

Neecius, a *Dutch* admiral, his voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 451, &c.

The INDEX.

Nefte, a ſort of oyl, found in deep pits, in *Perſia*, 584. 1.
Neſtorius, how diſputed into hereſy, 767.
Neſts of birds, curiouſly made of aromaticks, in *Tonquin*, 639. 2. *and* 696. 1. Uſed in their ſauces, *ibid.*
Nevis deſcribed, 277. 1.
New *Albion*, diſcover'd by Sir *Fra. Drake*, 211. 2. Planted by Sir *Edm. Leyden*, 246. 2. Now call'd New *York*, 247. 1. See *California*; New *York*.
New *Britain*; diſcover'd by capt. *Hudſon*, 257. 2. Call'd alſo *Terra de Labrador*, ibid. *and* 264. 1. A deſcription of it, 264. 2.
New *England*, diſcover'd and planted, 242, &c. Fill'd with non-conformiſts, 245. 2. A deſcription of it, *ibid.* and 246. 1.
Newfoundland, diſcover'd by *Cabot*, 31. 1. Purſued by others, 265, &c. Settlements made there, 269. A deſcription of it, 270, &c. *See* Cod.
New *France*, diſcover'd by *Verazzano*, 282. 1. The extent of it, *ibid. and* 288. 2. Attempted in vain by the *Engliſh*, in 1689, 296. 2. &c. A deſcription of it, 297. 2, &c.
New *Guinea*, but little known, 696. 2. Some account of it. *ibid.*
New *Holland* deſcrib'd, 696. 2, &c.
New *Jerſey* deſcribed, 247.
New *Netherland*; New *York* ſo call'd by the *Dutch*, 246. 1. Recover'd by Sir *Sam. Argol*, *ibid.* See *Argol*; New *York*.
New *Scotland*. See *Nova Scotia*.
New *Spain*; Regulations made there, 176. A fine country, 313. 1. See *Mexico*.
New *York*, diſcover'd by *Hudſon*, 246. 1. Uſurp'd by the *Dutch*, ibid. Recover'd by the *Engliſh*, ibid. Uſurp'd again by the *Dutch*, ibid. 2. But recover'd at the reſtoration, *ibid.* and 247. 1. A deſcription of it, *ibid.* *See* New *Albion*; New *Netherland*.
New *Zealand*; ſome account of it, 697. 2.
Nice deſcrib'd, 748. 1. The firſt general council there, *ibid.* The ſecond there, *ibid.* 2. See *Arianiſm*; Images.
Nicueſſa's unſucceſsful expedition to *Darien*, 34. 2, &c. See *Ojeda*.
Nineveh taken and deſtroy'd by *Nabopolaſſar*, 763. 2, *and* 764. 1. Its ancient and preſent ſtate deſcrib'd, 764. 1.
Nino's diſcoveries in *America*, 32.
Nobility, how diſtinguiſh'd in *Indoſtan*, 505. 2. None hereditary in *Perſia*, 521. 1. Means only *Gentlemen* every where abroad, 676. 2.
Non-Conformiſts. *See* Diſſenters.
Normahal, the Mogul's favourite queen, 487. 2. 512. 2. Her aſcendant over him, 487. 2. 490. 2. 491. 1. 512. 2, &c. How gain'd to favour the *Engliſh*, 493. 1. Taken priſoner, and condemn'd, 516. 1. But ſpared, out of regard to the Mogul, *ibid.* Her plots for empire defeated, *ibid.* 2. And her ſelf confined, 517. 1. See *Aſaph*; *Coroon*; *Coſorone*; *Mahobet*; *Roe*; *Selim*.
North *America*; the *Spaniſh* diſcoveries and colonies there, 169. 1, &c. And thoſe of the *Engliſh*, 31. 1. 211. 2, &c. And *French*, 282. 1, &c. And *Dutch*, 302. 2, &c.
North-eaſt paſſage often attempted, without any advantage, except that of the *Ruſſia* trade, 7. 1.
North-weſt paſſage impracticable, and why, 263. 2. Of no advantage to *England*, if diſcover'd, *ibid.* See *James*.
Nova Scotia; the diſputes with the *French* about it, 264. 2. *and* 265. 1. Given up to us at *Utrecht*, *ibid.* A deſcription of it, *ibid.*
Number of inhabitants in *England*, how attempted to be calculated, by an *Indian*, 240. 1.
Nunez occaſions diſcord at *Darien*, 35. 2. 36. 1. Works himſelf unfairly into power, 37. 2. Eſcapes a conſpiracy of the *Indians*, 37. 1. His bold attempt, in diſcovering the South-ſea, 37. 2, *and* 38. Made the king's lieutenant, and admiral of the South-ſea, 38. 2. 39. 1. And ſettles on the coaſt of *Panama*, 39. 2. Decoy'd to *Darien*, and there put to death, 40. 1. See *Arias*.
Nunez (*Blaſco*) vice-roy of *Peru*, 124. 2. His imprudent conduct, *ibid.* &c. Occaſions a general diſguſt, 125, 126. See *Arias*; *Di Caſtro*; *Mercado*.
Nunez de *Balboa* ſails to the South-Sea. 343. 2. The natives quite diſpirited, *ibid.* *See* Prodigies; Prophecies.
Nuns. *See* Education.
Nurſing of Children, exemplary, in the *Maldivian* iſlands, 471. 2.
Nutmeg-tree deſcrib'd, 701. 2. Their produce, *ibid.* *See* Mace.
Nuts. *See* Cocoa; Palm-tree.

O

OARAN Oaran, a ſtrange monſter, found in *Borneo*, 710. 2.
Oaths to an uſurper, not binding, 675. *See* Swearing.
Obedience. See *Bebut*; *Cartſkuki*; Commands.
Obelisks, prodigious, brought to *Babylon*, by *Semiramis*, 525. 2.
Obſervatory, for aſtronomy, at *Pekin*, deſcrib'd, 691.
Ocean, not higher than the land, 306. Its motion continually from eaſt to weſt, *ibid.* 2. and 307. 1. *See* Air; Climate; Diſcoveries; Earthquakes; Flux; Navigation.
Ojeda (*Alonzo*) his voyages to *America*, 31. 2. 34. 2. Falls cruelly upon the natives, 34. 2. Repuls'd at *Carthagena*, *ibid.* Join'd by *Nicueſſa*, *ibid.* Revenges his repulſe, *ibid.* Wounded with a poiſon'd arrow, 35. 1.
Oil trees in *Siam*, 650. 1. *See* Fountain.
Old Age of a king in *America*, 250. 2.
Old *England*, formerly much regarded, 246. 2. 275. 1. See *Oliver*; *Venables*.
Oliver Cromwell, tho' a deteſtable uſurper himſelf, yet would not ſuffer foreigners to uſurp upon us, 246. 2.
Omen. *See* Superſtition.
Ophir, certainly ſome port of the *Eaſt-Indies*; but now not exactly known, 4. 1. Some fanſy it near *Malacca*, 547. 2. Others *Ceylon*, 726. 1.
Opium, much taken in *Perſia*, 571. 2. How produced, *ibid.*
Oppreſſing of ſubjects, bad policy, 737. 1.
Orange. See King of *Holland*.
Orgonez, one of *Almagro*'s principal captains, 116. 1. Defeated in the battle of *Salinas*, 117. 2. Wounded, taken, and baſely murder'd, *ibid.*
Orient pearls, why ſo call'd, 318. 1.
Ormus, a famous city of *Perſia*, poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueze*, 517. 2. Deſtroy'd by the *Perſians* and *Engliſh*, *ibid. and* 576. 2. Which was the making of *Gambroon*, 518. 1.
Ouſanguey, the *Chineſe* general againſt the *Tartars*, 598. His father unhappily falling into the hands of a *Chineſe* uſurper, he bravely prefers his loyalty to his father's life, *ibid.* Makes peace with the *Tartars*, for their aſſiſtance, in favour of the right heir, *ibid.* 2. Purſues, and defeats the uſurper, *ibid.* But the *Tartar* himſelf uſurping the throne, he advances againſt him alſo with ſucceſs, and proclaims the right heir, 599. 1. But, ſoon after, dying, the *Chineſe* ſubmit to the *Tartar*, *ibid. and* 627. 2. 628. 1.
Outlandiſh wares, many of them hurtful, 730. 2. See *Capita*.
Oxen and ſheep, bought, in *Saldania*, for a bit of old iron, 362. 1. 373. 2. *See* Chariots.

P

PAGOD, or great idol, of the *Perſians*, deſcribed, 520. 2.
Paimones, a dangerous ſort of fiſh, among the *Maldivian* Iſlands, 468. 1.
Painters, very extraordinary, in *Mexico*, 45. 2. 46. 1. And in *Indoſtan*, 488. 1.
Palace, of an *American* king, in the top of a tree, 37. 1. That of *Montezuma*, very grand, 59. 1. And of the Inca of *Peru*, 190. The Great Mogul, 510. 2. 511. 1. And the emperor of *Japan*, 601. 1.
Paleſtine deſcribed, 775, &c. Many of the antiquities there, queſtionable, 785.
Palma Chriſti, a favourite plant in *Perſia*, 568. 1.
Panama, on the *South-Sea*, diſcover'd by *Nunez*, 169. 2. Built by *Spinoſa*, 40. 1. The chief city on that coaſt, 169. 2.

The INDEX.

Paper, how made in *China*, 613. 2. 616. 1. *See* Writing.

Paradise, its ſituation uncertain, 526. 2. 765. 2. How dreſs'd up by *Mahomet*, 529. 2.

Paraguay, near the river of *Plate*, diſcover'd by *De Solis* and *Pinſon*, 200. 2. The jeſuits ſettlement there deſcribed, 353, &c.

Parents, how juſtly reverenced in the *Maldivias*, 473. 1. In *China*, 620. 2. 635. 2. And in *Siam*, 648. 1. Puniſh'd for the misbehaviour of their children, *ibid.*

Parricide, abhorrent to humane nature, 575. 2. See *Seſi.*

Parrots, in flocks, in *Peru*, 324. 1. In *Borneo*, a moſt beautiful ſort, call'd *Lutee*, 710. 2.

Paſiphae, her fable explain'd, 791. 2. 792. 2.

Paſs-port, the form of one in *Perſia*, 524. 2.

Patriot; a famous one in *Corea*, 675. 1.

Peace: See *Calumet.*

Pearls, common in the *Weſt-Indies*, 318. 1. Not ſo bright as the Orient, *ibid.* How fiſh'd for, 591. 1.

Pedrarias, governor of *Darien*, removes to *Panama*, 169. 2. And extends his conqueſts, 171. 1. See *Arias.*

Pekin, in *China*, deſcribed. 600. 2, &c.

Pelagi, the right heir of the Mogul, how protected in *Perſia*, againſt his uncle, 559. 1. See *Choram.*

Pelican, how ſhe brings water to her young ones, 571. 1.

Penguins, a ſort of birds, common in *Newfoundland*, 271. 1.

Penſylvania deſcrib'd, 247. 2. 248. Moſtly inhabited by *Quakers*, 247. 2.

Pepper, plentiful in *Sumatra*, 364. 1. And *Pulo Lancanbuy*, 478. 2. And in *Borneo*, of three ſorts, 710. 1. Grows like hops, 364. 1. How cultivated, 478. 2. 479. 1. Cut down in *Sumatra*, for fear of the *Dutch*, 476. 2. 480. 2. In *China*, as big as a walnut-tree; but the fruit not ſo good as the other, 608. 1.

Perez brutiſhly kills *Manco Inca*, 126. 2.

Perfumes, very ſtrong, 609. 2. 645. 1. See *Lignum Aloes.*

Perſecution in *Japan*, 421. 2. 684. 2, &c.

Perſees, a ſect of religious, in *Indoſtan*, 508. 2. Their laws, and cuſtoms, *ibid. and* 509. See *Zoroaſt.*

Perſepolis deſcrib'd, 519. 2. The ancient metropolis of *Perſia*, *ibid.* Deſtroy'd by *Alexander*, *ibid.*

Perſia deſcrib'd, 517, &c. 759. 2. See *Herbert*; Paſs-port; *Seſi.*

Peru, firſt attempted from *Panama*, 99. 1. Whence ſo call'd, 102. 1. Its government before the conqueſt, 104, &c. 338, &c. And its prodigious riches, 108, &c. Regulations made for its government, 123. 2. Occaſion great diſturbance, 124. 2. The religious rites formerly in uſe there, 329, &c. The vice-royalty of it, the moſt profitable of any under the crown of *Spain*, 694. 2. See *Almagro*; *Alvaredo*; *America*; *Atahualpa*; Buildings; Canals; *Candia*; Cauſeways; Day; Dead; *Di Caſtro*; *Giron*; *Godinez*; *Manco*; *Nunez*; *Pizarro*; *Quiſquez*; Springs.

Petrifying ſprings in *Peru*, 309. 2. Their natural cauſe, 310. 2.

Peyton (Capt.) his voyages to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 425, &c. 432, &c.

Phenicians, the firſt great improvers of navigation, 4. 1. 775. 1. Traded in *Britain*, for tin, *ibid.* Their country deſcrib'd, 775. 1.

Philippine Iſlands diſcover'd by *Magellan*, 196, 689. 2. A deſcription of them, 690. 2, &c. The vice-roy's poſt one of the moſt lucrative in the gift of *Spain*, 694. 2.

Phipps (Sir *Will.*) his ſummons to the governor of *Quebec*, 296. 2. And the governor's memorable anſwer, *ibid. and* 297. 1. Attacks the place, but is repuls'd, 297. 1. See *Frontinac.*

Phrygia deſcrib'd, 750. 2.

Phyſick, how manag'd in *Perſia*, 573. 2. In *Tonquin*, 643. 2. And in *China*, 616. 2. See Antidotes; Apothecaries.

Piazza, a famous one near *Palmyra*, 788. 1.

Pictures, moſt curiouſly made, of feathers, in *America*, 324. 1. Exactly copied in *Indoſtan*, 488. 1.

Pigeons carrying letters, incredibly ſwift, 775. 2.

Pilgrimage to *Mecca* deſcrib'd, 769. 1. 778.

Pine-apples of *America* deſcrib'd, 318. 2.

Pinſon's voyages and diſcoveries, 32. 2. 33. 1.

Piſmires, in *Siam*, build in trees, 651. 2. See Ants.

Pizarro (*Fernando*) brother to *Franc. Pizarro*, 105. 2. Sent by him to *Atahualpa*, 106. And afterwards to *Spain*, 109. 2. Where he ſucceeds in his negotiation, 113. 1. Returning, he is made governor of *Coſco*, 114. 2. Surpriz'd, and taken, by *Almagro*, 115. 2. Honourably treated, and ſet at liberty, 117. 1. Proſecutes *Almagro* as a traytor, *ibid.* 2. And diſhonourably puts him to death, 118. 1. Returns to *Spain*, *ibid.* 2. Where he lies in priſon 20 years, *ibid.*

Pizarro (*Franciſco*) governor of *Panama*, under *Nunez*, 99. 1. Concerts with *Almagro*, to make further diſcovers, *ibid.* Sets out with a commiſſion from *Pedrarias*, *ibid.* Lands, but is repuls'd, *ibid.* 2. His men diſhearten'd, *ibid.* And moſt of 'em leave him, 100. 1. Lands on the coaſt of *Peru*; where he is kindly treated, 101. Returns to *Panama*, 102. 1. And from thence to *Spain*, *ibid.* Where he obtains great honours for himſelf, neglecting his friends, *ibid.* 2. At which *Almagro* is juſtly incenſed, *ibid.* Sets out again for *Peru*, *ibid.* Plunders the natives, and ſo makes them his enemies, 103. Plants a colony in *Tumbez*, *ibid.* 2. Marches to *Caxamalca*, 104. 2. 105. Where he is well entertain'd, 105. 2. And has an interview with *Atahualpa*, 107. 2. Whom he ſurprizes, and impriſons, 108. 1. Cruelly maſſacring his followers, *ibid.* And condemning him to death, 109. 1. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the natives, he makes peace with them, 110. Arrives at *Coſco*, *ibid.* 2. Alarm'd at the arrival of *Alvaredo*, 111. 1. Sends *Almagro*, to treat with him, *ibid.* Which has its effect, *ibid.* 2. Treats *Manco* Inca with falſe hopes of his reſtoration, 112, 114. Builds *Lima*, *ibid.* 2. And *Truxillo*, ſettling colonies there, 113. 1. Created a marqueſs, *ibid.* His quarrel with *Almagro*, 116. 2. Makes peace with him, but breaks it again, 117. And takes him priſoner, *ibid.* 2. Becomes very imperious and cruel, 118. 1. 119. 1. Apprehenſive of being call'd to account, 119. 1. But is murder'd by the injur'd *Almagrians*, *ibid.* 2. His character, *ibid.* 191. 2. See *Almagro*; *Alvaredo*; *Atahualpa*; *Candia*; *Capillana*; *Di Caſtro*; *Holguin*; *Lerma*; *Manco*; *Molina*; *Orgonez*; *Pedrarias*; *Quiſquez*; *Sotelo.*

Pizarro (*Ganzalo*) brother to the former, 114. 2. Treacherouſly confines *Manco* Inca, *ibid.* Surpriz'd, and taken, by *Almagro*, 115. 2. Eſcapes out of priſon, 116. 2. 117. 1. Defeats *Almagro*'s army, *ibid.* 2. Proſecutes the war againſt *Manco*, 118. 2. Returns to *Quito*, 121. Submits to *Di Caſtro*, *ibid.* Heads an inſurrection againſt *Nunez*, 127. Marches to *Lima*, 129. 1. And proclaims himſelf governor of *Peru*, *ibid.* Makes an attempt upon *Potoſi*, 133. 2. And defeats *Centeno*, 134. But, afterwards, being deſerted by his forces, he ſurrenders to *La Gaſca*, the preſident, 136. 2. 137. 1. And is beheaded, 137. 2. His character, *ibid. and* 137. 2. 138. 1.

Pizarro (*Juan*) another brother of the marqueſs, 114. 2. Kill'd in an engagement with the *Indians*, 115. 2.

Plane-tree in *America* deſcrib'd, 319. 1.

Plant; a very extraordinary one in *Sembrero*, 374. 2.

Plate river in South-*America*, diſcover'd by *De Solis* and *Pinſon*, 200. 2. Whence ſo call'd, *ibid.* Prodigiouſly large, 305. 2. *See* Canibals; *De Solis.*

Plots. See *Dutch.*

Pocahunta, an *American* princeſs, generouſly begs capt. *Smith*'s life, 231. 2. Fond of the *Engliſh*, 238. 2. *and* 239. 1. Surpriz'd, but well treated, *ibid.* Converted, and baptized, 239. 1. Marries an *Engliſh* gent. *ibid.* Comes with him to *England*, *ibid.* 2. And dies at *Graveſend*, *ibid.* See *Powhatan*; *Smith*; *Tomocomo.*

Poiſon. *See* Antidote; *Bieby*; *Echar.*

Polaroon, one of the *Banda* Iſlands, 699. 2. Surrender'd to the crown of *England*, 441. Afterwards forc'd to ſubmit to the *Dutch*, 444. 2. Who, being

ing oblig'd, by treaty, to reſtore them, firſt baſely deſtroy all the nutmeg-trees, and barbarouſly treat the natives, 466. 2. See *Bendam*; *Courthope*; *Dutch*.
Polygamy common in *America*, 345. 2. And in *Perſia*, 572. 1. Monſtrouſly encourag'd in *Mingrelia*, 757. 2. 758. 1. Indulg'd by *Mahomet*, 529. 2. And the jeſuits in *China*, 635. 1. Abhorr'd in *Indoſtan*, 507. 2.
Polytheiſm, its origine, 544. 1.
Pope, countenanceth parricide and uſurpation, 529. 1. Impos'd upon by the jeſuits in *China*, 632.
Popery, made a forfeiture of ſovereignty, 248. 2.
Porcelane. See *China*-ware; *Nankin*.
Porto Ricco, taken by the earl of *Cumberland*, 218. 2, &c. And ſoon forſaken, 220. 1.
Port Royal, in *Jamaica*, once a beautiful city, deſtroy'd by an earthquake, in 1692, and by a fire, in 1703, 275. 2.
Portugueze diſcoveries by ſea, 7. 2, &c.
Potoſi; the ſilver-mines accidentally diſcover'd, 191. 1. Imploy 20000 men to work 'em, 312. 2. Immenſly rich, 316. 2.
Powder, made of ſulphur, out of a burning mountain, 313. 2. How got from thence by *Cortez*, *ibid.* *See* Gunpowder-tree.
Pox; how cured by the *Maldivians*, 472. 2.
Prayer for the dead, uſed among the *Maldivians*, 471. And in *Ceylon*, 745. 2.
Prideaux (Dr.) his account of *Mahomet*'s impoſture, 528. 2, &c.
Pring (Capt.) his voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 435, &c.
Printing, the manner of it, in *China*, 616. 1.
Priſoners, how diſcharg'd, in *Tonquin*, 642. 2.
Prodigies, before the conqueſt of *Mexico*, 47.
Prophecies, foretelling the conqueſt of *Mexico*, 64. 2. And of *Peru*, 105. 2, 343. 2.
Proportion. *See* Architecture.
Propoſals, for the advantage of our plantations in *America*, 350. 2, &c.
Providence, unjuſtly made to patronize every daring and ſucceſsful enterprize, 61. 1. 98. 2. 733. 1.
Pſalmanaazar (*Geo.*) ſome account of him, and his writings, 604. See *Formoſa*.
Puniſhments, very uncommon, 343. 1. 434. 2. 481. 2. 504. 2. 522. 1. 579. 2. 620. 2. 643. 2. 655. 2. 677. 2. 739. 2. *See* Adultery; Baſtinado; Bribery; Capital; Crucifixion; Inſolvent; Murder; Parents.
Pyree. *See* Fire.

Q

QUAKERS, their colony, in *Penſylvania*, 247. 2.
Qualpopoca, the *Mexican* general, deliver'd up to *Cortez*, and put to death, 60, 62.
Quarrels. *See* Diſſenſions; Factions.
Quebec, founded by *La Roche*, 288. 2. Deſcribed, 297. 2. See *Frontinac*; *Phipps*.
Quickſilver mines in *Peru*, 191. 1. 317. How neceſſary to the refining of ſilver, 317. How extracted, *ibid.*
Quintus Curtius. See *Alexander*; *Curtius*.
Quiſquez, *Atahualpa*'s general, 110. 1. Defeats a party of the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* Attack'd by *Almagro*, by miſtake, 112. See *Atahualpa*; *Atauchi*.
Quitu, deſcribed, 342. 2. Subjected to *Peru*, *ibid.*

R

RABBETS; how prodigiouſly they multiply, 8. 1.
Rackoon, deſcrib'd, 322. 2.
Rain, why moſt in ſummer, under the line, 306. 1. Seldom, or never, in ſome parts of *Peru*, 313. 1. And *Arabia*, 773. 2. *See* Climate; Rivers; Springs.
Raleigh (Sir *Walt.*) his ſettlements in *Virginia*, 225. 1, &c. Ill uſed afterwards, 228. 2.
Rapin Thoyras's hiſtory, very partial and falſe, 707. 2. 708. 1.
Rats, from a ſhipwreck, deſtructive to the plantations in *Bermudas*, 272. 2. Deſtroy'd by providence, *ibid.*
Rawleigh. See *Raleigh*.
Razors, in *Siam*, made of copper, 658. 2.
Reaſon of ſtate, the ground of many unwarrantable actions, 592. 2.
Rebellion, againſt lawful authority, not excuſable, 135. 2. 134. 1. 138. 1. 737. 1. Its principles, not eaſily rooted out, 674. 2. In Clergymen more inexcuſable than in others, 742. 1. *See* Allegiance; Authority; Clemency; *Coroon*; *Cromwell*; Factions; Jeſuits; *Jupiter*; Loyalty; *Mahabet*; Majority; Religion; Reſiſtance; Revolution; Uſurpation.
Red Sea, where paſs'd by *Moſes*, 771. 2.
Refining of ſilver; the manner of it, 317. 1. *See* Quick-ſilver.
Regib, a *Turkiſh Aga*, his treacherous cruelty to the *Engliſh*, 402. 2. Becomes afterwards more kind to them, and why, 439. See *Middleton*; *Shilling*.
Religion, a pretence for uſurpation, 149. 1. 179. 2. 248. 2. 339. 2. 341. 1. 342. 1. 452. 2. 494. 2. 744. 2. 772. 2. Not to be propagated by violence, 542. 2, &c. Some account of that of *Achen*, 364. 2. Of that of the *Americans*, 325, &c. Of the *Arabians*, 537. 1. Of the *Armenians*, 767, 768. 1. Of *Borneo*, 711. 2. Of *Ceylon*, 444, 741, &c. Of *China*, 381. 1. 623. 2, &c. Of the *Georgians*, 759. 2, &c. Of *Japan*, 679. 2, &c. Of *Java*, 381. 1. Of *Indoſtan*, 499. 2, &c. Of the *Maldivians*, 470. Of the *Perſians*, 528. 1. 579. 2, &c. Of the *Philippine* Iſlands, 695. Of *Siam*, 548. 2, &c. Of the *Turks*, 579. 2, &c. See *Abdallah*; Allegiance; Ambition; Authority; Baptiſm; Bible; Birth-right; *Bonzi*; Ceremonies; Change; Chriſtianity; Church; Clergy; *Confucius*; Conſcience; Controverſy; Deity; *Dutch*; *Faquirs*; Feaſts; Force; *Free-thinkers*, God; Grace; *Greek*; *Hali*; Hereſy; *Hottentots*; Idolatry; *Jeſuits*; Immortality; Impoſture; *Laokun*; Loyalty; *Mahomet*; Majority; Martyrs; Miracles; Rebellion; Revelation; Sabbath; Uſurpation; Worſhip.
Reliques. See *Ceteba*; Superſtition.
Report to the board of trade, concerning the plantations, 348, &c.
Republick. See *Addiſon*; Commonwealth; Liberty; St, *Marino*.
Rere-mice, an uncommon ſort of birds, in *Siam*, 639. 2.
Resbouts, uſed for a convoy to ſtrangers, in *Indoſtan*, 499. 2. Stout and truſty, *ibid.* Thoſe in *Perſia*, meer *Banditti*, 591. 2. 593. 2.
Reſiſtance of authority unjuſtifiable, 127, 134. 1. 137. 1. 138. 1. 481. 2. 543. 1. *See* Authority; Rebellion; Religion.
Reſpect, ſhew'd by various ceremonies, 57. 2. 264. 1. 477. 1. 561. 1. 603. 2. 611. 2. 656. 2. 709. 2. 710. 1.
Reſtitution, a neceſſary *Chriſtian* duty, however unacceptable to wicked oppreſſors and uſurpers, 620. 1. 633. 1. Shamefully perverted by *Popiſh* caſuiſts, 633. *See* Reſtoration.
Reſtoration of the right heir of *Tezeuco*, by *Cortez*, 84, 85. Of the right heir of *Ceylon*, 442. 2. Of the right heir of *Indoſtan*, by the *Perſians*, 559. 1. Of the right heir of *Perſia*, 574. 1.
Revelation, abſolutely neceſſary, in matters of religion, 326. 2. 659. 2.
Revenge, very extraordinary, in *Ceylon*, 740. 1.
Revenue of the great *Mogul*, immenſe, 506. 1. Of the *Sophi* of *Perſia*, 579. 2. Of the emperor of *China*, 622. 1. And of the emperor of *Japan*, 677. 1.
Revolution, how far providential, 98. 2. See *Baltimore*; *Dutch*; *Frontinac*; *Jupiter*; *Phipps*; Rebellion.
Rhinoceros deſcrib'd, 497. 2.
Rhodes deſcrib'd, 700. 2.
Ribault's expedition to *Carolina*, 249, &c.
Rice, how manag'd in *Ceylon*, 729, 1.
Rich rogues ſeldom puniſh'd, 183. 2. See *Guzman*.
Ricinus deſcribed, 568. 1.
Right. *See* Reſtoration.
Rio. *See* Rivers.
River of hot water in *America*, 21. 2. Prodigious large in *America*, 305. 2. 306. 1. 312. 1. Brought through a mountain, to *Iſpahan*, 521. 1. Their origine, 311, 312. 1. *See* Baths; Fountains; Lakes; Waterfalls.

Rizzi, a jesuit, makes many converts in *China*, 627.
Roads, very regular, in *Japan*, 417. 2. *See* Causeways.
Roe (Sir *Tho.*) ambassador to the Mogul, 432. 1. 485, &c. His audience of the prince, 486. 1. And of the Mogul, *ibid.* 2. Refuses to submit to the servile ceremonies, *ibid.* 1. *and* 489, 490. 1. Much esteem'd there, 489, &c. His negotiation how embaras's'd, 487. How accomplish'd at last, 489. 2. 493. See *Asaph*; *Mahobet*; *Normahal*.
Romans; how they first acquir'd the art of navigation, 4. 2.
Rose of *Jericho* describ'd, 783. 1.
Rowing. *See* Gallies.
Russia trade, when first settled, 6. 2.

S

SABBATH, six in a week, at *Omoal* in *Persia*, 523. 2.
Sacrifices; their institution, 326. Human, among the *Americans*, 327. 1. 329. 1. 341. 2. 494. 2. And the *Persians*, 524. 1. Of an horse, to *Cyrus*, 567. 2. Of a red cock, in *Ceylon*, 742. 2. *See* Idolatry; Temple; Zeal.
Sagoe, how produc'd, 692. 1. 702. 1.
Sain. See *Sefi*.
Shinoe; a strange wild beast in *America*, 322. 2.
St. *Christopher*'s describ'd, 276.
St. *George*, his history uncertain, 759. 1.
St. *John*; a sect near *Balsara*, denominated from him, 768. 1. Their strange principles, *ibid.*
St. *Katharine*'s strange legend, 771. 2.
St. *Marino*, a petty republick, highly magnified by Mr. *Addison*, 756.
Saldania; the exceeding cheapness of provisions there, 362. 1. 373. 2.
Salutation, with odd ceremonies, in *Firando*, 415. 2. At *Achen*, 477. 1. In *China*, 611. In *Borneo*, 709. 2. 710. 1. And in *Ceylon*, 729. 1. *See* Compliments.
Samar, a plant in the *Philippine* Islands, 694. 1. Its great virtues and value, *ibid.*
Samaria described, 779. 1.
Sand, how dangerous in *Persia*, 522. 2. And in *Arabia*, 771. 1.
San Domingo. See *Domingo*.
Sandoval, one of *Cortez*'s officers, 63. 2. His lieutenant of *Vera Cruz*, *ibid.* *and* 66. 1. Confines *Narvaez*'s messengers, *ibid.* 2. Very serviceable in the conquest of *Mexico*, 85. 2, &c. Returns with *Cortez* to *Spain*, and dies there, 180. 2.
Saracens. See *Hagarens*.
Sarris's voyage to the *East-Indies*, 410. 2, &c.
Saturn. See *Jupiter*.
Saxafras. See *Ameda*.
Scarlet. *See* Dying.
Schiras wine, in *Persia*, most excellent, 590. 2.
Schism between the *Turks* and *Persians*, 580. 1.
Scorpions, dangerous in *Indostan*, 498. 2. And in *Persia*, 559. 2. Cure their own poison, *ibid.* Other antidotes against it, 559. 2.
Scot's description of *Java*, 380. 1. His gallant rebuke to the *Dutch* at *Bantam*, 384. 1.
Scotland. See *Darien*; Herring-fishery; *Stuart*.
Schouten. See *Corneliszon*.
Scurvy, how cured, 374. 1.
Sea. *See* Flux; Ocean.
Secret, imprudently discover'd, 191. 2. 192. 1. 572. 1. *See* Incontinence.
Sefi, the founder of the *Persian* religion, 555. 2. His tomb describ'd, 556. *See* Certificate.
Sefi, eldest son of *Abas*, a hopeful prince, 575. 2. His exemplary loyalty, *ibid.* Unworthily put to death, *ibid.* Universally lamented, 576. 1. And deservedly reveng'd, *ibid.* See *Abas*; *Bebut*; *Cartsokuki*.
Sefi (formerly call'd *Sain*) son of the other *Sefi*, 576, 577. 1. Happily sav'd from poison, 576. 1. Succeeds his grandfather, 577. 1. His barbarous cruelties, 577. See *Sejul*.
Sejul Chan, one of the *Persian* lords, sets *Sefi* on the throne, 577. 1. Ungratefully put to death by him, *ibid.* 2.
Self-interest. See *Hunt*.
Self murder thought the way to paradise, in *Japan*, 680. 1.
Selim, son of *Ecbar*, the Mogul, 511. 2. Rebels against his father, 512. 1. Submits, and is imprison'd, *ibid.* Succeeds his father, *ibid.* 2. Favourable to the Christians, 500. 2. See *Coroon*; *Cusorone*; *Ecbar*; *Mahobet*; *Normahal*; *Roe*.
Semiramis added the greatest beauties to *Babylon*, 525. 2.
Sepulchres near *Palmyra* described, 788. *See* Holy Sepulchre; Monuments; *Sefi*.
Serpents, a choice food among the *Americans*, 21. 2. 25. 2. How dress'd, *ibid.* Give a medicinal quality to water, 557. 2. Some very large, 21. 2. 588. 1.
Servants put to death, to attend their dead masters in the other world, 331. 1.
Settlement. See *Jesuits*; Plantations.
Shagreen, made of asses skins, 776. 2.
Sharks, prodigiously ravenous, 307. 2. 308. 1.
Sharpey (Capt.) his voyage to the *East-Indies*, 395, &c.
Sheep, in *Peru*, used to carry burthens, 102. 1. 323. 1. Of different kinds there, 323. 1. See *Bezoar*; *Saldania*.
Sheraz, in *Persia*, describ'd, 519. 1. It's duke's pompous titles, *ibid.*
Shilling (Capt.) his voyage to the *East-Indies*, 438. 1, &c. 447, &c. Mortally wounded in an engagement with the *Portuguese*, 447. 2. 448. 1.
Ship pierc'd by the horn of a sea-monster, 300. 2. 301. 1.
Shirley (Sir *Anth.*) his expedition to *Jamaica*, 274.
Shirley (Sir *Rob.*) ambassador to *Persia*, 325. 1. Escapes a conspiracy of some rebel *Persians*, 426. His stratagem to recover his equipage out of their hands, *ibid.* 2. Ill us'd at *Diul*, by means of the *Portuguese*, 427. Goes to the *Mogul*'s court, and so to the *Persian*, 428. 1. Dies at *Casbin*, 524. 2.
Shooting. *See* Dexterity.
Shusthan, in *Persia*, described, 526.
Siam describ'd, 408. 2, &c. 547. 2. 645, &c.
Silk, in great plenty, produced in *Persia*, 568. 2. But the finest, in *China*, 612. 2. *See* Silk-worms.
Silk-worms, how they spin different colours, 523. 1.
Silver, in great plenty, in *America*, 316. 1. The best mines in *Peru*, *ibid.* How work'd, *ibid.* Not coin'd in *Japan*, 673. 1. See *Potosi*; Quicksilver; Refining.
Simplicity of the native *Americans*, 105. 2. 231. 1. *See* Horses.
Sindricmal, a most curious plant in *Ceylon*, 731. 1. Serves for a clock, *ibid.* *and* 740. 2.
Slavery, under foreigners, most disgraceful, 149. 1. 171. 1. 182. 2. 183. 1, *See* Liberty.
Smith (Capt.) one of the council of *Virginia*, maliciously prosecuted, but honourably acquitted, 229. Prevents many mischiefs, 230. 1. Skirmishes with the *Indians*, *ibid.* Quells a mutiny, *ibid.* Surpriz'd by the *Indians*, and taken, *ibid.* 2. How oddly treated by them, 231. Providentially repriev'd from death, *ibid.* 2. Set at liberty, *ibid.* His gallant behaviour, 232. 2, &c. Chosen president, 233. 1. Bravely defeats the treacherous plots of the natives, 234. 2, &c. Whom he finds to have been spirited up to it by the *Dutch*, 235. 2. 236. 1. After divers disastrous accidents, he is forc'd to return to *England*, 236. 2. 237. 1. And his base enemies deservedly requited, *ibid.* See *Dutch*; *Pocahunta*; *Powhatan*.
Smoaking tobacco; the curious manner of it in *Indostan*, 496. 2.
Smyrna describ'd, 749. 2. 750. 1.
Snow common in certain places, when the sun is nearest them, 305. 1.
Sodom; the lake describ'd, 733. 2.
Soldiers, oddly treated at *Goa*, 594. 2. And in *Ceylon*, 738. 1. *See* Armies; Battles; *English*.
Sommona Codam, the principal idol in *Siam*, 659. 2. Some account of him, *ibid.* *and* 660. 1.
Sosan, a *Chinese* prince, a great friend to the Christians, 629. 2. 630.
Sovereign. *See* Contempt; Loyalty; Right.
Soul. *See* Immortality; Transmigration.
South-sea discover'd by *Nunez*, 38. Pursued by *Magellan*, 195. How neglected by the *English*, 281. And turn'd to a bubble, 299. 1. *Spaniards*,

The INDEX.

Spaniards, their diſcoveries by ſea, and their different conduct, 7. 2. 16, &c. See *Almagro*; *Alvaredo*; *Baldivia*; *Columbus*; *Cortez*; *De Soli*; *De Soto*; *De Vaca*; *D'Olid*; *Gonzalez*; *Griſalva*; *Guzman*; *Magellan*; *Mendoza*; *Nino*; *Nunez*; *Ojeda*; *Pinſon*; *Pizarro*; *Velaſquez*.

Speech of an *Indian* in *Cuba*, to *Columbus*, very memorable, 22.

Spice Iſlands. See *Banda*; *Molucca*.

Spilbergen's voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 452. 1, &c.

Spreading tree, in *Indoſtan*, deſcrib'd, 497. 1.

Springs. *See* Baths; Fountains; Petrifying; Rivers; Water.

Stadler, a *Swiſs*, ſuffer'd death in *Perſia*, bravely refuſing to turn *Mahometan*, or *Papiſt*, 561. 2.

Standing armies, the moſt forcible argument for ſubjection to uſurpers, 599. 1.

Stones, a moſt curious one at *Aleppo*, 776. 2. Prodigious large ones, in the walls of *Heliopolis*, 787. 1. See *Candou*; Petrifying.

Strangers treated in *Siam*, with exemplary civility, 648. 1. *See* Parents.

Stratagem of the *Engliſh* to get their money in the *Eaſt-Indies*, 410. 1. 435. 1. Of the K. of *Decan*, to clear his country, 513. 1. Of *Cyrus*, to take *Babylon*, 525. 2. 526. 1. See *Baldivia*; *Middleton*; *Moheb*; *Shirley*.

Stuarts; the truly royal family, miſrepreſented as arbitrary, 707. 2. See *Elizabeth*; *Rapin*.

Succeſsful revolutions not always to be attributed to GOD, 98. 2. 592. 2. A *Mahometan* doctrine, 529. *See* Uſurpation.

Succeſſion. *See* Government; Hereditary; Monarchy.

Sugar, not the natural product of *America*, 321. 1. How produc'd and manag'd, *ibid.*

Sulphur uſed to make gunpowder, 313. 2. How adventrouſly fetch'd out of a burning mountain, by *Cortez*'s men, *ibid. and* 314. 1.

Sumatra deſcribed, 480, &c. 718. 2. See *Achen*.

Summers (Sir *Geo.*) his expedition to *Virginia*, 236. 1, &c. His death, 237. 2. 272. 2.

Sun, how it came to be worſhip'd by heathens, 325, 329. 2. 330. 1.

Sunda Iſlands diſcover'd by the *Portugueze*, 14. 2. Deſcrib'd, *ibid. and* 708. 1, &c. See *Borneo*; *Java*; *Sumatra*.

Superſtition of the *Americans*, 47. 2. 295. 2. 296. 1. 338. 2. 343. 2. Of the *Maldivians*, 472. 1. Of the *Indians* in the Eaſt, 494. 2. 498, 2. 499. 1. 502. 1. 508. 1. Of the *Perſians*, 522. 1. 595. 1. Of the *Chineſe*, 622. 2. Of the *Tonquineſe*, 643. 1. Of the *Siameſe*, 656. 2. Of the *Japaneſe*, 681. 1. Of the *Ceyloneſe*, 728. 2. 729. 2. 744. 1. Of the *Arabians*, 769. 2. 770. *See* Devotion; Ignorance; Images; *Mahomet*; Miracles; Religion.

Supremacy of the pope ſupported by ſhams, 760. See *Jeſuites*.

Surat; the *Engliſh* trade ſettled there 423, 489. 2.

Surrender at diſcretion, how interpreted by a foreign tyrant, 479. 1.

Swearing, in *Turkey*, by *Mahomet*'s beard, 438. 2. 439. 2. With odd ceremonies, at *Achen*, 720. 1. And in *Ceylon*, 739. 2.

Sword-blades, in *Japan*, the beſt in the world, 673. 2.

Syria deſcrib'd, 774. 2, &c.

T

TABERNACLES ſhewn on mount *Tabor*, which were never built, 785. 2.

Tadmor. See *Palmyra*.

Tagnoagny, an *American*, interpreter to *Cartier*, 284. 1. His roguery detected, *ibid.* See *Donnacona*.

Talents, their value uncertain, 520. 1.

Tallipot tree in *Ceylon* deſcrib'd, 730. 1.

Tallow tree in *China* deſcrib'd, 608. 1.

Tamerlane, his military glory, 510. 1.

Tarantula, its poiſon and cure deſcrib'd, 559. 2. 560. 1.

Tartary deſcrib'd, 597. 2. 794. 2. How it came to be united with *China*, 598.

Tavarcar, the *Maldivian* coco, deſcrib'd, 474. 1.

Taurus in *Aſia*, 3000 miles long, 523. 2. The greateſt mountain in the world, *ibid.*

Tax upon lice, to make people cleanly, 342. 2.

Tea, three ſorts growing on one tree, 614. 1.

Teeth black, a beauty in *Tonquin*, 638. 1. 647. 2.

Temple of *Mexico*, deſcrib'd, 327. 1. Of *Coſco*, 329. 2. 330. 1. *See* Idols.

Terra Lemnia, medicinal, 789. 1. Why call'd *Sigillata*, *ibid.*

Thaleſtris coming to *Alexander*, fabulous, 585. 1.

Tide, in *Borneo*, flowing but once in 24 hours, 709. 1. *See* Flux.

Timber, extraordinary in *Cochin-China*, 645. 1. *See* Anchors; Perfume.

Time. *See* Computation.

Title. See *Baltimore*; *Sheraz*.

Tlacallec, a brave *Mexican* youth, 334. 2. Carries a gallant defiance to the enemy, *ibid.* Made the general, 355. 1. And ſubdues all the enemies, *ibid.* Refuſes the throne, when offer'd, *ibid.* 2, *and* 336. 1. Dies with great glory, 336. 2.

Tlaſcalans ſkirmiſh with *Cortez*, 51. 2, &c. Submit to him, 54. And aſſiſt him greatly in the conqueſt of *Mexico*, 55, &c.

Tobacco, how cultivated, 321. 2. *See* Smoaking.

Toleration of Chriſtianity in *Japan*, 629.

Tolu. *See* Balm.

Tombs. *See* Monuments; Sepulchres.

Tomocomo, an *Indian*, his comical method to take the number of the people of *England*, 240. 1.

Tonquin deſcrib'd, 637, &c.

Torch, toſs'd out of St. *Peter*'s church, by the pope, on *Maundy* Thurſday, 329. 1.

Torrid Zone, well inhabited, and temperate, 304. 2, &c.

Tortoiſes, extraordinary large, in *America*, 22. 1. Prodigious in *Madagaſcar*, 451. 1. How taken by the former, 22. 1.

Torture. See *Amboyna*.

Tournon (Card.) the pope's vicar in *China*, 634. 1. Publiſhes the decrees, to ſettle the controverſy there, *ibid.* But without effect, *ibid.* See *Jeſuits*.

Tower. See *Porcelane*.

Towerſon (*Gabr.*) factor at *Bantam*, 388. 2. And afterwards at *Amboyna*, 461. 1. Barbarouſly tortur'd to death, by the *Dutch*, 463. See *Amboyna*.

Trade, how exceeding profitable to the firſt adventurers, 32. 2. The great advantage of *Newfoundland*, to us, when the trade of *England* is encourag'd, 271. 2. How our plantations might be much improv'd, 350, &c. Greatly encourag'd by K. *James*; whom therefore the *Dutch* were afraid of, 692. 2. *See* Diſcoveries; *Dutch*; Factories; Herring; Merchants; Plantations; Spice.

Trade-winds; Dr. *Halley*'s account of them, 412, 413.

Traditions, many of them queſtionable, 772. 1. 781, &c. *See* Antiquities; Reliques.

Tranſmigration of ſouls, how firmly believ'd, by the *Pagans*, in *Indoſtan*, 501. 2. 502. 1. Their notion of it rational, if it were true, 508. 1.

Travelling; the true ends of it, 1.

Traytors who follow their maſter, more dangerous than thoſe who openly appear againſt him, 735. 1.

Trebizond, in *Pontus*, deſcrib'd, 752. 2.

Trees. See *Ameda*; *Bagaha*; *Bambou*; *Bannian*; *Betel*; Camphire; *Candou*; *Capita*; Cedar; Cinamon; Cocoa; Coffee; Cotton; Date; Ebony; Fig; Gunpowder; *Indigo*; *Libbi*; *Lignum*-Alloes; *Maguenay*; *Mamoa*; *Manchenile*; *Mary*; Nutmeg; Pepper; Plane; Roſe; Spreading; *Tallipot*; Tallow; *Tavarcar*; Tea; Timber; Woods; Flower-trees; Foreſts; Fruit-trees; Plants.

Trial. *See* Criminals; Incontinence; Laws; Murder; Puniſhment; Swearing.

Triumph of an *Inca* of *Peru*, more gallant than thoſe of the old *Romans*, 341. 2.

Troy; ſome account of it, 749. 1.

Truth, ſometimes run down by clamour, 604. 1.

Tumblers, famous in *Siam*, 649. 2. One of them made a Lord, for that great merit, 650. 1.

Turcomania, or *Armenia major*, deſcrib'd, 761. 1, &c.

Turkey in *Aſia*, deſcrib'd, 745, &c. 795. 2. *See* Leather; *Turks*.

Turks, their original, and progreſs, 773. 1.

Tygers; their fight with elephants, in *Siam*, 649. 2. *See* Lion.

Typhons, dreadful hurricanes in *Tonquin*, 637. 2.
Tyranny. *See* Foreigners; Slavery; Usurpation.
Tyre, how in ruins, according to the prophecy of *Isaiah*, 778. 2.
Tzarra, a *Persian* lord, well rewarded for a piece of court-gallantry, 537. See *Agasi*.

V

VALDIVIA, the best soldier the *Spaniards* had in *Chili*, 214. 1. See *Baldivia*.
Varenius's account of the winds, 308. 2, &c.
Variation of the compass. See *The Preface*.
Varnish of the *China* ware, a resinous gum, 614. 1.
Veer Hagen's voyage to the *East-Indies*, 454. 2, &c.
Velasquez, governor of *Cuba*, 40. 2. Sends *Cortez* to discover *Mexico*, 42. 2. Changes his mind, and endeavours to stop him, but in vain, *ibid.* Sends complaints against him to *Spain*, 65. 2. Obtains a commission for himself, *ibid.* Sends *Narvaez*, with forces, to suppress him, 66. 1. Reprimanded for it from court, 98. 1. See *Cortez*; *Narvaez*.
Venables, sent by *Oliver*, disappointed at *Hispaniola*, 274. 2. Takes *Jamaica*, *ibid.* Bravely supports the honour of *England*, against foreigners, 275. 1.
Venus, her picture adored by some zealous image-worshippers, 416. 1. Her temple, and abominable rites, in *Cyprus*, 793. 2. 794. 1.
Veraxano's discoveries in *North-America*, 242, 282.
Verbiest, a jesuit, very serviceable to the *Tartars* in *China*, 627. 2. 628. 1.
Vermilion found in the quick-silver mines, 316. 2. 317. 1.
Villafana's plot against *Cortez*, discover'd, defeated, and himself duly rewarded, 89. 2. 90. 1.
Virginia discover'd and planted, 224. 2, &c. Its description, 241. 2. See *Raleigh*; *Smith*.
Virgins, monthly prostituted before an idol, in *Japan*, 680. 1.
Visits, among the *Chinese*, full of troublesome ceremonies, 611. 2. The manner of them in *Ceylon*, 728. 2.
Vitzilpultzli, a famous idol in *Mexico*, and his worship, describ'd, 325. 2, &c.
Unicorn-fish describ'd, 475. 1. Pursue whales, *ibid.* And sometimes strike against a ship, *ibid.* See Ship.
Union of kingdoms, seldom advantageous to both, 599. 1.
Volcanoes; their natural cause, 314. 2. 315. 1. 693. 2. See Earthquakes; Sulphur.
Usurpation, not justifiable upon any pretence whatsoever, 452. 2. Too favourably treated by *Romish* casuists, 633. 1. 674. 2. 675. 1. See Ambition; Conqnest; Providence; Religion; Restoration; Success; Usurpers.
Usurpers generally detested, 84. 2. 598. One uncommonly civil, 417. 1. See *Atahualpa*; *Cromwel*; *Jupiter*.
Utrecht; the peace there advantageous to *England*, 264, 270. 1. 276. 1. 299. 2.

W

WALL of *Babylon*, a wonderful work, 525. 2. That of *Derbent* very curious, 584. 2. Between *China* and *Tartary*, stupendous, 597. 2.
War, the manner of declaring it, in North *America*, 244. 2.
Water; the natural history of it, 306. 1. Made medicinal by serpents, 557. 2. See Aqueducts; Bridges; Canals; Fountains; Lakes; *Naphti*; Ocean; Rivers; Sea; Serpents; Springs; Water-clocks; Water-falls; Water-fowls; Water-spouts.
Water-clocks, in *Indostan*, describ'd, 504. 1.
Water-falls, vastly deep, in *Canada*, 289. 2. 290. 312. 1.
Water-fowls, how taken, in *Indostan*, 503. 1. And in *China*, 610. 1.
Water-spouts, describ'd, 378.
Wax, in great plenty upon trees, in *China*, 614. 1.
Welcome, very oddly express'd, in *Brazille*, 347. 1.
Whales, how catch'd by the *Americans*, 307. See Unicorn.
Widows burning themselves with their dead husbands, whence it had its rise, 547. 1. Abolish'd in *China*, 635. 2.
Wife of an *Indian* king prefer'd before a kingdom, 29. 2.
Wild fowls. See Water-fowls.
Winds. See Monsoons; Trade-winds.
Wire-drawing, in *Persia*, very fine, 568. 2.
Wives, divorc'd in *China*, for several reasons, 634. 2. See Wife.
Wolves, remarkably gentle in *Newfoundland*, 270. 2.
Women. See Admiral; Adultery; *Amazons*; Chastity; Divorces; Incontinence; Lady; Love; Marriage; Miscarriage; Modesty; Widows; Wives.
Wood (*Benj.*) his unhappy voyage to the *East-Indies*, 360. 2. 361. 1.
Woods, in *Madera*, continue burning 7 years, 8. 1.
Worm-plant, in *Sembrero*, describ'd, 374. 2. See Silk-worm.
Worship, its object mistaken, 416. 1. See *Confucius*; Deity; Devil; Devotion; Dispensation; Emeralds; Enthusiastical; Fire; *Free-thinkers*; God; Idolatry; Religion; Revelation; Sacrifice; Superstition; Temples.
Writing, from the right hand directly towards the left, by the *Jews*, 615. 2. From the right hand, but downwards, line by line, by the *Chinese*, *ibid.* And the *Japanese*, 673. 1. From the bottom, on the left hand, upwards, in the *Philippine* Islands, 694. 1. But in *Ceylon*, they write from the left hand directly towards the right, as we do, 740. 2. How taught there, *ibid.* See Language; Letters.

X

XACA, a famous idol, in *Japan*, 679. 2.
Xavier, a jesuite, converts many to Christianity in *Japan*, 682. 2. 683. Said to work miracles, 682. 1. Embarks for *China*, 683. 2. And dies there, 827. 1. 683. 2. Another (of the same name) attempts the like in *Indostan*, 500.
Xicotencal, the *Tlascallan* general, skirmishes bravely with *Cortez*, 52. Treats with him, and submits, 54. 1. Afterwards dissatisfied, 78. 2. Cabals against *Cortez*, 79. 2. Condemn'd by his own father, *ibid.* But is only degraded, *ibid.* Pretends repentance, and is restor'd, *ibid.* Leaves the army, with part of his forces, 90. 1. Refuses to return, sends an insolent message, and is kill'd, *ibid.* 2.

Y

YARDLEY, (Sir *Geo.*) deputy governor of *Virginia*, 239. 2. Improves the colony there greatly, 240.

Z

ZEAL of the missionaries, commendable, 626. 2. And of the *Georgians*, 761. 1. Much wanted among some who have more truth, 626. 2. 761. 1. That of the *Mahometans*, mistaken, 769. 2. 770. 2. Of some *Indian* idolaters, monstrous, 494. 2. 508. 1. See *Coriate*; Martyrs; *Matta*; Superstition; *Xavier*.
Zone. See Torrid.
Zoroast, an impostor in *Indostan*, 508. 2. His sect, and laws, *ibid.* See *Persees*.

FINIS.

N. B. Two sheets being, by mistake, mark'd with the same pages, (*viz.* 305, 306, 307, 308) the respective references to any of these, if not found in the one sheet, will be found in the other.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM